

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae
Volume III: South Coast 2161–2648

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae

A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions
from Alexander to Muhammad

edited by

Walter Ameling · Hannah M. Cotton · Werner Eck
Benjamin Isaac · Alla Kushnir-Stein
Haggai Misgav · Jonathan Price · Ada Yardeni

Editorial staff

Marfa Heimbach · Dirk Koßmann
with the assistance of
Eva Käppel · Christina Kaas · Ilia Rastrepin

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In memory of
Alla Kushnir-Stein
(1941-2013)

Preface

This volume is dedicated to the memory of our co-editor, Alla Kushnir-Stein, a most generous colleague and an excellent scholar. As in previous volumes, she was in charge of the inscriptions on weights, and as always, the first to submit a complete manuscript with photographs. Her absence from subsequent volumes will be sorely and painfully felt by all.

This volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, the third to be published, contains the inscriptions from the South Coast, stretching from north of the modern city of Tel Aviv and terminating with ancient Raphia while embracing ca. 15 km of the hinterland between the two locations. The inscriptions are arranged in a north to south order, and west to east, when more than one settlement is on the same latitude. This territory was divided at least since the 2nd century AD between different communities or cities, but only in some cases was it possible to assign the inscriptions to a specific territory of an ancient community or city: only in some cases could the territory be closely determined, and besides, the borders of those units constantly fluctuated in antiquity. Consequently, some of the material had to be assigned to a modern rather than to an ancient unit.

The inscriptions assigned to a single place, when numerous, are divided into groups by content, following the practice adopted in the previous two volumes, those of Jerusalem and Caesarea, but especially in the latter.

There is no need here to explain again our methods of presentation of the single inscription which have not changed since the first volume; a detailed explanation can be found in the Preface to Jerusalem II. However, it is worth repeating here the following caution: "It was not our intention to provide an exhaustive commentary for every single inscription. The detailed justification for massive reconstructions of the more fragmentary texts has often been given elsewhere by the relevant editor, and is referred to *ad loc.* The accompanying bibliography does not claim to be complete: whereas the editors consulted every item in which each inscription was discussed, only the relevant literature has been cited here. Any other procedure would have resulted in an endless list of items which would be of little benefit".

The Index of Personal Names in this volume contains, as in previous volumes, the names appearing in the indices of the volumes already in print. We still have not provided a general index, whose absence has been much lamented in several reviews. A general index is indeed a legitimate desideratum, and the editors are not unaware of its great value, were it not offset by the more cogent and weighty considerations of time and funds, which, alas, cannot be dismissed out of hand. Priorities had to be considered and the need to edit adequately as many inscriptions as possible trumped that of producing a general index which could do justice to a multi-lingual corpus – an endeavor which, as yet, has never been attempted

anywhere. However, the occasion for a general index will indeed come once all the inscriptions have been edited.

As in the foregoing volumes we thank the many bodies and individuals who have made the publication of this volume possible. Above all we would like to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) which has continued its support of the CIIP as one of its long-term projects, and the President of the Hebrew University for the Ring Fund, which partly matched the DFG's generous outlay: their financial support has now kept us going for eight years!

We would like to reiterate our special debt of gratitude to the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), for the continuing and unwavering support of its Director, Shuka Dorfman and its Deputy Director, Uzi Dahari. And as before we would like to single out some of its personnel who have treated our project as if it were their own mission, and without whose help and devotion we would not have been able to bring volume III to completion: Adi Ziv, Curator of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods in the National Treasures in the IAA depot Beth Shemesh, Yael Barschak and Noga Ze'evi of the IAA Photographic Archives und Alegre Savariego, Curator of the Rockefeller Collections and Mosaics, ArieH Rochman-Halperin, Assistant to the Head of Archives Branch, Declarations and Archival Services. Special thanks are due to Gideon Avni, Head of Excavations and Surveys, Zvika Greenhut Head of Artifacts Treatment and Conservation Department, and to Leticia Barda for the maps.

We are very grateful to Nitza Bashkin, curator of archaeology in Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, to Na'ama Meirovitz, director of the Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities in Jaffa, and to Dror Porat, curator of Beit Miriam Museum in Kibbutz Palmachim, for their hospitality and help.

Moshe Fischer and Joseph Patrich have provided us with the latest archaeological contexts for many of the inscriptions included in this volume, and Ehud Galili assisted us with the material found in underwater excavations and surveys.

The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, and especially Ryan Boehm of Tulane University in New Orleans, made available to us part of their as yet unpublished reports.

Father Pol Vonck of St. Anne Monastery and Father Humbert of the École Biblique, both in the Old City of Jerusalem, continued to help our project as they did with previous volumes, and Catherine Saliou of Université Paris 8 alerted us to the appearance of new inscriptions we would otherwise have missed.

Special thanks must be given to Laszlo Berczelly and Marina Prusac, past and present curators of the Antiquity Collection in the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, for their hospitality in summer 2003, and for the outstanding photographs they have provided us with (gratis!) of the inscriptions of the Ustinov Collection in Oslo.

Lea Roth-Gerson generously sought us out in order to put at our disposal the unfinished ms. of "The Inscriptions of the Jewish Necropolis in Jaffa", by B. Lifshitz and D. Asheri and J. Kaplan, all of whom, unfortunately, did not live to complete it.

We would also like to thank our photographers, Nili and Abraham Graicer, for their unremitting work in locating, documenting and photographing inscriptions for this volume as well.

Anna Veronese and Avner Ecker, who wrote their MA dissertations on the Jaffa Necropolis, provided us with many insights into that material. Avner Ecker, in addition, though no longer our assistant but an editor of the Greek ostraca in the next volume, nevertheless continued to stand in the breach for this volume whenever needed.

Ra'anana Meridor, emerita of the Department of Classics at the Hebrew University, proofread in record time the whole manuscript, thereby saving us from many errors: we are most grateful to her.

Finally we have to repeat, what we expressed in the preface of volume II of the CIIP: this volume could not have been published, let alone appeared on time, were it not for the utmost dedication, far beyond the call of duty, of our assistants who have turned the Corpus into their own obsession. This goes above all for our research assistants in Cologne and Jerusalem: Marfa Heimbach, Dirk Koßmann and Eva Käppel, the editorial staff in Cologne, who completed this volume and started the next one; this is no less true of our research assistants in Jerusalem: Ilia Rastrepin, Giora Katz and Yosi Kugler, who have helped the editors in every conceivable way with autopsies and information, keeping in touch with dozens of institutions and individuals all over Israel, and above all with their ceaseless and persistent hunt for missing inscriptions and photographs.

Finally we thank all the other assistants who contributed to this volume as well to future volumes : Tslil Ashush, Nadav Asraf, Arie Germansky, Viki Grinboym, Ilana Har-Tal, Simon Hilber, Doron Shomrony, Adam Vangoor and Vladimir (Vova) Zuckerman in Jerusalem, and Patrick Breternitz, Christina Kaas (former Bußmann) and Dominik Licher in Cologne.

Jerusalem/Cologne March 2014

For all the editors: Hannah Cotton and Werner Eck

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Authors' Sigla

AE	Avner Ecker
AKS	Alla Kushnir-Stein
AY	Ada Yardeni
BI	Benjamin Isaac
DK	Dirk Koßmann
EDD	Editors
HM	Haggai Misgav
HMC	Hannah M. Cotton
JJP	Jonathan J. Price
RH	Robert Hoyland
WA	Walter Ameling
WE	Werner Eck

Abbreviations

For standard abbreviations of journal titles we follow *L'Année Philologique* throughout. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used:

ACO	E. Schwartz ed., <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , 1914ff.
Alt, GIPT	A. Alt, <i>Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der 'Araba</i> , 1921
Ameling, IJO II	W. Ameling, <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II. Kleinasien</i> , 2004
AMSL	<i>Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires</i>
Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations	M. Avi-Yonah, <i>Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions</i> , 1940 (repr. 1974)
Avigad, Beth She'arim III	N. Avigad, <i>Beth She'arim III. The Archaeological Excavations during 1953-1958. The Catacombs 12-23</i> , 1971 (repr. 1976) (Hebr.)
Bagatti, Flagellazione	B. Bagatti, <i>Il Museo della Flagellazione in Gerusalemme</i> , 1939
Bagatti, Judaea	B. Bagatti, <i>Ancient Christian Villages of Judaea and the Negev</i> , 2002
Bagatti, Samaria	B. Bagatti, <i>Ancient Christian Villages of Samaria</i> , 2002
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
Barrington Atlas	R. Talbert, <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , 2000
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , in: <i>Revue des études grecques</i>
Bechtel, Personennamen	F. Bechtel, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit</i> , 1917
Belayche, Pagan Cults	N. Belayche, <i>Judaea-Palaestina. The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine</i> , 2001
Beyer, Aramäische Texte	K. Beyer, <i>Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten</i> , 1984
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i>
BMC Emp.	H. Mattingly, <i>The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , 6 vols., 1936/62
BMC Palestine	G. Hill, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Volume 27: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine</i> , 1914
Boffo, Iscrizioni	L. Boffo, <i>Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia</i> , 1994

Bonner, Magical Amulets	C. Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets, 1950
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
Chambon, Gaza	A. Chambon ed., Gaza. From Sand and Sea. Art and History in the Jawdat al-Khoudary Collection, vol. 1, 2012
Chiat, Handbook	M. Chiat, Handbook of Synagogue Architecture, 1982
CHJ	W. Davies - L. Finkelstein - W. Horbury - J. Sturdy - S. Katz eds., The Cambridge History of Judaism, 4 vols, 1984/2006
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIIP	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae
CIJ 2	J.-B. Frey, Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum, 2 vols., 1936/52 (vol. 1 repr. 1975)
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
Clermont-Ganneau, ARP	Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches in Palestine (1873-74), 2 vols., 1896/99
Clermont-Ganneau, RAO	Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Recueil d'archéologie orientale, 8 vols., 1888/1924
Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria	C. Conder - H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine 2. Samaria, 1881
Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea	C. Conder - H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine 3. Judaea, 1883
Cradle of Christianity	Y. Israeli - D. Mevorah eds., Cradle of Christianity, 2000
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DACL	F. Cabrol - H. Leclercq eds., Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, 15 vols., 1907/53
DGI	L. Di Segni, Dated Greek Inscriptions from Palestine from the Roman and Byzantine Periods, PhD Diss., 1997 (unpublished)
Dinkler, Signum Crucis	E. Dinkler, Signum Crucis, 1967
DJD XXVII	A. Yardeni - H. Cotton eds., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII. Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and other Sites, 1997
Donner - Röllig, KAI	H. Donner - W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, 2002
Dussaud, Louvre	R. Dussaud, Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales. Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques, 1912
Eck, Rom und Judaea	W. Eck, Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina, 2007
EI	Eretz Israel
Euting	J. Euting, Epigraphische Miscellen, SPAW 35, 1885, 669-88
Evans	C. Evans, Jesus and the Ossuaries, 2003

Feissel, <i>Chroniques</i>	D. Feissel, <i>Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1987-2004</i> , 2006
Felle, <i>Biblia epigraphica</i>	A. Felle, <i>Biblia epigraphica. La Sacra Scrittura nella documentazione epigrafica dell'orbis christianus antiquus (III-VIII secolo)</i> , 2006
Fischer - Isaac - Roll, <i>Roads II</i>	M. Fischer - B. Isaac - I. Roll, <i>Roman Roads in Judaea II. The Jaffa-Jerusalem Roads</i> , 1996
Foraboschi	D. Foraboschi, <i>Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke</i> , 1967
From Hellenism to Islam	H. Cotton - R. Hoyland - J. Price - D. Wasserstein eds., <i>From Hellenism to Islam</i> , 2009
Gignac	F. Gignac, <i>A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i> , 2 vols., 1976/81
Glucker, <i>Gaza</i>	C. Glucker, <i>The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i> , 1987
Goodenough, <i>Jewish Symbols</i>	E. Goodenough, <i>Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period</i> , 13 vols., 1953/68
Gregg - Urman	R. Gregg - D. Urman, <i>Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights</i> , 1996
HA-ESI	Hadashot Arkheologiyot-Excavations and Surveys in Israel (Hebr./Engl.; both journals are published together since 2000, continuing the volume numbering of HA)
Hachlili, <i>Funerary Customs</i>	R. Hachlili, <i>Jewish Funerary Customs. Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period</i> , 2005
Hagedorn, <i>Wörterlisten</i>	D. Hagedorn, <i>Wörterlisten</i> , http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/WL.pdf (viewed: 4 March 2014)
Haldimann et al., <i>Gaza</i>	M.-A. Haldimann et al. eds., <i>Gaza à la croisée des civilisations. Contexte archéologique et historique I</i> , 2007
Hatch - Redpath	E. Hatch - H. Redpath, <i>A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books)</i> , 2 vols. + suppl., 1897/1906
Hemer, <i>Book of Acts</i>	C. Hemer, <i>The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History</i> , 1989
Hezser, <i>Jewish Literacy</i>	C. Hezser, <i>Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine</i> , 2001
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
Hüttenmeister - Reeg, <i>Synagogen</i>	F. Hüttenmeister - G. Reeg, <i>Die antiken Synagogen in Israel</i> , 2 vols., 1977
ICUR n.s.	A. Silvagni et al., <i>Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae. Nova series</i> , 1922ff.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i>
IGR	R. Cagnat, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> , 1906/1927

IGUR	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> , 4 vols., 1968/90
IK	<i>Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , 1972ff.
Ilan, Lexicon	T. Ilan, <i>Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity</i> , 4 vols., 2002/12
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols., 1892/1916 (repr. 1654/62)
IMC	R. Hestrin ed., <i>Inscriptions Reveal</i> . Israel Museum Catalogue 100, 1973
INJ	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i>
Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a/b	Y. Meimaris - K. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, <i>Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a/b</i> , 2005/08
Isaac, Limits	B. Isaac, <i>The Limits of Empire</i> , 1990
Isaac, Near East	B. Isaac, <i>The Near East under Roman Rule</i> , 1998
ISAP	<i>Institute for the Study of Aramaic Papyri</i>
Jaroš, Inschriften	K. Jaroš, <i>Inschriften des Heiligen Landes aus vier Jahrtausenden</i> , 2001
Jastrow, Dictionary	M. Jastrow, <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> , 1903 (repr. 2005)
JBTh	<i>Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie</i>
JIGRE	W. Horbury - D. Noy, <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt</i> , 1992
Jones, LRE	A.H.M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire 284-602</i> , 3 vols., 1964
Keel - Küchler	O. Keel - M. Küchler, <i>Orte und Landschaften der Bibel 2</i> , 1982
Klein, JPCI	S. Klein, <i>Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptio-num</i> , 1920
Kasovsky, Mishna	C. Kasovsky, <i>Thesaurus Mishnae. Concordantia verborum quae in sex Mishnae ordinibus reperi-untur</i> , 1956ff.
Kosovsky, Bab.	B. Kosovsky, <i>Thesaurus nominum quae in Tal-mude Babilonico reperiuntur</i> , 5 vols., 1976/83 (Hebr.)
Kosovsky, Yer.	M. Kosovsky, <i>Concordance to the Talmud Yerush-almi. Onomasticon</i> , 1985 (Hebr.)
Küchler, Jerusalem	M. Küchler, <i>Jerusalem. Ein Handbuch und Stu-dienreiseführer zur Heiligen Stadt</i> , 2007
Kushnir-Stein, Lead Weights	A. Kushnir-Stein, <i>New Inscribed Lead Weights from Gaza</i> , in: J. Humphrey ed., <i>The Roman and Byzantine Near East</i> , vol. 3, 2002, 37-42
Lampe	G. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , 1961
Levine, Ancient Synagogue	L. Levine, <i>The Ancient Synagogue 1</i> , 2000
Levine, Ancient Synagogue 2nd ed.	L. Levine, <i>The Ancient Synagogue</i> , 2nd ed. 2005
LGPN	P. Fraser - E. Matthews, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Per-sonal Names</i> , 5 vols., 1987ff.

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LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, 8 vols. + Index and Suppl., 1981/2009
LSJ	H. Liddell - R. Scott - H. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon, 1996
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MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
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Noy, JIWE	D. Noy, Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe, 2 vols., 1993/95
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, 2 vols., 1903/05
Ovadiah, Corpus	A. Ovadiah, Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land, 1970
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Peterson - Marksches, Heis Theos	E. Peterson - C. Marksches, Heis Theos. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur antiken "Ein-Gott"-Akklamation, 2012
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PG	J. Migne ed., Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, 1857ff.
PGM	K. Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae, 2nd revised edition, including texts from the originally planned third volume, by A. Henrichs, 2 vols., 1973/74
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
Pjb	Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem
PL	J. Migne ed., Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, 1844ff.
PLRE	A. Jones - J. Martindale - J. Morris, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, 3 vols., 1971/92
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RAC	Th. Klauser et al. eds., <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , 1950ff.
RADR	S. Keay - D. Williams, <i>Roman Amphorae. A Digital Resource</i> , http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/archive/amphora_ahrb_2005 (viewed: 4 March 2014)
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RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RE	A. Pauly - G. Wissowa eds., <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 1893ff.
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SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i> , 1915ff.
Schalit, NW	A. Schalit, <i>Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus</i> , 2002
Schürer	E. Schürer, <i>The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC - AD 135). A New English Version Revised and Edited by G. Vermes - F. Millar - M. Black - M. Goodman</i> , 3 vols., 1973/87
Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II	M. Schwabe - B. Lifshitz, <i>Beth She'arim II. The Greek Inscriptions</i> , 1967 (Hebr.)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
Sivan, Palestine	H. Sivan, <i>Palestine in Late Antiquity</i> , 2008
Sophocles	E. Sophocles, <i>Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)</i> , 1887
SPAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
Stark	J. Stark, <i>Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions</i> , 1971

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Suppl. Mag.	R. Daniel - F. Maltomini, <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> , 2 vols., 1990/92
Syll3	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd ed., 4 vols., Leipzig 1915/24
Syria/BES	Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique, in: Syria
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris
TIR	Y. Tsafrir - L. Di Segni - J. Green, <i>Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea-Palaestina</i> , 1994
van der Horst, <i>Ancient Jewish Epitaphs</i>	P. van der Horst, <i>Ancient Jewish Epitaphs</i> , 1991
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ZDPV MN	<i>Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästinavereins</i>

Diacritical system

The following diacritical system has been used, following the usual epigraphic conventions:

- () for the resolution of an abbreviation
- [] for the restoration of missing letters
- < > for the addition of an omission in the inscription
- { } for superfluous letters which should be ignored
- [[]] for text which was deliberately erased in antiquity
- [...] for missing text in which the number of letters is fairly certain (number of dots = number of missing letters)
- [--] for missing text in which the number of letters is uncertain
- ⌈ ⌋ correction of a letter by the editor
- A dot beneath a letter, e. g.: ṭ indicates that the reading is uncertain.
- + for an individual letter of which traces remain but which cannot be securely identified
- A dot in the middle of the line indicates a word divider (independent of its actual appearance).
- vacat* indicates a gap deliberately left in the text
- ∫ sign for stigma as abbreviation mark

Key to transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic

א	’	Alef
ב	B	Bet
ג	G	Gimel
ד	D	Dalet
ה	H	He
ו	W	Vav
ז	Z	Zayin
ח	Ḥ	Ḥet
ט	Ṭ	Ṭet
י	Y	Yod
כ,ך	K	Kaf
ל	L	Lamed
מ,ם	M	Mem
נ,ן	N	Nun
ס	S	Samekh
ע	‘	Ayin
פ,ף	P	Pe
צ,ץ	Ṣ	Tsadi
ק	Q	Qof
ר	R	Resh
ש	Š	Shin
שׁ	Ś	Sin
ת	T	Tav

I. Tel Mikhal

2161. Greek funerary inscription of Protarchis daughter of Titius, 1-2 c. CE (?)

“A funerary cippus of limestone, cylindrical, and molded at the top and bottom. [...] On the upper and lower sides [...] is a square hole for fastening.” Three-line Greek inscription, “rather carelessly cut” (Clermont-Ganneau). *Alpha* with broken cross-bar; classical *omega*.

Meas.: h 58 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Tel Mikhal? (rumored; cf. comm. below).

ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΙΣ
ΤΙΤΙΟΥ
ΧΡΗΣΤΗΧΑΙΡΕ

Πρωταρχίς | Τιτίου | χρηστή, χαῖρε

*Good Protarchis daughter of Titius,
farewell.*

Comm.: The texts of this stone and no. 2162 are taken from Clermont-Ganneau's report and drawings. He saw them in the collection of the Russian archimandrite in Jaffa and was told that they came from a spot on the coast 24 miles north of Jaffa, yet he suspected that they came from Cyprus. Klein included both in his corpus, Frey (CIJ) did not; there is nothing to suggest that either was Jewish. The fact that the present text, on a column, would have been displayed outside and not in a burial cave argues further against a Jewish designation. Similarly, there is nothing to mark either inscription as Christian. Both have the classical *omega* (and no. 2162 has the quadrilateral *sigma*) found in 1-2 c. inscriptions in Palestine and Syria (J. Kloppenborg Verbin, JJS 51/52, 2000, 275; DGI 894 Table 1).

Πρωταρχίς (Klein: Πρωταρχίς) is a rare feminine form of the common male name Protarchus (e.g., SEG 9, 181, 1-2 c. from Cyrene). Titius was a Roman nomen



fig. 2161

gentile. No connection with the Syrian legate Marcus Titius (ca. 13-10 BCE, cf. PIR² T 261) should be supposed.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 149f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Euting 687 no. 93; Klein, JPCI no. 148.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 149 (dr.).

JJP

2162. Greek funerary inscription for Eisidote (daughter) of Ariston, 1-2 c. CE (?)

“A large slab of limestone, broken at the bottom, moulded in the upper part, the base a little wider than the top.” Three lines of Greek, quadrilateral *sigma*, classical *omega* (a). “Above the name of the deceased the funeral cry *χαῖρε* occurs again, scratched in graffito.” (b) (Clermont-Ganneau).

Meas.: h 77, w 30, d 6 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Tel Mikhal? (rumored; cf. comm. no. 2161).

- (a) ΕΙΣΙΔΟΤΗΡΙΣΤΩ
ΝΟΣΧΡΗΣΤΗ
ΧΑΙΡΕ
(b) ΧΑΙΡΕ

- (a) Εἰσιδότῃ Ἀρίστω|νος χρηστή,| χαῖρε
(b) Χαῖρε

fig. 2162.1 (a)

- (a) *Good Eisidote (daughter) of Ariston, farewell.*
(b) *Farewell.*

fig. 2162.2 (b)

Comm.: See comm. to no. 2161. Inscription (b) was scratched perhaps spontaneously at the burial as a sign of mourning. Εἰσιδότῃ = Ἰσιδότῃ, a common theophoric name (LGPN 1, 2a, 3b, 5a, s.v.).

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 149f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Euting 687 no. 92; C. Schick, PEQ 25, 1893, 286-93 at 287-91 fig. 5; A. Murray, *ibid.*, 300 ad fig. 5; Klein, JPCI no. 138.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 150 (dr.).

JJP

2163. Graffito on pottery, 1st half of 1 c. BCE

Five remaining letters of an inscription incised after firing on a sherd of a jar or jug.
Meas.: h 5.5, w ca. 5 cm; letters 0.5-0.7 cm.

Findspot: In the fill of a room in the Hellenistic fortress in Tel Mikhal; Stratum IIb, Locus 687, Basket 5138/1 (Herzog).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1987-292. Autopsy: 16 August 2012.

[--]+ΓΑΟΥ[--]

[--'P]ήγλου(?)[--]

... of Reglus(?) ...

Comm.: The first letter is broken at the bottom, but two parallel lines are visible, thus it may be an *eta*. If -λου is the end of the word, as it seems to be, then it may be an owner's mark in the genitive. The name offered here is the only fitting option in the LGPN. Many other reconstructions may be offered.



fig. 2163

Bibl.: Z. Herzog, in: id. - G. Rapp Jr. - O. Negbi, Excavations at Tel Michal - Israel, 1989, 165ff. fig. 12,10.

Photo: IAA.

AE

2164. Seal with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE

An oval seal “of white agate, perforated”, “single line border and field divider, two inscribed registers” (Avigad 99).

Meas.: h 1.4, w 1.2, d 0.8 cm.

Findspot: Between Tel Aviv and Herzliya, near Tel Mikhal. According to Avigad - Sass, this seal was found in a tomb during N. Avigad's excavations at the site (according to Naveh it was found on the shore near Herzliya).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1963-469.

לחננבן
שכוי

לחננבן | שכוי

Translit.: lhnn bn | škwy

(Belonging) to Ḥanan son of Škwy.



fig. 2164

Comm.: The script on this seal is in Hebrew letters of the 4 c. BCE, and, according to Avigad - Sass, the script resembles that of a contemporary bulla from Samaria (Avigad - Sass no. 419), belonging to [Yesha]‘yahu(?) son of [Sn]’blt governor of Samaria. This may indicate its Samaritan provenance (cf. Cross 23). The owner of the seal was a certain Hanan son of Škwy. The name Škwy has been interpreted as deriving from the root *škh* (“to look out”) in the qatṭūl pattern (Avigad 535; cf. the Biblical name Škyh [1 Chr 8,10]). This name “appears in the Wadi Daliyeh papyri (Eshel 1994, 49), in Aramaic ostracon 8 from Arad (Naveh 1981, 156f.)” and on an Aramaic ostracon from Idumaea (ISAP 2493), dated to year 10, probably of Artaxerxes III, corresponding to 349/348 BCE.

Bibl.: J. Naveh, IEJ 48, 1998, 93 (ed. pr.). – J. Naveh – J. Greenfield, in: W. Davies – L. Finkelstein eds., The Cambridge History of Judaism I, 1984, 115-29 at 122; D. Barag, INJ 9, 1986/87, 4-21 at 18f. n. 73; N. Avigad, Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals (revised and completed by B. Sass), 1997, 99 no. 162. – Cf. F. Cross, in: P. Lapp - N. Lapp eds., Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh, 1974, 17-29; J. Naveh, in: Y. Aharoni, Arad Inscriptions, 1981, 153-75; H Eshel, The Samaritans in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods (Ph.D Diss., The Hebrew University) 1994 (Hebr.).

Photo: IAA.

AY

2165. Two bronze rings with Samaritan Hebrew inscription

“Two bronze rings (A and B)”, each being “a nine-sided polygon” (Reich 1994). On each of the nine facets two incised words appear in two lines.

Meas.: Each of the facets: 4x9 mm; letters ca. 1-1.5 mm; outer ø of ring A: 22 mm; outer ø of ring B: 21 mm (Reich 1994).

Findspot: Halfway between Tel Aviv and Herzliya, near Tel Mikhal.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. nos. 1993-612 and 1993-613.



fig. 2165.1

Facet 1 of both rings: כִּי | אֲנִי

Facet 4 of ring A and facet 5 of ring B: יְהוָה | שְׁמוֹ

Translit.: Facet 1 of both rings: ky | 'ny

Facet 4 of ring A and facet 5 of ring B: yhh | šmw

Facet 1 of both rings: *For I am.*

Facet 4 of ring A and facet 5 of ring B: *YHH is His name.*



fig. 2165.2



fig. 2165.3

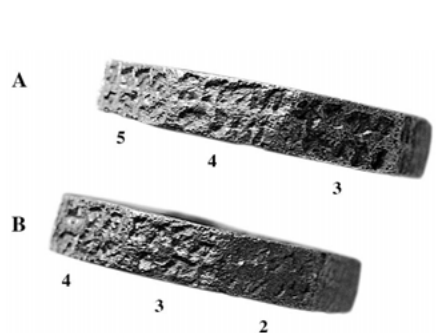


fig. 2165.4



fig. 2165.5



fig. 2165.6

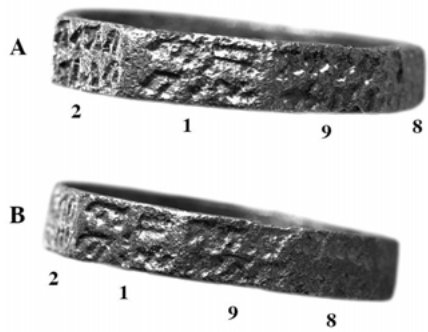


fig. 2165.7

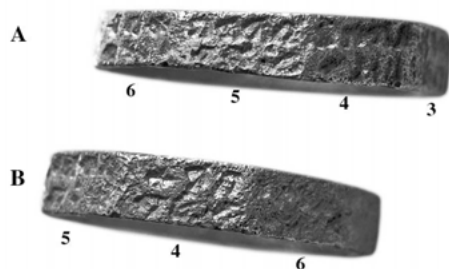


fig. 2165.8

Comm.: According to Reich 1994, 135, “Three Samaritan rings of this type have been published which bear biblical verses.” However, the reading of the texts on the two rings from Tel Mikhal, which seem to resemble each other, is not entirely clear and only parts of them have been deciphered. According to Reich 1994, 135, the text on both rings begins with the words *ky | 'ny* appearing in two lines on the first facet, “most probably the beginning of the verse ‘For I am the Lord that healeth thee’ (Ex 15,26).” “On the other facets ... it is possible to identify the multiple presentation of the tetragrammaton.” On facet 4 of ring A and on facet 5 of ring B, Reich 1994, 136 suggests the reading *yhh | šmw* perhaps “taken from the Song of the Sea (Ex 15,3).” “R. Pummer ... suggested that the data point to magic-practicing Christians or Jews, rather than Samaritans” (Reich 1994, 137). I. Ben-Zvi identified the site “with the ‘Galil which is on the seashore’ mentioned in Samaritan records” (ibid.).

Bibl.: R. Reich, *Atiqot* 25, 1994, 135-8 (ed. pr.). – Id., in: E. Stern - H. Eshel eds., *The Samaritans*, 2002, 289-309 at 304f. (Hebr.).

Photo: R. Reich, *Atiqot* 25, 1994, 135 (dr.); IAA.

AY

II. Area of modern Tel Aviv

2166.-2168. Tell Qasile

The remains of a building with a partly preserved mosaic pavement were discovered in 1975 near the main entrance to the Eretz Israel Museum in Ramat Aviv; built on an east-to-west axis, its entrance faces the east; a central nave has small aisles on both sides; the roof was supported by a double row of pillars, three of which were found. The mosaic pavement contained three inscriptions, two in Greek and one in Samaritan. The first one in Greek has its place near the entrance (no. 2166), the second one in the central nave (no. 2167) and the Samaritan inscription in the southern aisle (no. 2168). The structure was outside the main settlement of Tell Qasile. The excavators date the building to the end of the 6 or the beginning of the 7 c. (Kaplan, IEJ 27, 1977, 55). There is an ongoing debate as to whether the structure is to be called a Samaritan synagogue or a church of Samaritan Christians, see Kaplan 1977; Ritter Kaplan; Dion - Pummer; Stemberger; Baumann; Pummer 1999; Milson.

2166. Greek inscription on a mosaic floor

Fragment of a mosaic inside a tabula ansata, the right ansa is lost together with the right-hand section of the inscription. No writing seems to be missing at the bottom, below the five preserved lines.

Meas.: h 66, w 88 cm; field for the inscription h 56, w 62 cm; letters ca. 7.5 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2166-2168.

Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv. Autopsy: 22 March 2012.

ΕΠΙΟΥΡΒΙΚΟΥΚ[--]
ΥΙΟΥΑΓΑΘΕΣΠΡΟ[--]
ΩΤΗΡΙΑΤΩΝΘΕΩ[--]
ΤΩΝΑΥΤ[Τ]ΕΚΝΩ[--]
ΟΝΤ[...]ΗΦΩΣΕΩ[--]



fig. 2166

Ἐπὶ Οὐρβικοῦ Κ[-] | υἱοῦ Ἀγάθης προ(σφορὰ) [ὑπὲρ σ]ωτηρία(ς) τῶν
θεο[φιλεστά]των αὐτ(οῦ) τέκνω[ν τὸ ἔργ]ον τῆς ψ[η]φώσεω[ς -]

Under Urbicus son of C... Agathes offered the pavement for the salvation of his god-beloved children ...

Comm.: l.1: κ[όμης] or κ[υρίου] ed. pr.; κ[όμης] or κ[υρίου] Ovadiah 1987 and MPI; SEG 37; l.2: Ἀ<ι>γαθέ(ω)ς ed. pr.; Ἀγαθέ(ω)ς Ovadiah 1987 and MPI; SEG 37; l.4: αὐτῖ ed. pr.; Ovadiah, MPI; l.5: τὸ ἔργ[ον] σ[τ]ῶν [τῶ] φωσιστ(η)ρ[ί]ω ἐγένετο? ed. pr.; τὸ ἔργ[ον] [τῆς ψ]ηφώσ<εω>ς [ἐγένετο] Ovadiah 1987; SEG 37; ἔργ[ον] [τῆς ψ]ηφώσις [ἐγένετο] Ovadiah, MPI; [ἐγ]ῆν[ετο] ἢ ψ[η]φώσις Feissel (BE); ΦΩΣΙΣΤΗ Tybout apud SEG 42.

Previous editors and all commentators suggested that the pavement was laid out under the supervision of one Urbicus who was designated either κ[όμης] or κ[υρίου]. Both titles are not so likely to have appeared in this form in the context of a building inscription: before κ[όμης] one expects a title like λαμπρότατος or μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, and κ[υρίου] alone is not specific enough. Furthermore the space, now lost, on the righthand margin in l.1 could hardly accomodate both κ[όμης] or κ[υρίου] and a personal name. Perhaps Κ[-] | υἱοῦ stands for the filiation of Urbicus, whereas Ἀγάθης was the person responsible for the construction of the pavement of the building. For ψήφωσις, see Robert, Op. Min. V 48f. with n. 9 (see CIIP II 1262 p. 202).

Bibl.: H. Kaplan, Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 79 (ph.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 54-55, 1975, 15 (Hebr.); H. Kaplan – J. Kaplan, IEJ 27, 1977, 55 pl. 8c (ph.); Hüttenmeister – Reeg, Synagogen 2, 631f. no. 1; J. Kaplan, EAEHL 4, 1978, 1166ff.; P. Dion – R. Pummer, JSJ 11, 1980, 217-22; Chiat, Handbook 166f.; A. Ovadiah – S. Mucznik, in: R. Ginouvés et al. eds., Mosaïque. Recueil d'hommage à Henri Stern, 1983, 276; A. Ovadiah, IEJ 37, 1987, 36-9; id., MPI 118f. no. 203; SEG 37, 1526; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 182f.; BE 1989, 1002; H. Ritter Kaplan, IEJ 42, 1992, 246ff. no. 2 fig. 1 (dr.); SEG 42, 1469; P. Baumann, Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land, 1999, 325; R. Pummer, in: S. Fine ed., Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue, 1999, 129 fig. 8.1 (ph.); J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 179 no. 373; Feissel, Chroniques 226 no. 720; Milson, Art and Architecture 354f.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

2167. Greek blessing in mosaic floor, 6-7 c. CE

Four-line Greek inscription within octagonal frame; letters formed by polychrome tesserae against white background, orange lines above and below inscription and between each line of text. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon* and w-shaped *omega*, *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg, *upsilon* with stem.

Meas.: h 44, w 60 cm; letters 5-7.5 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2166-2168.

Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv. Autopsy: 12 March 2012.

ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ
ΚΑΙ Η[.]ΗΝΗΤΩ
ΙΣΤΡΑ[.]ΛΚΤΩΤ
ΟΠΟΥΑΜΗΝ

εὐλογία | καὶ ἡ[ρ]ήνη τῷ |
Ἰστρα[ἐ]λ καὶ τῷ τόπου.
Ἀμήν

*Blessing and peace on Is-
rael and this place. Amen.*

Comm.: The inscription
has apparently been dam-
aged since first published;
the original editors read Ἰστραἒλ, with *epsilon* instead of the expected *eta*.

The blessing εὐλογία, standing alone or in different formulae, is common in synagogue inscriptions in diverse locations, cf. εἰς εὐλογίαν in no. 2295 this vol.; instances from Beth She'an, Hulda and Tiberias (Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions, nos. 7, 12, 16, 17, 18); and see Noy, IJO I, Pan1, Mac17 (Samaritan), BS3, Thr1, 4 (= Ameling, IJO II 13); Ach59; Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III 27, 142; Ameling, IJO II Syr 53; JIGRE 121, 122; and now, in a recently discovered synagogue in Andriake, cf. N. Çevik - H. Eshel, Qadmoniot 139, 2010, 41ff. (Hebr.). εὐλογία appears on Jewish epitaphs, Ameling, IJO II 155, 156; Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr28; Noy, JIWE I 152; JIWE II 292, 301, 459. It may have been an exclusively Jewish formula, cf. Robert, Hellenica XI-XII 394ff. It was widely used also in Hebrew and Aramaic synagogue inscriptions, see the 11 examples in Naveh, Stone and Mosaic, index, s.v. ברכה.

The spelling of Israel with a *tau* is amply attested, note ἰρῆνῃ τῷ Ἰστραήλ in an epitaph from Jaffa (no. 2231), and J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 227. τῷ τόπου in ll.3-4 is a clear proof of the interchange of *ou* for *omega* in late Greek, see Gignac I 209ff.

Bibl.: H. Kaplan - J. Kaplan, IEJ 27, 1977, 55; H. Kaplan, Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 78ff. (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – HA 54-55, 1975, 15 (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 2, 631f. no. 2; J. Kaplan, RB 84, 1977, 284f.; SEG 27, 1021; BE 1978, 532; J. Kaplan, EAEHL 4, 1978, 1159-68 at 1166ff.; Z. Safrai, Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 129 (Hebr.); H. Kaplan, Qadmoniot 12, 1979, 20, 31f. (Hebr.); P. Dion - R. Pummer, JSJ 11, 1980, 217-22; K. Jaroš, AfO 27, 1980, 192-280 at 221 no. 41; Chiat, Handbook 166f.; Ovadia, MPI 118f.; SEG 37, 1527; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 182; BE 1989, 1002; H. Ritter Kaplan, IEJ 42, 1992, 246-9 at 249 no. 3; J. Kaplan - H. Ritter Kaplan, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1451-7 at 1456f.; P. Baumann, Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land, 1999, 330; J. Baumgarten, in: S. Fine ed., Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue, 1999, 71-86 at 80f.; R. Pummer, in: ibid., 118-60 at 129 figs. 8.1-2; Bagatti, Samaria 218; Milson, Art and Architecture 454f.; E. Ribak, Religious Communities in Byzantine Palestina, 2007, 203; D. Barag, in: H. Cotton et al. eds., From Hellenism to Islam, 2009, 303-23 at 316.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

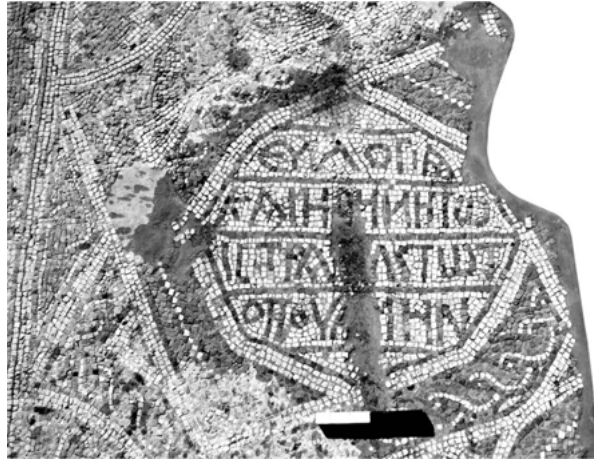


fig. 2167

JJP

2168. Mosaic floor with Samaritan Aramaic inscription, ca. 5 c. CE

A four-line Samaritan inscription written in red tesserae on white background; the inscription is within a diamond frame. Vertical strokes are used as word dividers. Meas.: Mosaic frame: h 47, w 42 cm; inscription: w 36 cm; letters 4-8 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2166-2168.

Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, inv. no. 21026-8.

מכסימ
תכיר-דקר
פרקסנה-
תכיר-דקר

מכסימ | תכיר דקר | פרקסנה | תכיר דקר



fig. 2168

Translit.: mksym | tkyr dqr | prqsnh | tkyr dqr

Maximus/ona is/will be remembered (for) he/she donated/is honored. Proxena/Priscianus is/will be remembered (for) she/he donated/is honored.

Comm.: This seems to be a dedication inscription commemorating the names of two people, probably donors to the building. The two people have Greek names which appear as *mksym* and *prqsnh* reflecting either the names Maximona and Proxena (see Tsafrir 1981, 225) or Maximus and Priscianus (see Dion - Pummer 219). The Aramaic Samaritan words, which may be transcribed as *tkyr dqr* (ll.2 and 4), seem to be abbreviated forms of either *ytdkyr dqr* "he will be remembered for he donated" (see, e.g., Naveh 1981, 222; Tsafrir 1981, 225) or of *tkyr (=dkyr) dyqr* "remembered for he was honored" (see, e.g., Maccuch; see also Naveh 2002, 377). The earliest interpretation of this inscription was that of H. Kaplan, who translated it as being an intact text. Her translation was as follows: "1. Maximus (Deus). 2. Recognize (*tkyr*) the pierced one (*dqr* [or: the piercing]). 3. Destroy the enemy (*prq snh*). 4. Recognize the pierced one (or: the piercing)." This interpretation was rejected by most of the scholars who dealt with this inscription (but see Dion - Pummer 221).

Beyer 401, who generally agrees with Naveh and Tsafrir, nevertheless suggests the completion *mksym(h)* (Maximus) in ll.1 and *(y)tkyr* in ll.2 and 4.

Bibl.: H. Kaplan, Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 78ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 54-55, 1975, 15 (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 2, 631f. no. 3; Z. Safrai, Qadmoniot 11, 1978, 129 (Hebr.); H. Kaplan, Qadmoniot 12, 1979, 30 (Hebr.); Y. Tsafrir, *ibid.* 31 (Hebr.); H. Kaplan, *ibid.* 31f. (Hebr.); P. Dion - R. Pummer, JSJ 11, 1980, 217-22; K. Jaroš, AfO 27, 1980, 192-280 at 221 no. 41; J. Naveh, IEJ 31, 1981, 220ff. at 222; Y. Tsafrir, *ibid.*, 223-6; R. Maccuch, Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch, 1982, Lf. + Add.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 401; R. Maccuch, IEJ 35, 1985, 183ff.; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 182f.; Ovadia, MPI 118f.; R. Pummer, The Samaritans, 1987, 27; H. Ritter Kaplan, IEJ 42, 1992, 246-9 at 249 no. 4; R. Pummer, BAR 24-3, 1998, 24-35; *id.*, in: S. Fine ed., Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue, 1999, 118-60 at 130; Bagatti, Samaria 218f.; J. Naveh, in: E. Stern - H. Eshel eds., The Samaritans, 2002, 372-81 at 376f.; Milson, Art and Architecture 454f.; I. Sappir, Leshonenu 69, 2007, 263-70 (Hebr.); D. Barag, in: From Hellenism to Islam 303-23 at 316; J. Naveh, Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy, 2009, 413-28 at 452.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AY

2169. Amulet with Samaritan letters, 2nd half of 4 c. AD

Leaf-shaped bronze plaque, incised on both sides with Samaritan letters.

Meas.: h 3.6, w 2.1 cm.

Findspot: Ha-Golan Street, Tel Aviv, in a Samaritan tomb-cave.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, inv. no. 67.069, IAA inv. no. 1970-3131.

(a) יהוה

גיבור

כיכול

יהוה

יהוה

(b) קומה

יהוה

כיכול

יהוה

יהוה

(a) יהוה | גיבור | כי(י)כול | יהוה | יהוה

(b) קומה | יהוה | כי(י)כול | יהוה | יהוה

Translit.: (a) yhwh | gybwr | ky(y)kwl | yhwh | yhwh

(b) qwmh | yhwh | ky(y)kwl | yhwh | yhwh

- (a) YHWH is a great warrior. He can do (anything) or: there is no one like God. God.
 (b) Rise up, YHWH. He can do (anything) or: there is no one like God. God.



fig. 2169.1 (a)



fig. 2169.2 (b)

Comm.: The first two lines on side (a) are very common in Samaritan amulets; they are taken from the Samaritan version of Ex 15,3 *yhwh gybwr bmlh̄mh* “YHWH is a hero of war = a great warrior” (instead of Masoretic Text יהוה מלחמה *yhwh ’yś mlh̄mh*, one of the more significant variants of the Samaritan version). The word *kykw̄l* could stand for *’yn k’l* (Dt 33,26), a very common formula in the Samaritan amulets, but it could also be an abbreviation of *ky kykw̄l*, as in Nm 13,30, from the story of the spies. Another possibility is to read *mykhl*, which is an abbreviation of *my kmwkh b’lym* Ex 15,11. The repetition יהוה *yhwh yhwh* is probably also an abbreviation, either

of Ex 34,6 (יהוה אל רחום וחנון) *yhwh yhwh 'l rḥwm whnwn*) or of Dt 6,4 (שמע) *šm' yšr'l yhwh 'lhynw yhwh 'ḥd*).



fig. 2169.3 (a)



fig. 2169.4 (b)

Side (b): The first two lines קומה יהוה *qwmh yhwh* contain the beginning of Nm 10,35. The other three lines are identical to side (a). Some of the letters were not written with pedantic strictness, thus one can read א as ו and מ as כ.

Bibl.: J. Kaplan, BIES 30, 1966, 239-44 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., IEJ 17, 1967, 158-62 at 158ff.; R. Pummer, RB 94, 1987, 251-63 at 260f. no. 5.; R. Reich, in: E. Stern - H. Eshel eds., The Samaritans, 2002, 289-309 at 293f. no. 5 (Hebr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; J. Kaplan, BIES 30, 1966, 240 fig. 1 (dr.).

HM

2170. Amulet with Samaritan letters, 2nd half of 4 c. AD

Oval bronze amulet with Samaritan inscriptions on both sides. Parts are broken off in the lower section, a lug at the top is partly preserved.

Meas.: h 4.2, w 3.5 cm.

Findspot: Cemetery of Tel Baruch, suburb north of Tel Aviv.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, inv. no. MHY.0.2469, IAA inv. no. 2007-3129.

- (a) יהוה
גיבור
יהוה
גיבור
[.הו]
שמו
(b) קהמה
יהוה
אין כאל
ישרון
יהוה
אחד

- (a) יהוה | גיבור | יהוה | גיבור | יהו[ה] | שמו
(b) קהמה | יהוה | אין כאל | ישרון | יהוה | אחד

Translit.: (a) yhwh | gybwr | yhwh | gybwr | yhw[h] | šmw
(b) qhmh | yhwh | 'yn k'al | yšrwn | yhwh | 'ḥd

- (a) YHWH is a great warrior, YHWH is a great warrior, YHWH is his name.
(b) Rise up, YHWH, there is no God like the God of Yeshurun, YHWH is one.



fig. 2170.1 (a)



fig. 2170.2 (b)



fig. 2170.3 (a)



fig. 2170.4 (b)

Comm.: The opening phrase *yhw h gybwr* is the beginning of the Samaritan version of Ex 15,3, as noted in no. 2169; this biblical verse ends with *yhw h šmw*. In the first publication it was read as *yhw h šmd*, but the last letter is not completed and the reading should be as suggested here. The first word on side (b), *qhmh*, is a local version of *qwmh*, a common formula in the Samaritan amulets (sometimes even without the second word, God's name). The first letter is a triangle, and in the first publication it was read as *ayin*, but the *qof* is also triangle-shaped, so this reading is not only possible but makes more sense. The rest of the formula consists of two phrases, very common in Samaritan amulets, taken from Deut 33,26 and Deut 6,4.

Bibl.: J. Kaplan, EI 10, 1971, 255ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., Biblical Archaeologist 35, 1972, 66-95 at 94 fig. 15; J. Naveh, IEJ 23, 1973, 82-91 at 84 n. 25; J. Kaplan, IEJ 25, 1975, 157ff.; R. Pummer, RB 94, 1987, 251-63 at 260f. no. 7; id., The Samaritans, 1987, 27 pl. IIIa; Jaroš, Inschriften 270; R. Reich, in: E. Stern - H. Eshel eds., The Samaritans, 2002, 289-309 at 295f. no. 7 (Hebr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; J. Kaplan, IEJ 25, 1975, 157 (dr.).

III. Bat Yam

2171. Jar with Phoenician inscription, ca. late 4 c. BCE

An inscription of one word written in black ink on a jar, below one of its handles.

Findspot: Bat Yam (suburb south of Tel Aviv), Ramat Hanasi.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1963-368.



fig. 2171.1

לבעלצח

Translit.: lb'lslh

(Belonging) to B'lslh.

Comm.: This is one of the few late Phoenician inscriptions found on the coast of Israel. The intact jar with the inscription has been discovered in 1963 by Y. Shapira in a cave which contained two jars and sherds of two more, cooking pots, a large bowl and three small bowls (HA 7, 18). The inscription was deciphered by B. Peckham and dated by him to the late 4 c. BCE. The letters



fig. 2171.2

are written in a cursive hand of the late 4 c. BCE (a detailed description of the letter forms appears in Peckham's article). The name *B'ʾlṣlḥ* ("Ba'al prospers"?) appears in a late 4 c. BCE Phoenician stone inscription from Cariathmaus/Nebi Yunis (see no. 2293) and is attested in Punic inscriptions dating from the same period (e.g., CIS I 559, 4587, 4773 [Peckham 11 n. 1]).

Bibl.: B. Peckham, IEJ 16, 1966, 11-7 (ed. pr.). – HA 7, 1963, 18 (Hebr.); HA 11, 1964, 5f. (Hebr.); O. Tal, *The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine*, 2006, 231 (Hebr.).

Photo: IAA.

AY

IV. Ioppe

Introduction

Jaffa is situated on a headland about 45 m high, with steep slopes towards the sea. Tactically it therefore enjoys a strong position. It has a good water supply from two springs to the north-east. An additional advantage of the location lies in the fertility of its territory. Jaffa itself has easy access to the good alluvial soils deposited by the Ayalon River and was famous for its orange groves. Across these lands runs the road to Lydda, which also lies on similar soil. A few kilometers south of Jaffa stretches a belt of sand dunes more than six kilometers wide, which does not allow cultivation of profitable crops and makes communications difficult.

Jaffa, therefore, is the southernmost point on the shore which has a good link with Jerusalem. This was an essential point in its favour when Jerusalem was the capital of the country, but it was not the only advantage of the site, for the town and its port prospered well before Jerusalem became an important destination.

The importance of Jaffa as the only natural anchorage in antiquity along this part of the Mediterranean coast – before the construction of Caesarea-on-the-Sea by Herod – can be easily seen even today and is stated explicitly by Diodorus for the Hellenistic period:¹

“The voyage along the coast of this sea is exceedingly long, and any landing is especially difficult; for from Paraetonium in Libya as far as Jope in Coele-Syria, a voyage along the coast of some five thousand stades, there is not to be found a safe harbor except Pharos.”²

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- 1 Diod. 1,31,2 (transl. C. Oldfather, Loeb), cf. M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1, 1974, 169f. no. 56: ..., ὁ τὸν μὲν παράπλουν ἔχει μακρότατον, τὴν δ' ἀπόβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δυσπροσόρμιστον· ἀπὸ γὰρ Παραιτονίου τῆς Λιβύης ἕως Ἰόπης τῆς ἐν τῇ Κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ, ὄντος τοῦ παράπλου σταδίων σχεδὸν πεντακισχιλίων, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα πλὴν τοῦ Φάρου.
 - 2 W. Zwickel, *Jaffa in Its Regional Context during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages*, in: M. Peilstöcker - A. Burke eds., *The History and Archaeology of Jaffa 1*, 2011, 79-94; J. Elayi, *JNES* 41, 1982, 83-110 at 97-104. As stated by A. Burke, *Early Jaffa*, in: Peilstöcker - Burke, 63-78 at 64: “The lack of other coastal settlements with continuous occupation from the MB II through the Iron Age between Dor and Yavneh-Yam supports the identification of Jaffa as the principal port along this stretch of coast.” For general historical surveys, see also Schürer 1, 110-4; and the older work by S. Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine*, 1924. For references to sources and modern literature: TIR 152f. Peilstöcker and Burke's work supersedes previous archaeological publications. Note also the brief survey by H. and J. Kaplan, *NEAEHL* 2, 1993, 655-9; additional information by Z. Herzog, *NEAEHL* 5, 2008, 1791f. For the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem: Fischer - Isaac - Roll, *Roads II*. For the modern period, see R. Kark, *Jaffa. A City in Evolution. 1799-1917*, 1984 (Hebr.).

This is confirmed also by Strabo, writing in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius: “Then one comes to Jaffa, where the seaboard from Egypt, though at first stretching toward the east, makes a significant bend toward the north. Here it was, according to certain writers of myths, that Andromeda was exposed to the sea monster, for the place is situated at a rather high elevation – so high, it is said that Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Judaeans, is visible from it; and indeed the Judaeans have used this place as a seaport when they have gone down as far as the sea.”³ Clearly, it was generally regarded as Judaea’s chief outlet to the sea. Strabo, although writing after Herod’s death and while he was aware of this ruler having had the status of a king, did not know of the Herodian harbour at Caesarea. He only knew of the anchorage at Straton’s Tower, whereas, in his words, Jaffa had a port.⁴

The Strabo passage also emphasizes another feature for which Jaffa was known in Greek and Roman literature, its identification with the location of the Andromeda and Perseus legend.⁵

Josephus, who, unlike Diodorus and Strabo, would have been familiar with the place and also was familiar with Herod’s new harbour at Caesarea, describes it as very dangerous for ships, “more perilous to sailors than the watery waste.”⁶ In fact, he denies that Jaffa has a natural harbour at all.⁷ He graphically describes the danger for ships in the vicinity during stormy weather.⁸ Like Strabo and others Josephus mentions Andromeda, adding, as do Pliny and Jerome, that the impressions

3 Strab. 16,2,28 (c. 759) (transl. H. Jones, Loeb): Εἴτα Ἰόπη, καθ’ ἣν ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλία σημειωδῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον κάμπτεται, πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω τεταμένη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μυθεύουσι τινες τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐκτεθῆναι τῷ κήτει· ἐν ὕψει δὲ ἐστὶν ἱκανῶς τὸ χωρίον ὥστ’ ἀφορᾶσθαι φασὶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων μητρόπολιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπινείω τούτῳ κέχρηται καταβάντες μέχρι θαλάττης οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. See also below, for the passage on the presence of robbers or pirates based at Jaffa. The Letter of Aristaeas 115, rather generously, praises the harbours of Ascalon, Jaffa, Gaza, and Ptolemais.

4 Strab. 16,2,29 still calls Caesarea “Straton’s Tower” and describes it merely as πρόσορμον ἔχων, i.e. having an anchorage, while Jaffa has an ἐπίνειον, a port. Herod is mentioned by Strab. in 16,46. For the geography in antiquity, see Burke (n. 2) 63f.

5 In the extant literature this is found first in Pseudo-Scylax, cited below and in Pliny, NH 5,68 (Stern [n. 1], vol. 1, 1974, no. 204); also: Pausanias, Graeciae Descriptio 4,35,9 (Stern [n. 1], vol. 2, 1980, no. 354); Conon the Mythographer, Stern (n. 1), vol. 1, 1974, no. 145 (late first century BC-beginning first century AD). Strab. 1,2,35 (c. 43) is critical of the story which, he says, “is surely not told in ignorance of its local setting, but rather in the guise of myth ...” (H. Jones, Loeb). Conon is also the only author I am aware of who states that the country later called Phoenicia originally was called Ioppe, having received its name from the coastal city of Ioppe. For the myth in general, see D. Ogden, *Perseus*, 2008; see also: E. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, 2011, 253–5.

6 Jos. BJ 3,9,3 (421, transl. Thackeray, Loeb): τὸ κύμα σφαλερώτερον ἐρημίας τὸν ὄρμον ἀπεργάζεται.

7 BJ 3,419: Ἀλιμένου δ’ οὔσης φύσει τῆς Ἰόπης.

8 BJ 3,421–427.

of her chains are still visible.⁹ Pliny has the additional information: “the skeleton of the monster to which Andromeda in the story was exposed was brought by Marcus Scaurus from the town of Ioppe in Judaea and shown at Rome among the rest of the marvels during his aedileship.”¹⁰ Thus Scaurus did not merely see the impression of chains, but found actual bones, relics that he took with him to Rome for the delectation of the urban population.

A related aspect is the venerable antiquity of Jaffa. It was “said to have existed before the flood”¹¹ according to Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela.¹² Since these are first-century Latin authors, the flood referred to is that associated with Deucalion. All this, of course, reflects a genuinely long history of settlement on the site. The archaeological evidence shows the site to have been occupied in the Middle Bronze Age.¹³ In this connection it must be noted that the extensive and important excavations in and around Jaffa from 1948 onward have not been published in an adequate manner by the excavator, J. Kaplan.¹⁴

A siege of Ioppe under Thutmose III (about 1490-1436 BC) is described in an Egyptian papyrus.¹⁵ In a satirical letter of the end of the thirteenth century BC the town appears as a typical harbour-city, with travellers in search of women, and criminals who exploit them.¹⁶ If Iapu, mentioned in the Amarna letter no. 365, is indeed Ioppe, this shows that it was the centre of the Egyptian administration from where taxes were levied as far north as the Jezreel Valley.¹⁷

9 Plin. NH 5,68 (Stern [no. 1], vol. 1, 1974, no. 204) and 5,128 (ibid. no. 205); Jerome, In Jonam 1: *hic locus est, in quo usque hodie saxa monstrantur in litore, in quibus Andromeda religata, Persei quondam sit liberata praesidio.*

10 Plin. NH 9,11 (Stern [no. 1], vol. 1, 1974, no. 209).

11 NH 5,69 (Stern [no. 1], vol. 1, 1974, no. 204): *Iope Phoenicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt.*

12 Pomponius Mela, Chronographia 1,11,64 (Stern [no. 1], vol. 1, 1974, no. 152): *est Iope ante diluvium ut ferunt condita.*

13 Burke (n. 2) 65-7: 18 c. BC to first half of the 16 c.: the first enclosure; fortifications with glacis.

14 Peilstöcker - Burke (n. 2). The excavations undertaken over decades by H. and J. Kaplan were published only in brief articles and a short survey, cited above in n. 2. A report on the Kaplans' excavations is currently in preparation: O. Tsuf ed., The Port Town of Ancient Jaffa during the Persian to Byzantine Periods. Kaplan Excavations (1955-1981). The first to provide information on the antiquities of the town was Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 130-48.

15 P. Harris 500, verso I-III; translation in J. Pritchard ed., Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed. with suppl., 1969, 22f. See also T. Peet, JEA 11, 1925, 225; S. Ahituv, Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents, 1984, 121. Cf. Burke (n. 2) 68ff. For Jaffa during the Iron Age, ibid. 70-3 and Zwickel (n. 2).

16 P. Anastasi I (BM 10247); translation in Pritchard (n. 15) 478, mentioning a “fair maiden watching over the gardens.” Kaplan excavated a town gate from the reign of Ramses II.

17 N. Na'aman, EI 15, 1981, 140-4 at 141 (Hebr.).

At some stage in the Persian period or afterward, Sidon gained political supremacy over the Phoenician coast, replacing Tyre as the most important Phoenician city-state. Evidence from Jaffa includes two Phoenician inscriptions from this period.¹⁸ Relevant is also the statement in Ezra 3,7 that Lebanese cedar for the building of the Second Temple in 515 BC was delivered by Phoenicians to Jerusalem via the port of Jaffa.¹⁹ From there it would have been transported overland to Jerusalem, either by the Beth Horon road, or the Abu Ghosh road. This is clear evidence that Jaffa served as the port for Jerusalem at the time. Another reference occurs on the well-known, but undated sarcophagus of Eshmun'azar, king of Sidon, who claims to have received "Dor and Ioppe, the mighty lands of Dagon, which are in the plain of Sharon" from the Lord of Kings (the Persian king).²⁰ Dagon is a west-Semitic deity, associated with wheat.²¹ So, while it is clear that the region was transferred to Sidonian rule at some stage under Persian rule, it is impossible to say when this happened and who ruled it before this event. We may note also that the story of Jonah and the whale is associated with the port of Jaffa. Archaeological remains from this period (fifth to fourth centuries) include a wall of dressed masonry and great quantities of Attic pottery as reported by Kaplan. Recent excavations in the Ganor Compound, east of Yefet Street have uncovered large quantities of Persian pottery and remains of a massive building.²²

A relatively early Greek source that appears to have mentioned the town is Pseudo-Scylax's *Periplus* of the fourth century. Other cities referred to are Acre, Dor, and Ascalon. The text is in bad shape and has been restored as follows: "Doros (*Dor*) a city of Sidonioi, <Ioppe (*Jaffa*), a city;> they say it was here that Androm<eda> was <ex>posed <to the monster. Aska>lon, a city of Tyrioi and a royal seat. Her<e> is the boundary of Koile> (*Hollow*) Syria."²³ Apparently the source lists the major cities on the Palestinian coast, apart from Gaza.

18 R. Avner-Levy - E. Eshel, *Transeuphratène* 12, 1996, 59-63; M. Peilstöcker - B. Sass, *Atiqot* 42, 2001, 199-210.

19 Cf. Burke (n. 2) 74.

20 CIS 1, 3, pp. 9-20, ll.18-20; translation: Pritchard (n. 15) 662. Burke (n. 2) 74 assumes it may be of mid-fifth century date, but this is not certain.

21 Philo of Byblos fr. 809, 23, with comments by A. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos. A Commentary*, 1981, 15, comm. on p. 190. Philo: reign of Hadrian. E. Dhorme, *RHR* 138, 1950, 129-44, esp. 132: a local god of Philistia; west semitic: U. Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Baal*, 1969, 47-57; I. Singer, *Cathedra* 54, 1989, 17-42 (Hebr.).

22 M. Peilstöcker - A. Burke, *Preliminary Report for the 2007 Ganor Compound Excavations*, in: iid. (n. 2) 177-182 at 179.

23 G. Shipley, *Pseudo-Scylax's Periplus*, 2011, 104,3: Δῶρος πόλις Σιδωνίων, κ[αὶ] Ἰόππη πόλις ἔκτε]θηναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν τῷ κήτει. Ἀσκά-]λων πόλις Τυρίων καὶ βασιλεία. ἐνταῦ[θα ὁρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κοίλης] Συρίας; also: Stern (n. 1), vol. 3, 1984, no. 558; comm. pp.10ff.

Some form of a Sidonian presence is attested elsewhere in Palestine under Seleucid rule in the second century BC, notably in Iamnia-on-the-Sea, about 15 km south of Jaffa.²⁴ It seems best to regard this as reflecting the presence of Hellenized people who called themselves Sidonians and who may therefore be considered to have been settlers, or the descendants of settlers. These, apparently, were present in Judaea in sufficient numbers to preserve a common identity for some time. When they arrived is impossible to say, but Pseudo-Scylax, cited above, is among a few isolated pieces of evidence suggesting some Phoenician presence by the fourth century BC.²⁵ The tradition of identifying various cities of Palestine with the Phoenicians, Sidonians or Tyrians, continued. It is difficult to say when this ceased to reflect reality altogether.²⁶ Dionysius Periegetes (first half of the second century AD) states: “[The Phoenicians] inhabit Jaffa and Gaza, as well as Elais and archaic Tyre and the lovely land of Berytus, Byblus near the shore and flowery Sidon”.²⁷ Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἰόπε:²⁸ “Iope is a city of Phoenicia near Iamnia, according to (Herennius) Philo (of Byblos), but according to Dionysius it belongs to Palaestina”. It is in itself not surprising that Philo of Byblos would incorporate Jaffa in Phoenicia, but this may also reflect the period under Persian rule when the Palestinian coast was part of the jurisdiction of the Sidonian king Eshmun’azar. It may also reflect the reality of Phoenician settlement along the Palestinian coast.²⁹

Jaffa is not mentioned in connection with the campaign of Alexander of Macedon along the Palestinian coast. However, in the Wars of the Diadochi, it was taken by Antigonus Monophthalmus (315 BC) as part of his campaign along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. He conquered Jaffa and Gaza.³⁰ Subsequently, in 312,

24 Sidonians are attested at Iamnia-on-the-Sea, Shechem/Sikhem and Marisa/Maresha: Isaac, *Near East* 3-20 (no. 2267, below).

25 Relevant may also be the original name of Caesarea, Straton’s Tower, cf. CIIP II pp. 17f., indicating it was first established by one of the two Sidonian kings of that name.

26 Strab. 1,2,35; Plin. NH 5,69: *Iope Phoenicum*. I am not certain it is significant in this respect that Diodorus Siculus, in the first century BC, locates Acco in Syria-Phoenice, but Jaffa, Samaria and Gaza in Coele-Syria: 1,31,2 (Stern [n. 1], vol. 1, 1974, no. 56).

27 Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis Descriptio* 910 (apud K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* II, 1882, 160; Stern [n. 1], vol. 3, 1984, 32 no. 563, whose translation is quoted here): οἴτ’ (sc. οἱ Φοίνικες) Ἰόπην καὶ Γάζαν Ἐλαῖδα τ’ ἐνναίουσι, καὶ Τύρον ὠγυγίην Βηρυτοῦ τ’ αἰᾶν ἔραννῆν, Βύβλον τ’ ἀγχίαλον καὶ Σιδῶν’ ἠνεμόεσσιν.

28 Ἰόπη πόλις Φοινίκης πλησίον Ἰαμνίας ὡς Φίλων, ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος Παλαιστίνης. Stern (n. 1), vol. 2, 1980, 143f. no. 327 with comm. For Herennius Philo, see also J. Geiger, *SCI* 31, 2012, 185-90 at 189f.

29 The 24 coins from the Kaplan excavations that belong to the period before Alexander are all from Sidon: C. Meir, *Coins. The Historical Evidence of the Ancient City of Jaffa*, in: B. Kluge - B. Weissner eds., *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress*, Berlin 1997, vol. I, 2000, 127 pl. 1. The coins are from the 4 c. BC, Straton I (23) and Straton III (1). The bulk is bronze.

30 Diod. 19,59,2.

Ptolemy Lagus razed it, together with Ake (Acco, Acre), Samaria and Gaza, the most important strongpoints of the region.³¹

When the Ptolemies took over southern Syria, Jaffa cannot have been uninhabited for long, for one of the Ptolemaic mints was situated there in the third century BC. Ioppe minted coins for Ptolemy II (263-247) and Ptolemy III (245-241),³² and, possibly, also for Ptolemy V.³³ See also inscription no. 2172, below.³⁴

Archaeologically this period, particularly the third century BC, is further represented by a watchtower in Kaplan's Area A. Many stamped amphora handles are reported to have been found. When these are published they may contribute a good deal of information concerning the chronology and economy of this period. The Hellenistic period is represented also in the Ganor Compound and the Flea Market.³⁵

Jaffa appears also in some of the Zeno papyri (third century BC), such as PSI 406, which deals with the trade in female slaves and mentions Ptolemais, Amman, Pegai(?), Ioppe, the Hauran and the Nabataeans in this connection.³⁶ P. Cairo Zen. I 59011 from 250 BC mentions Jaffa, Bethanath and Philadelphia and refers to frankincense and myrrh. P. Cairo Zen. I 59093 from 257 BC mentions a man named Krotos who "is waiting in Jaffa for an opportunity of exporting ... and mattresses". It also mentions Menekles of Tyre "who had brought some slaves and merchandise from Gaza to Tyre and landed them in Tyre for transshipment without notifying the Customs officers and without having a permit to export the slaves", which got Menekles in trouble. Clearly, Gaza and Tyre were more important ports than Jaffa, but Jaffa may also have profited to some extent from such coastal trade.

The battle of Paneas (198 BC) resulted in the transfer of the entire region to Seleucid rule. Later the Hasmonaeans fought hard to gain possession of the city.³⁷

Jaffa is mentioned next in connection with the revolt of the Maccabees, probably in 163-2.³⁸ The inhabitants of Ioppe invited the Jews living among them to

31 Diod. 19,93,7.

32 A. Kindler, Bulletin Museum Haaretz 20-21, 1985/6, 21-36 at 21-3 nos. 1-5 (Hebr.).

33 Ibid. 21, 23 no. 6, but cf. <http://www.coin.com/images/dr/svoronos/svc001p182t.html> (Catharine C. Lorber; viewed 4 March 2014). Thanks are due to Alla Kushnir-Stein for explanation and references.

34 For material remains from Jaffa from this period, see J. Kaplan, Biblical Archaeologist 35, 1972, 66-95 at 88. For the dedication for Ptolemy IV, see also the extensive comments by Boffo, Iscrizioni 61-6.

35 Peilstöcker - Burke (n. 22) 179.

36 PSI IV 406, ll.13-19: ἄλλην ἐξήγον ἐξ Ἀμμώνων. ἀπέδοντο αὐτὴν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι καὶ ἱερέα ἤδη τέταρτον εἰς Ἰόπην καταγίγχοιεν καὶ εἰς Αὔρανα ἀπεδήμησεν σῶμα θηλυκὸν ἄγων καὶ ἔλαβεν (δραχμας) 150.

37 There are two Hellenistic lead weights from the Kaplan excavations that seem to date to the beginning of the 2 c. BC (below, nos. 2257 and 2258). Whether they were manufactured in the city itself is not clear.

38 2 Macc 12,3-6.

embark on boats which they provided. The Jews agreed unsuspectingly, and the people of Ioppe then sank the boats, drowning hundreds of Jews. In revenge Judas Maccabeus set the harbour of Ioppe on fire, burnt the ships and killed whomever he could. He apparently did not attempt to hold the city.³⁹ The language of the passage makes it clear that the Jews were not citizens with full civic rights in the town at this time, but resident foreigners.⁴⁰ As observed by Alla Kushnir-Stein, the use of “psephisma” in 2 Macc 12,4 might allude to the place having the status of a *polis*.

In 147 or 146 Jonathan expelled the garrison of Demetrius II, but did not conquer the city. A few years afterward, in 143, Simon established a garrison there;⁴¹ next he expelled the non-Jewish inhabitants from Jaffa (and those in Gazara) to prevent them from delivering their town to the Seleucid commander Tryphon,⁴² and fortified the city.⁴³ Simon’s achievements are the subject of praise in verse-form in the first book of Maccabees, and his capture of Jaffa is singled out there: “Among other remarkable achievements he took Ioppe to use its port and opened up the communications with the lands overseas.”⁴⁴

Jaffa resurfaces as an issue during the operations of Antiochus VII Sidetes in Judaea. When he demanded the surrender of the city (and of Gazara and the Akra in Jerusalem) or the payment of a large indemnity, Simon offered to pay a smaller amount.⁴⁵ Eventually Antiochus settled for a tribute.⁴⁶

Josephus lists the coastal cities held by the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus as follows: Straton’s Tower, Apollonia, Ioppe, Iamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia and Rhinocolura.⁴⁷

Archaeological material for this period (mid-second to first century BC) is relatively scarce. In spite of the importance of Jaffa as the port city of Jerusalem, only sporadic finds have been recorded such as the remains of a wall in Area A, a few isolated tombs dating to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (the beginning of the first century BC),⁴⁸ and a hoard of coins dating to some of Alexander’s successors.⁴⁹

39 The chronology is not quite certain: Cf. C. Habicht, *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, vol. 1.3, 1976, 261f.; K. Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa*, 1983, 51-60, esp. 56f. See also Isaac, *Near East* 3-20.

40 2 Macc 12,3: τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς οἰκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους.

41 Jonathan: 1 Macc 10,75-6. Simon: 1 Macc 12,33-34; Jos. AJ 13,180.

42 1 Macc 13,11; Jos. AJ 13,202.

43 1 Macc 14,33-34.

44 1 Macc 14,5: καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δόξας αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε Ἰόππην εἰς λιμένα καὶ ἐποίησεν εἴσοδον ταῖς νήσοις τῆς θαλάσσης.

45 Surrender: 1 Macc 15,28-30; indemnity: *ibid.* 31; Simon’s reply: 35.

46 Jos. AJ 13,246. Indirect confirmation of this is found in decrees of the Senate cited by Jos. AJ 13,261 and AJ 14,250.

47 Jos. AJ 13,395-6, a list which also includes cities in the interior. For possible material remains from this period: Kaplan (n. 34) 89.

48 J. Kaplan, *IEJ* 24, 1974, 137f.

49 A. Kindler, *IEJ* 4, 1954, 170-85.

However, in recent years extensive salvage excavations carried out in the areas to the north, south, and east of the mound may contribute to an impression of urban expansion into a lower city, starting in the latest phase of the Iron Age, continuing under Persian rule and culminating in Hellenistic times, under Ptolemaic rule. Following a contraction under Seleucid rule and in the Roman period, renewed expansion may be observable in the lower town, later in the Roman and Byzantine periods.⁵⁰ These conclusions are based, however, on scattered excavations in a difficult urban environment, in cramped and narrow trenches which complicate interpretation.

North of Jaffa and to the East J. Kaplan claimed to have found remains of a line of defence presumably constructed by Alexander Jannaeus.⁵¹ The episode was part of the fighting between the five sons of Antiochus VIII in the early first century. Antiochus XII intended to pass through Judaea on his way to Arabia. Alexander Jannaeus attempted to prevent him from doing so. "He dug a deep trench, beginning at Chabarsaba, which is now called Antipatris, as far as the sea at Ioppe, where alone it was possible to attack; and he built a wall and set up wooden towers and firing-platforms for a distance of a hundred and fifty stades ..." The entire project proved futile, for Antiochus burned the structures and passed through with his army. The story told by Josephus is at least partly imaginary and it is by no means clear that the two structures excavated were part of a line of defence. The least it shows is that such constructions could not usefully be employed in a full-scale war.

There are three reports concerning piracy in the area before Pompey conquered it. According to Josephus, Hyrcanus, the Hasmonaean, accused his brother Aristobulus before Pompey and "also denounced him as the one who had instigated the raids against neighbouring peoples and the acts of piracy at sea ..." ⁵² This is an accusation on the part of an enemy and it is not clear whether it is worth more than that. Diodorus, in his rather similar report, seems to echo these claims in a rather vague manner⁵³ and so does Strabo: "... and indeed the Judaeans have used this place as a seaport when they have gone down as far as the sea; but the seaports of robbers are obviously only robbers' dens."⁵⁴ The reliability of this information must be questioned. As shown by De Souza, "leistai" was a term of abuse in Hellenistic and Roman literature. It was used for rhetorical purposes, to lower an op-

50 Y. Arbel, *The Hasmonean Conquest of Jaffa*, in: Peilstöcker - Burke (n. 2), 187-96 at 191.

51 Jos. AJ 13,389-91; BJ 1,99f. J. Kaplan, *The Yannai Line*, in: S. Applebaum ed., *Roman Frontier Studies* 1967, 1971, 201-5.

52 Jos. AJ 14,43: τὰς τε καταδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πειρατήρια τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν συστήσαντα διέβαλεν.

53 Diodorus 40,2 (Stern [n. 1], vol. 1, 1974, no. 64): περὶ δὲ τῆς παρανομίας τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικημάτων; cf. Stern's comments on 186f.

54 Strab. 16,2,28 (c 758); Stern (n. 1), vol. 1., 1974, no. 114 (transl. H. Jones, Loeb): καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπινείῳ τούτῳ κέχρηται καταβάντες μέχρι θαλάττης οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· τὰ δ' ἐπίνεια τῶν ληστῶν ληστήρια δῆλον ὅτι ἐστί. See above for Strabo on Jaffa as a port.

ponent's status from that of a legitimate rival to that of a renegade.⁵⁵ Pompey was in the Eastern Mediterranean with a special command against pirates, and it would have been convenient to accuse one's enemy of piracy before Pompey. The statements may have served as an argument for Pompey to transfer the coastal cities to Syria, but he probably needed no argument to justify an action like this.

Jaffa was detached from Judaea and annexed to Syria by Pompey⁵⁶ and, subsequently, restored to it by Caesar.⁵⁷ In between these visits Ioppe seems to have issued a coin.⁵⁸ Josephus cites a decree stating "that the city of Ioppe, which the Jews had held from ancient times when they made a treaty of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them as at first."⁵⁹ This restored access to the sea to the Jews of Judaea through their traditional port. In 39 BC Herod captured Jaffa, which was loyal to his enemy, the last Hasmonaean, Antigonus.⁶⁰ Whether or not he kept it is not quite clear. He certainly did not control it during the interval from 34 until 30, when it will have been one of all the coastal cities that Antony gave to Cleopatra.⁶¹ After the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavian returned to Herod the territory that had been taken from him, "adding ... on the coast also Gaza, Anthedon, Ioppe and Straton's Tower."⁶² If Jaffa and other cities were added, they apparently were not under Herod's control before 34. After Herod's death Jaffa, Strato's Tower (Caesarea), Sebaste and Jerusalem were added to the part of Judaea ruled by Archelaus.⁶³ Thereafter it belonged to Judaea which was part of the province of Syria. It will be clear that the regional importance of Jaffa must have been greatly reduced by the construction of Herod's far better harbour at Caesarea. Archaeological remains of this period are attested mainly in Area C, near the harbour.⁶⁴ Remains of a house were uncovered with rich finds, including *terra sigillata* and a bread or

55 See on this: Ph. De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 1999, ch. 3.

56 Together with numerous other towns, including all the coastal cities, listed by Josephus, AJ 14,75-6; BJ 1,156.

57 Jos. AJ 14,205.

58 A. Ecker, INJ 17, 2010, 151-76 at 157f. and 167 (A). The reverse appears to show Andromeda sitting on a rock. The date is either "Year 4" or "Year 14". The reading IOΠΗ or IOΠΠ is not entirely clear but fairly likely.

59 See Schürer 1, 273ff. for Caesar's decrees concerning the Jews and in particular for the dates and matters of taxation; cf. also no. 2332, below. For older references: Stern (n. 1), vol. 2, 1980, 109.

60 Jos. AJ 14,396.

61 Jos. AJ 15,95; BJ 1,362: Jaffa is not mentioned by name, but must have been one of the "cities between the Eleutherus River and Egypt, save Tyre and Sidon". That would have meant all the cities of the Phoenician and Palestinian coast. According to the dates of Cleopatra on local coins, the transfer took place in 37/6 BC.

62 AJ 15,217: καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ πάλιν, ἣν δι' ἐκείνης ἀφῆρέθη. προσέθηκεν δὲ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Γάζαρα καὶ Ἰππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι δὲ τῆς παραλίου Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόπην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον; BJ 1,396.

63 Jos. AJ 17,320; BJ 2,97.

64 J. Kaplan, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 540.

cheese stamp bearing the name Ariston in Greek (see below, no. 2262), as well as coins. The building was perhaps abandoned during the First Revolt.

The status of Jaffa within Roman Judaea is clear from Josephus' description: "[Judaea] is divided into eleven *klerouchiai* of which Jerusalem is the capital. The other parts, after Jerusalem, are divided into *toparchiai*: Gophna is the second, then Acrabeta, Thamna, thereby Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumaea, En-gedi, Herodion, and Jericho. Following these Iamnia and Jaffa administer the surrounding areas ...".⁶⁵ Josephus describes as *toparchies* districts in which no settlement existed that had city status. Most of them are named after the most significant village or site in them.⁶⁶ Hence Jaffa is mentioned separately. The phrase "to have jurisdiction over the surrounding districts" precisely refers to the city status which it had. It was therefore no *toparchia*.

In this period the population of the city remained predominantly Jewish. Peter is recorded as having spent several days in the house of Simon the Tanner in Jaffa, after his visit to Lydda and before travelling to Caesarea.⁶⁷ The harbour of Jaffa (*nemelah shel Yafo*) is mentioned in a Talmudic source referring to this period, which relates how Nikanor's gates for the Temple in Jerusalem were brought from Alexandria and saved through a miracle during a storm at sea.⁶⁸ In Late Antiquity it is mentioned by Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) as "... a port for goods to be shipped from Judaea mostly to cities in the East".⁶⁹

Some of the events in the First Revolt clearly show the military significance of Jaffa's harbour. In 66 Cestius Gallus, upon entering Judaea, immediately sent a detachment to Jaffa. Surprising the inhabitants, they killed large numbers of them and destroyed the city.⁷⁰ It was soon re-occupied by Jews who had been expelled from various cities in the vicinity and proceeded to use it as a base for harassing the

65 Jos. BJ 3,54-6: μερίζεται δ' εἰς ἑνδεκα κληρουχίας, ὧν ἄρχει μὲν βασιλεῖον τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ... αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν διήρηνται τὰς τοπαρχίας. Γοφνὰ δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἀκραβητά, Θαμνὰ πρὸς ταύταις καὶ Λύδδα, Ἄμμαοὺς καὶ Πέλλη καὶ Ἰδουμαία καὶ Ἐνγαδδαὶ καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ Ἱεριχοῦς, μεθ' ἃς Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόππη τῶν περιόικων ἀφηγοῦνται. In AJ 18,31 Josephus refers to Iamnia as a toparchy.

66 Cf. Isaac, Near East 166f. Plin. NH 5,70, has a slightly different list of ten (instead of eleven) toparchies that partly reflects the situation after AD 70. There Jaffa is included among the toparchiai.

67 Acts 9,36-43; 10,9-23. During his stay he was said to have resurrected the widow Tabitha, also known as Dorcas.

68 J.T. Yoma iii 41a, col. 576. For the gates, Schürer 2, 57f. Also: T. Yoma 2,4 (ed. Lieberman, 230f.), referring to produce taken from a ship at Jaffa or Caesarea; M. Nedarim 3,6, which mentions the journey from Acre to Jaffa by boat as a short trip. Note also the Nikanor ossuary, CIIP I 1, 98.

69 Cyril of Alexandria, in Jonam 1,3 (PG 71,605C): ἐπίνειον δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπὶ ναυτιλίαν ἰοῦσι καὶ εἰς πόλεις μάλιστα τὰς πρὸς ἡώ.

70 Jos. BJ 2,508, Kaplan may have excavated the remains of a house destroyed at the time: Kaplan (n. 34) 91.

shipping between Egypt, Phoenicia and Syria.⁷¹ It was conquered again by Vespasian who left a garrison of cavalry and some infantry on the hill. The infantry was to remain on the spot and guard the camp; the cavalry ravaged the neighbourhood and destroyed the villages and small towns in the territory of Jaffa. So far no remains of a Roman military presence have been found in excavations, save, perhaps, a single stamped tile marked "X Fret."⁷² However, all this definitely proves is that a tile, produced by the legionary tiler, was used or re-used in a building in Jaffa.

"Coins of the 3rd c. AD give the name of the city as ΦΛΑΥΙΑ ΙΟΠΠΗ".⁷³ The least this could indicate is that the town received an honorary title in the Flavian period. However, since we know that many of its Jewish inhabitants were killed and much of the city was destroyed in the First Revolt, the name might be taken to imply some form of formal re-foundation which could have taken place at the same time as the foundation of the new city of Flavia Neapolis (Shechem). Whatever happened, one needs to take into account an explicit statement of Josephus that no new cities were founded in Judaea after the First Revolt.⁷⁴ It might have been expected that following these events the population of the town was predominantly gentile. Yet this does not seem to have been the case. There is no indication that Jews in Jaffa were disenfranchised. An inscribed mould for lead weights from the reign of Trajan mentions an agoranomos named Iudas, son of ...?, dated AD 105-6 (below, no. 2259). This is almost certainly an indication that Jews functioned in local government in the early second century. At a later stage the presence of a substantial Jewish population is clear from the discovery of a considerable number of Jewish epitaphs at Abu Kabir near Jaffa (below, nos. 2174-2254 and the introduction to this necropolis). The date of them has now been reliably established as third-fifth/sixth century. Talmudic sources mention four scholars as coming originally from Jaffa or as being active there (this cannot be determined). They are R. Ada,⁷⁵ R. Nahman,⁷⁶

71 Jos. BJ 3,414-430. Note that Josephus' language describes the entire operation in the traditional and highly dramatic terms of piracy and robbery, applied also in earlier stages of the conflict, as observed above: *πηξάμενοί τε πειρατικά σκάφη πλείστα τόν τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτον πόρον ἐλθστέυον, ἅπλωτά τε πᾶσαν ἐποίουν τὰ τῆδε πελάγη*. The impression created is that the rebels based in Jaffa dominated all shipping along the eastern Mediterranean coast, turning Vespasian into a second Pompey.

72 J. Kaplan, JQR 54, 1963, 110-4 at 113; cf. S. Applebaum, SCI 8-9, 1985/88, 138-44 at 143.

73 BMC Palestine 44, cf. xxivf., pl. V.7; cf. Kindler (n. 32) at 27-30 (Hebr.). Note also Ecker (n. 58) 158-75, adding a few variants to the coins given by Kindler.

74 Jos. BJ 7,216-7; cf. Isaac, Near East 112-21. The passage has been mistranslated and hence misinterpreted by R. Notley, *Greco-Roman Jaffa and Its Historical Background*, in: Peilstöcker - Burke (n. 2) 95-108 at 105.

75 B.T. Megilah 17b; BT. Ta'anit 17b. His son R. Hiya is mentioned in J.T. Megilah iii 74b.

76 Genesis Rabbah 43d (ed. Theodor - Albeck, p. 557).

R. Tanhum,⁷⁷ and R. Pinhas.⁷⁸ Two of these can be dated: R. Ada lived in the late third century and R. Pinhas in the early fourth century.

Archaeological remains from the second and third centuries include houses in Area C, destroyed by fire.⁷⁹ J. Kaplan speculates that there might be a connection with unrest in 117, but there is no positive evidence of this. The Ganor Compound, east of Yefet Street was not occupied and used for some time as a burial area. However, reoccupation of the area as a domestic quarter started again in the Roman period.⁸⁰

Christianity came relatively late to Jaffa.⁸¹ At the Council of Nicaea (325) it is not yet represented.⁸² It is listed only at the Council of Ephesus (431).⁸³ Conceivably the city was not prosperous and substantial in the earlier period. Jerome, in his translation of Eusebius' Onomasticon, calls it an *oppidum*,⁸⁴ which suggests something that is more modest than a *civitas*. Epiphanius, in about the same period, suggests that it was mostly in ruins.⁸⁵ Jerome, in his description of Paula's pilgrimage, 382-3, mentions the association of Jaffa with Andromeda (duly apologizing for doing so). However, he places the miracle of Dorcas at Diospolis, not at Jaffa.⁸⁶ The miracle and Jonah are both mentioned later by Theodosius (before 518): "From Diospolis it is twelve miles to Ioppe, where Saint Peter raised Tabitha and where the whale cast up Iona. From Ioppe to Caesarea Palaestina it is thirty miles."⁸⁷ A bishop named Elias from Jaffa is recorded as having participated in a council in Jerusalem in 536.⁸⁸ The existence of a tomb of Tabitha is implied by the Piacenza Pilgrim (c. 570): "Leaving Jerusalem I went down to Ioppe, where rests Saint Tabitha also

77 Pesiqta deRav Kahana vii (ed. Mandelbaum, p. 122).

78 Leviticus Rabba xx 10 (ed. Margolies, p. 467); J.T. Pesachim I 27c.

79 J. Kaplan, Archaeology 17, 1964, 276; id., IEJ 20, 1970, 225.

80 Peilstöcker - Burke (n. 22) 180.

81 For Jaffa in Late Antiquity, see D. Foran, Byzantine and Early Islamic Jaffa, in: Peilstöcker - Burke (n. 2) 109-20.

82 H. Gelzer et al. eds., Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina, 1898, 10, 12. Neighbouring Iamnia and Lydda, which also had a substantial Jewish population, are represented.

83 As noted by Tolkowsky (n. 2) 73, it is again not represented at Chalcedon (451), but reappears on the lists of the synods held at Jerusalem in 518 and 536, cf. F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine, 3rd ed. 1967, vol. 2, 199f.

84 Eus. On. 110: Ἰόππη πόλις Παλαιστίνης εἰς ἔτι νῦν παράλος κλήρου Δάν; Jerome, 111: Ioppe oppidum Palaestinae maritimum in tribu Dan.

85 J. Dean ed., Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures (the Syriac version), 1935, 75f. (composed in 392) "... Today many of its buildings are in ruins. Here Jonah the prophet embarked for Tarshish ... And here they of Judaea were accustomed to embark - I mean from Jope - for it was their port."

86 Jerome, Ep. 108: "to allude to the fables of the poets ..."

87 Theodosius, de situ Terrae Sanctae, 4 (CCSL 175, p.116): *De Diospoli in Ioppen milia XII, ubi Sanctus Petrus resuscitavit sanctam Tabitham; ibi et cetus iactavit se victo Ionom. De Ioppe ad Caesaream Palaestinae milia XXX ...*

88 Tolkowsky (n. 2) 74.

named Dorcas.”⁸⁹ There is a site known as “Tabitha’s tomb” in modern Jaffa, which probably has nothing to do with the ancient Christian pilgrimage site. Jaffa is mentioned in the usual sixth and seventh-century sources.⁹⁰

The archaeological evidence shows this period to have been one of expansion. In Area C three occupation-levels were encountered from the fourth to the seventh centuries containing substantial buildings with mosaics.⁹¹ The most significant feature of the time, however, is the cemetery already mentioned. The area east of Yefet Street appears to have been densely populated then and appears to have been a centre of various workshops (wine presses); remains of a substantial public building probably represent a church.⁹² Pottery of this period has been found in most of the excavated areas in the city, including the southern harbour – clear evidence of the large extent of the city.

BI

89 Antonini Placentini Itinerarium 46 (CCSL 175, p. 152): *Egressus de Hierusolima descendendi in Ioppe. Ibi iacet sancta Tabitha qua et Dorcas dicitur.*

90 Hierocles, Synecdemos, 719,6 (ed. Honigmann, p. 42); Georgius Cyprius 1007 (ed. Honigmann, p. 67).

91 J. Kaplan, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 540.

92 Foran (n. 81) 118, with references; Peilstöcker - Burke (n. 22) 181.

Inscriptions

A. Dedications

2172. The cult of Ptolemy IV

White marble stele, slightly tapered. The back is only roughly picked, the sides are more smoothly picked. The lower part is lost. – E. Lupu argued for a free-standing stele of about 60 cm in height, but there is no reason for this assumption. The stone is too small to support a statuette, much less a statue. Since it seems that there are no markers on the upper side of the stone, it was probably embedded in some kind of larger monument. This explains the use of marble (an imported stone). Fantalkin - Tal 254: “The fact that the inscription is carved on a marble slab, i. e. a rock that is foreign to the Palestinian geological environment, may suggest that it bears a somewhat fixed formula that did not necessarily have religious or social meaning for the local inhabitants of Joppe” is clearly wrong: even if the stone was imported, it was inscribed only at Ioppe – as the name of the priest proves.

Meas.: h 18.5, w 31.5 (top), 31.9 (bottom), d 5 cm; letters 0.8-1.5 cm.

Findspot: Excavation in Area C, now under Qedumim Square; the stone was found among the debris in the courtyard of a catacomb of Hellenistic date; it came perhaps from a nearby building (Kaplan 1972; Kaplan - Kaplan 1976; cf. Notley 97 fig. 8.2). The only securely identified building in the vicinity is a watchtower.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1993-2061.



ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΜΕΓΑΝΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ
ΘΕΟΝΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΑΤΟΝΕΓΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΚΑΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ
ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣΘΕΩΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ
ΚΑΙΠΤΟ[.]ΜΑ[.]ΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
[...]ΑΔ[.]Φ[.]ΝΟΝΑΝΑΞΙΚΛΗΣ
[.]ΕΡΕΥΣΤΟΥΒΑΣΙ[.]

fig. 2172

βασιλέα μέγαν Πτολεμαῖον | θεὸν φιλοπάτορα τὸν ἐγ βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου κα<ι>
 βασιλίσσης | Βερενίκης θεῶν εὐεργετῶν, | καὶ Πτο[λε]μα[ί]ου βασιλέως | [φιλ]αδ[έ]λ[φ]ου
 ἔκγονον, Ἀναξικλῆς | [-- ἰ]ερεὺς τοῦ βασι[λ]έως | [-- (?)]

Anaxicles, son of ..., priest of the king, (dedicated) the great king Ptolemaeus Theos Philopator, son of king Ptolemaeus and queen Berenice, the Theoi Euergetai, offspring of Ptolemaeus, the king Philadelphus ...

Comm.: In regard to the brackets, this text presents a combination of Lifshitz and Lupu. - 1.2: τὸν (υἱὸν) βασιλέως Lifshitz, corr. Woodhead and Landau apud SEG; 1.3: Πτολεμαῖ[ου] κ[α]ι[ι] Hazzard; 1.4: [θεῶν] Εὐε[ργ]έτων Lupu; 1.5: θεοῦ Πτο[λε]μα[ί]ου Lifshitz, καὶ Πτο[λε]μαί[ου] Lupu; 1.5f. [νίκης ἔνεκα το]ῦ βασιλέως | [πρὸς Ἀντίοχ]ον Hazzard; 1.7: Hazzard expects Anaxicles' father's name in first lacuna; 1.7f.: τοῦ βασι[λ]έως ἀνέθεκεν vacat] Lifshitz; τοῦ βασι[λ]έως ...] Lupu, who thought of ἐτίμεσεν or no verb at all; τοῦ βασι[λ]έως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος ἀνέθεκεν] Hazzard; the space at the end of 1.7 is sufficient for βασι[λ]έως] (cf. the end of 1.2); 1.8: perhaps the name of a deity or a date?

Most probably after the battle of Raphia, 217 BC, Huß 1977 et al.; cf. SEG 8, 467 on the time Ptolemaeus IV spent in Syria after Raphia.

1.1ff.: title and filiation identify the king as Ptolemaeus IV; Huß 1977, 140 points out that it is a specifically Semitic custom to put not only the father, but also the mother and the grandfather of the honored king on the stone. This is the first inscription which uses the title βασιλεὺς μέγας for Ptolemaeus IV; see Huß 1977: the title, derived from that of the Persian kings, is equivalent to βασιλεὺς βασιλέων; it is usually assumed that Antiochus III was the first Hellenistic king to adopt this title, but only after 205 BC; Huß therefore believes that this is no (late) reaction on the use of this title by a Seleucid, but a translation of the Phoenician 'dn mlkm (lord of the kings); Ptolemaeus II carried this title already in 255/4 BC (Donner - Röllig, KAI 40), Ptolemaeus III in 222/1 (Donner - Röllig, KAI 19); other attestations of this title for Ptolemaic kings are not securely dated. If this is true, one cannot interpret the title as specifically connected with the victory at Raphia – but perhaps the civic cult was. For another priest in Methymna, see Habicht 109 n. 1, and for his cult in Samos, ibid. 111.

1.5f.: Hazzard's restoration seems overtly optimistic, but his reasons against the accepted text are at least worth looking at: a) short texts as these usually do not name the grandparents of the king; b) the mention of the grandfather alone is suspicious; usually, the grandparents are mentioned as a couple (cf. SEG 8, 467, 784; OGIS 54, 67), and the change from a couple to a single monarch "has no precedent for the Ptolemaic period", Hazzard 177; c) the correct name would be βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλαδέλφου; the first securely dated mention of the θεὸς Φιλάδελφος is from 165. - 1.6: the personal name Anaxicles is rather rare, and Huß 1977, 140 muses: "War dies sein ursprünglicher Name? Oder ist es denkbar, daß sich hinter Ἀναξικλῆς ein semitischer Name verbirgt – etwa 'dnrm, 'Adon ist erhaben'?"

The nature of this dedication escapes us; the stone could have been fixed to an altar or any other structure. Most commentators thought of a temple for Ptolemaeus IV, but Boffo was the first to deny this – which was in turn questioned by Horsley: “but could you have a priest without some kind of cult centre?” Therefore Notley 98 believes that the text “may have belonged to a Hellenistic temple”. A priest most certainly implies a cult and an altar, but not necessarily a temple. There is no reason to suppose that Anaxicles was the first priest of Ptolemaeus IV, nor that this dedication was one of his first acts as priest. We know next to nothing about the date of the stone – besides the fact that it must have been erected before Antiochus III became master of Coele Syria. (Sevenster 101 believes that Ptolemaeus IV instituted the cult, which is possible, but not necessary.)

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 78, 1962, 82ff. no. 6 pl. 10,4 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 20, 467; SB 8, 10160; Boffo, *Iscrizioni* 61ff. no. 4 (with bibl.); A. Berlin, *Biblical Archaeologist* 60, 1997, 15 (ph.); R. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy*, 2000, 176ff.; E. Lupu, *SCI* 22, 2003, 193-202 (ph.); SEG 53, 1846. – Cf. HA 2, 1962, 9 (Hebr.); J. Kaplan, *IEJ* 12, 1962, 150; id., *JQR* 54, 1963, 113; id., *Archaeology* 14, 1964, 276; BE 1964, 507; B. Lifshitz, *RB* 1965, 520f.; J. Sevenster, *Do you know Greek?*, 1968, 100f.; Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, 2nd ed. 1970; J. Kaplan, *Biblical Archaeologist* 35, 1972, 88; H. Kaplan - J. Kaplan, *EAEHL* 2, 1976, 540; W. Huß, *Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV.*, 1976; id., *ZDPV* 93, 1977, 131ff.; BE 1978, 88; 1979, 25; E. Lanciers, *APF* 34, 1988, 31; J. Kaplan - H. Ritter Kaplan, *NEAEHL* 2, 1993, 659; L. Koenen, in: A. Bulloch et al. eds., *Images and Ideologies*, 1993, 25ff.; G. Horsley, *Biblica* 79, 1998, 262; J. Kloppenborg Verbin, *JJS* 51, 2000, 271ff. (on Hellenistic and early Roman letter forms in general); O. Tal, *The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine*, 2006, 64 (text and ph.) (Hebr.); A. Fantalkin - O. Tal, *UF* 40, 2009, 253f. fig. 12; R. Notley, in: M. Peilstöcker - A. Burke eds., *The History and Archaeology of Jaffa* 1, 2011, 98 fig. 8,3.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

2173. Basis for an honorary statue of the senator Lucius Popillius Balbus under the emperor Claudius with Greek inscription

“A rectangular base, with mouldings round the top and bottom: on the top, six sinkings for securing the sculpture. On one side an inscription of six lines ..., fairly well cut ... Most of the moulding is broken away, and the surface of the stone rather worn” (Milne). Square lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*.
Meas.: h 48, w 63, d 75 cm; letters 2-3.7 cm (Milne).

Findspot: The inscription was seen in Egypt during Napoleon's campaign, and by Hamilton in Damietta (cf. Milne); it is alleged to have come from Berytus, but Lepsius saw it in Jaffa. The use of Greek makes Berytus, a Roman colony where the Latin language, at least in Claudius' time, would have been used for such an occasion, an unlikely provenance, in contrast to Jaffa, where Greek would have been used. Be this as it may, its removal from its original spot makes any polis between

Egypt and the Turkish south coast eligible. One may, for instance, suggest Tyrus (see Eilers 264).

Pres. loc.: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, inv. no. CG 33030 (brought from Damietta in 1902).

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝΠΟΠΙΛΛΙΟΝΒΑΛΒΟΝ
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΝΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ
ΤΟΝΠΑΤΡΩΝΑΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Λούκιον
Ποπίλλιον Βᾶλβον | πρεσβευτὴν
Τιβερίου | Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος |
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | τὸν πάτρωνα
τῆς πόλεως

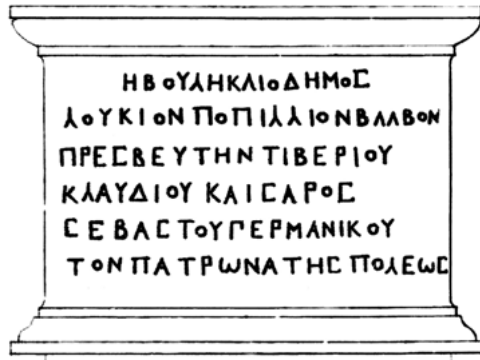


fig. 2173

*The council and the people honor Lucius Popillius Balbus, legate of Tiberius
Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, patron of the city (with a statue).*

Comm.: Although the provenance is unknown (see findspot), the dedication suggests a Greek polis with a council and an assembly of the people, which makes Jaffa, where the stone was seen, a possible provenance. The city honored Lucius Popillius Balbus, who was legate of the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD), as its patron. Since he is called πρεσβευτής without the addition of ἀντιστράτηγος, it is unlikely that he was governor of Syria, as some have suggested. On the other hand he might have been a legionary legate of one of the legions in Syria. Since Judaea was probably under Claudius part of the province of Syria, he could have had connections with Jaffa. He was closely related to the *duumvir* L. Popillius Balbus in Capua, perhaps even identical with him (Tortoriello 613f.; Camodeca 125).

Bibl.: W. Hamilton, *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey I. Aegyptiaca, or, Some Account of the Ancient and Modern State of Egypt, as Obtained in the Years 1801, 1802, 1809*, 385; G. Viscount of Valentia, *Voyages and Travels in India, Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806 III*, 1809, 416, 419 (edd. prr.). – Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités Planches 5, 1822, pl. 56 no. 27; J. Bailie, *Fasciculus inscriptionum graecarum potissimum ex Galatia, Lycia, Syria et Aegypto III*, 1849, 115f. no. 325; CIG 3, 4697b = 4529 + p. 1175; R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien XII*, 1855, pl. 100 Gr. 589; J. Milne, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Greek Inscriptions*, 1905, 14 no. 33030; IGR 3, 1209 (and 1540 under Berytus); A. Degraffi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, 1952, 14; Schürer 2, 113 n. 145; S. Applebaum, *SCI* 8/9, 1985/88, 138; PIR² ed. P 837; E. Dąbrowa, *The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus*, 1998, 214; C. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 2002, 264f.; A. Tortoriello, *I fasti consolari degli anni di Claudio*, 2004, 613f.; G. Camodeca, *CCG* 16, 2005, 125.

Photo: Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités Planches 5, 1822 pl. 56 no. 27.

B. Funerary inscriptions

2174.-2254. The ancient necropolis of Jaffa

The extensive system of burial caves uncovered in present-day Abu Kabir, about 1.5 kilometers southeast of Jaffa port, were part of a large, apparently exclusively Jewish necropolis in use from the late third or early fourth century through the sixth century CE. Its fullest extent is estimated at about 100 dunams (ca. 25 acres), but only a part of it, located mostly between Herzl and Kibbutz Galuyot streets, has been excavated, with the addition of certain single caves examined in other parts during salvage excavations. Most of the necropolis is buried under the modern city. There were other, more ancient burial grounds closer to Jaffa, mainly to the south and east of the city, used by Christians and Romans during the same period, but these have yielded no inscriptions.

The necropolis was first investigated by Charles Clermont-Ganneau for the Palestine Exploration Fund, beginning in 1873, by which time the caves were already being plundered by local residents for building materials. Many of the inscriptions found in the early decades of exploration were purchased and preserved by the eccentric antiquities collector, the Baron Platon von Ustinov, who resided in Jaffa 1878-1913. It is not known how many stones from the Jewish necropolis he eventually owned, but 26 of the 80 inscriptions published here are now located in the remnant of his collection in the Museum of Cultural History at the University of Oslo. The Russian Archimandrite Antonin (Andrei Ivanovich Kapustin) was also an enthusiastic collector of inscriptions, which he purchased from local residents; he also bought property in the heart of the ancient necropolis, known in local tradition as the Hill of Tabitha, which he excavated before building a church and compound. Conrad Schick described one tomb in these excavations in a letter in 1893, but most information about them is locked in the Archimandrite's extensive unpublished journals; likewise, the subsequent history and current location of most of the Russian collection of inscriptions from Jaffa are not known, at least to the CIIP editors.

Controlled excavations in Abu Kabir were carried out sporadically between 1950 and 1976 by Jacob Kaplan and Haya Ritter Kaplan, who never fully published their finds. Further discoveries were made in the 1980s and 1990s by Yosi Levi and others in salvage excavations. The Kaplans' field notes were collated and analyzed by Avner Ecker in his M.A. thesis at the Hebrew University (2010); he was able partially to reconstruct the archaeological context of certain inscriptions and shed light on the structure and functioning of the necropolis.

The caves in the necropolis were hewn out of the crumbling coastal Kurkar (Calcerite) stone of the hill. A typical complex consists of one to three chambers arranged around a central vestibule, each chamber containing loculi and sometimes arcosolia as well. The chambers are relatively small, no more than 2 m in

length and width and 1.8 m high. Bodies were placed directly inside the loculi or in wooden coffins; in some caves the evidence for secondary burial is unmistakable, but this was not the universal practice in Jaffa. Very often the slabs on which the epitaphs were inscribed are oddly shaped, in obvious secondary use.

Although the archaeological context of most of the inscriptions is unknown, it is clear from the few controlled excavations at the site and from information on the stones themselves that plots were acquired, used and maintained by families. This is known first of all from the several inscriptions mentioning family names, suggesting family burials (nos. 2179-2180, Kochathioi; no. 2186, Kozon; no. 2224, Barbabi; no. 2230, Taseleas). Furthermore, some texts indicate purchase and ownership of a cave or part of a cave designated for family burials, such as no. 2181, τόπος τὸν ἡγόρασα ἐγὼ Νόννος, in which the word τόπος signifies the chamber and not just a single burial; no. 2180, τόπος Ἰακωδες υἱοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Ἀλεξανδρέος Κοχαδων, mentioning the Kochathioi family, came from the same complex, and is associated with no. 2179, the epitaph of five members of the same family (Κοχχαθίων πέντε: but since this stone was pulled from the cave in the nineteenth century, its location within the tomb is unknown). Another example is no. 2190, Μνημῖον τῶν Βιζζου, the genitive plural article indicating that the tomb was for the family of Bizzus, whose own epitaph is no. 2189. The terms τόπος and μνημῖον seem to be used interchangeably, as well as other words for tomb in the Jaffa necropolis (μνήμα, μνημόριον, ἀνάπασις). Several inscriptions use the verb διαφέρειν to express ownership of the tomb (nos. 2186, 2217, 2218, 2228, 2236), and four other inscriptions name the person who arranged the purchase, using the preposition διὰ or παρὰ (nos. 2193, 2210, 2234, 2243). The most explicit statement of purchase and ownership is to be found in no. 2234, ἡγόρασα ἐγὼ Σαουλ ἐν τῇ Ἰόππῃ παρὰ Βαρουχίου μνήμα. ἀνεθίκαμεν πρῶτως Σαουλ καὶ Συνκλητικὴν, which seems in the first sentence to imitate the language of a purchase contract and in the second sentence clearly indicates that the tomb was intended for multiple burials. All inscriptions found *in situ* in modern excavations were found in the vestibules and had been attached above the entrance to the chambers, indicating that ownership pertained to the chamber and not to the whole tomb complex. The inscriptions at the entrance to the chambers indicated both ownership and the identity of the deceased within, but surely individuals could be identified by separate inscriptions within each chamber as well (e.g., no. 2179, mentioning five members of the Kochathioi family, could have been placed inside the chamber marked by no. 2180, declaring the family's ownership of the plot).

In contrast to the contemporary Jewish necropolis at Beth She'arim, which incorporated burials of Jews from throughout the eastern diaspora, the Jaffa necropolis seems to have been used primarily by the local population. Two inscriptions mention Jaffa itself (nos. 2227, 2234), each for special reasons; in general it must have been thought superfluous to do so. There are indeed a significant number of epitaphs of Jews from Egypt and other foreign places. As many as 12 of the present

corpus *may* mention places in Egypt (depending on restoration and interpretation: nos. 2180, 2182, 2191, 2196, 2197, 2202, 2213, 2237, 2240, 2243, 2246, 2248), but these seem to represent an actual community of Egyptian Jews living in Jaffa (see J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 215-31), and no. 2203 apparently mentions a community or synagogue of Cappadocian Jews in Jaffa. Thus unlike Beth She'arim, Jaffa contained communities of Jews who settled in the city but was not a place sought out by foreign Jews for sentimental burial in the Holy Land.

These inscriptions represent practically the only testimony of Jewish life in Jaffa during the third to sixth centuries. Most of the inscriptions are in Greek, while there are eight in wholly Hebrew and/or Aramaic and five bilingual texts (discounting the Greek inscriptions with the word *shalom* added in Hebrew letters at the end); the absence of specific information regarding the physical placement of Semitic inscriptions in relation to Greek ones is particularly unfortunate. The Greek shows the non-standard orthography and grammar typical of the period.

Certain titles of positions within the Jewish community are mentioned, their actual function known by comparison with the same titles elsewhere. Possibly two individuals are identified as *phrontistes* (no. 2204), a title associated more with Jewish communities abroad (see no. 2196 and comm.), and four others held the title *presbyteros* or *presbeutes* (nos. 2176, 2177, 2189, 2203), which seem to have been internal to the Jewish community. There are, in comparison with Beth She'arim, relatively few priests (nos. 2178, 2202) and rabbis (nos. 2197, 2205); a certain Judah mentioned in no. 2200 was both a priest and a rabbi, which interestingly we learn only from the Semitic part of his bilingual epitaph. The only evidence from the necropolis for the involvement of Jews in the Roman administration is found in two inscriptions: no. 2240, a certain Thanum who saw fit to record his grandfather's position as *centenarius*, a low-ranking Roman officer; and no. 2177, the epitaph of Eusebius who was a *magistrianius* as well as *presbeutes*, the former a low-level post under the aegis of the *magister officiorum* (and note no. 2259, a mold for a weight from 105/6 CE with an agoranomos named Iudas, pre-dating the necropolis). Other than these titles and positions, relatively modest professions are recorded: two bakers (nos. 2182, 2220), a linen merchant (no. 2203), a carder and cumin seller (no. 2212), a peddler (no. 2213), and a simple laborer (ἐργάτης, no. 2217), as well as a fishermen's association, unsurprising for Jaffa (no. 2227). These data on Jewish life in Roman Jaffa are meager, but valuable in the absence of literary or other sorts of evidence.

2174.-2175. Burial cave near Herzl Street

Two inscriptions were found in salvage excavations carried out by Y. Levi in 1991 near Herzl Street, Tel Aviv; this area lies within the ancient necropolis of Jaffa. The cave ("Cave D") consisted of a square chamber with loculi hewn into three walls.

The cave had been robbed in the past. Each of the inscriptions was found on the floor but had been affixed to identifiable sockets in the walls, above loculi. The ceramic finds in the cave date from the 4-5 c. CE. The inscriptions will be fully published in the final archaeological report and appear here with the kind permission of Y. Levi.

2174. Aramaic epitaph of Cyra daughter of Ḥalfon, 4-5 c. CE

White marble plaque, smoothed front, back has two parallel grooves from former use, right edge smoothed, other three sides chipped. Three-line Aramaic inscription, shallowly incised open *alef*, *he* and *qof*, round *pe*, spikes on *yod* and *lamed*. On the left side of the text, a lulav extending the whole length of the text.
Meas.: h 22.5, w 22.5, d 3 cm; letters 3-5.5 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2174-2175.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1992-1510/1994-1015. Autopsy: 20 November 2001 and 11 March 2012.

קִירָא
בִּרְתָּהּ
דְּחַלְפֹן

Translit.: qyr' | brth | dhlpwn

Cyra daughter of Ḥalfon.



fig. 2174

Comm.: On the name Cyra (Kyra, clearly not a title here), see comm. ad no. 2227. The name חַלְפֹן *hlpwn* occurs in a late midrash (Gen.R. 19,7); חַלְפֹּ *hlpw* is recorded in two synagogue inscriptions (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 18f.), and the name חַלְפִּי *hlp̄y* in another (ibid. 70). This name is certainly related to חַלְפִּיא *hlp̄y'* and חַלְפִּתָּא *hlp̄t'*, which occur frequently in documentary and rabbinic sources, see Kosovsky, Jer. and Kosovsky, Bab., s.v.; papyri P.Mur 22 and 24 with Yardeni, Textbook I 47, 107; CIIP I 224 (possibly); Ilan, Lexicon I 381ff. Αλαφθα in no. 2183 this vol. is the same name. For similar names in Palmyra and among Nabataeans, see Stark 88 and Negev, Personal Names 448.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

**2175. Epitaph of Nonna (daughter or wife of?) Barnile
with Greek inscription, 4-5 c. CE**

White marble plaque, polished front and smoothed back, two-line Greek inscription, centered, letters incised with ragged lines of uneven depth; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon*on.

Meas.: h 19.5, w 26, d 2.5 cm; letters 2.5-3.5 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2174-2175.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1992-1863/1994-1016. Autopsy: 20 November 2001 and 11 March 2012.

NONNA
BAPNIAE

Νόννα | Βαρνίλε

Nonna (daughter/wife of?) Barnile.



fig. 2175

Comm.: This inscription, consisting of only two words, can be interpreted in several different ways. Nonna is probably, but not certainly, the name of a woman; in the only parallel from Jaffa, no. 2245, Ζοείλος υἱὸς Λεὺι ἡ καὶ μήτηρ Νόννα, the name is definitely that of a woman, perforce from a different cave; and the masculine form Nonnus occurs at nos. 2181 and 2188. A woman named Nonna is also found on an amulet of unknown provenance, ברתה דמגלי [נונ] nwn[h] brth dmgly (J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae*, 1993, 85ff.). Similarly, Jewish women named Nonna are recorded on epitaphs from Lycaonia (Ameling, IJO II 225, with parallels from Asia Minor listed in comm.) and Cyrenaica (Lüderitz - Reynolds 44k). Nonna Sarcogna appears in a late inscription from Milan, doubtfully Jewish (JIWE I 201). It is worth noting that νάννα and νάννη mean aunt.

Βαρνίλε = bar+Nile = “son of Nile”. The two components could have melded into a single name (as rendered), thus either preserving the name of an ancestor as a family name, or a nickname reflecting a personal characteristic. Νεῖλος, נילוס *nylws*, from the Nile may signify “Egyptian”; this personal name occurs in Palestine: A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, 1981 nos. 81, 83, 85; also a papyrus, P.Hever 72. It also occurs frequently elsewhere, especially Egypt: Hagedorn, *Wörterlisten* 79; Preisigke, NB 227; Foraboschi 203; SEG 8, 648; 30, 1718; 32, 1567; 46, 2170; 47, 612 etc. If Βαρνίλε reflects a personal characteristic, then perhaps from Aramaic ניל *nywl*, “ugliness”, i.e., he was ugly, or possibly (mixing languages) Greek νηλής, he was a rough character. Note Nabataean ניל *nyl*, Negev, *Personal Names* 729.

Thus assuming Nonna is a woman's name, the inscription should be understood, “Nonna wife/daughter of Barnile”. On the slight chance that Nonna was a

man, then Βαρνιλε could be either a second name or a patronym, “Nonna son of Barnile”; or Barnile can be rendered literally, “Nonna son of Nile”. Finally, the epitaph could be that of two persons, Nonna and Barnile.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

2176.-2178. Burial site at Abu Kabir

Three inscriptions were found in salvage excavations carried out by Y. Levi in Abu Kabir, the site of the ancient necropolis of Jaffa, in 1989. The inscriptions will be fully published in the final archaeological report and appear here with the kind permission of Y. Levi.

2176. Greek funerary inscription of Eusebius presbeutes, 3-6 c. CE

Marble slab, polished face, rough unfinished back. Three lines of Greek, deeply incised, traces of red in some letters; round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, cursive *mu*, *upsilon* with stem. Large space beneath text.

Meas.: h 59, w 44, d 4 cm; letters 4-5 cm.

Findspot: See Introduction to nos. 2176-2178.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1989-2419. Autopsy: 4 November 2001 and 14 May 2012.

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΟΥ
ΕΜΕΣΤΗΝΟΥ

Εὐσεβίου | πρεσβευτοῦ |
Ἑμεσ(τ)ηνοῦ

(Tomb) of Eusebius presbeutes
from Emesa.

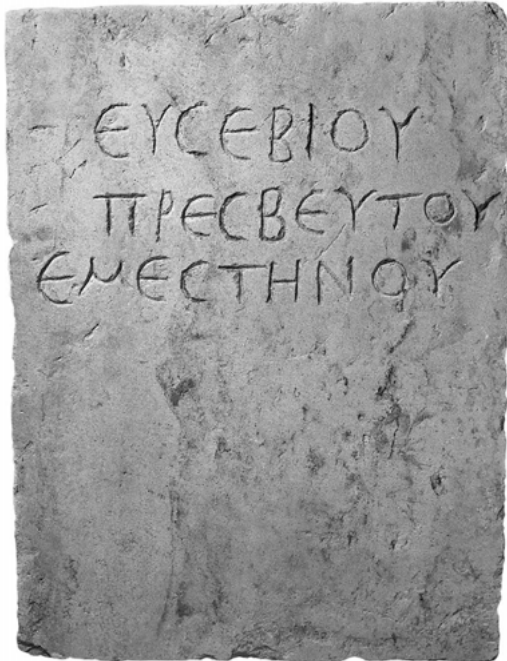


fig. 2176

Comm.: The large margin beneath the text perhaps indicates the intention to add more names. Eusebius was a name used widely by pagans, Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity. Note the epitaph with the same personal name found in the same excavations (no. 2177); the relation between the two stones should be clarified in the final excavation report. Eusebius' role as *πρεσβευτής* could have been as some sort of ambassador or messenger, according to the literal meaning of the word, equivalent to *legatus*, see H. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, 1974, 78; but more likely, it means here an elder, equivalent of *πρεσβύτερος*, within his local community; see identical title at no. 2189, and comm. there. *Ἐμεστηνός* is unattested, but without the *tau* it is intelligible as the ethnic designation of someone from Emesa, in Syria.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

JJP

2177. Greek and Hebrew funerary inscription of Eusebius, magistrianus and presbeutes, 3-5 c. CE

Marble plaque, polished face, rough unfinished back, edges smoothed; traces of red on face of stone. Five-line inscription shallowly incised, consisting of four lines of Greek, fifth line with Greek and Hebrew. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar sloping down to left; round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; uncial *zeta*; cursive *mu*; v-shaped *upsilon* with very small stem. Lulav at end of last line.

Meas.: h 20, w 20, d 2 cm; letters 2-2.5 cm.

Findspot: See Introduction to nos. 2176-2178.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1989-2417. Autopsy: 4 November 2001.

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ
ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΙ
ΑΝΟΥΚΑΙ
ΠΡΕΖΒΕΥ
ΤΟΥ שְׁלוֹם

Εὐσεβίου | μαγιστρι|ανοῦ καὶ |
πρεζβευ|τοῦ. שְׁלוֹם

Translit.: šlw̄m

(Tomb) of Eusebius, magistrianus and presbeutes. Peace.

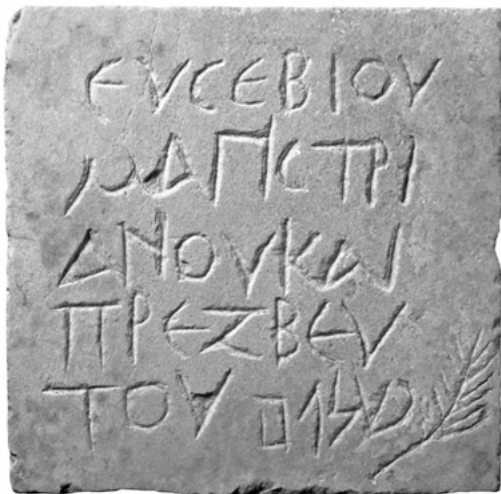


fig. 2177

Comm.: Eusebius' first title refers to a post in the Roman administration and the second probably to a position within the Jewish community. Magistrianius was an administrative position counted among the *agentes in rebus*, under the aegis of the *magister officiorum*; the *agentes in rebus* had tasks ranging from courier to informer; see Cod. Iust. 12,60,7,2; P. Oxy. 904.2; Jones, LRE 578ff. A *magistrianius* is mentioned in an inscription from Caesarea, CIIP II 1336, but unlike that person, who was the "chief of the provincial officium" (see Ameling's comm. ad loc.), the one here was more likely a lower-ranking official responsible for mundane tasks. Other *magistriani* in Iudaea/Palaestina are recorded at Beth Yerah (Philoteria), Ovadiah, MPI 51; and Ḥammath Gader, L. Di Segni, in: Y. Hirschfeld ed., The Roman Baths of Hammat Gader, 1997, 185-266 nos. 26, 32; also Gerasa, cf. C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling ed., Gerasa, 1938, 469f. nos. 277, 278. The Jews were banned from civil and military posts in 418 (Cod. Theod. 16,8,24), so that this inscription has to be earlier than that date. On the title *presbeutes* see nos. 2176 and 2189, comm. ad locc. The interchange of σ with ζ before a voiced consonant, as in $\pi\rho\epsilon\zeta\beta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, is typical of Greek in the Byzantine period, see Gignac I 120ff.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

JJP

2178. Hebrew and Greek funerary inscription of Yehuda the priest, 3-4 c. CE

Marble plaque, polished front and back; right side has remains of a drilled hole, with two grid lines on either side, from a previous use. Four-line inscription, shallowly incised, two lines of square Hebrew script followed by two lines of Greek. Hebrew: closed *he* with spikes in l.1, open without spikes in l.2; medial for final *nun* l.1, final *nuns* in l.2. Greek: unusual cursive *alpha*, rounded *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, first *upsilon* in l.1 without stem, the next two have stems, tall *rho* with small loop.

Meas.: h 14.5, w 22.5, d 2 cm; letters (both Greek and Hebrew) 1-2 cm.

Findspot: See Introduction to nos. 2176-2178.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1989-2418. Autopsy: 2 November 2001.

יהודה הכהן

בן כהן

ΙΟΥΔΑΣΙΕΡΕΟΥΣ

ΟΠΙΟΣΙΕΡΕΟΥ



fig. 2178

יהודה הכהן | בן כהן
 Ἰουδᾶς ἱερέους | οἰδὸς ἱερέου.

Translit.: yhwdh hkhn | bn khn

Yehuda the priest, son of a priest. Iudas (the) priest, son of a priest.

Comm.: Hebrew and Greek texts have identical content. It is possible, given the differences in the forms of the letters, mainly *he* and final *nun*, that the second line of Hebrew was added by a different hand. The Greek, by contrast, was incised by the same hand, judging from the uniform, hyper-extended *iotas* and consistent chisel marks. Spelling irregularities in the Greek – εους for εως and ου- for υι- – are well-documented shifts in this period, see Gignac I 215, 207, 273ff.; οἰδὸς occurs in no. 2229 this vol.

It is odd that Yehuda's father would be identified as a priest, without his name being given. The phrase as such does not appear in rabbinic literature. It is true that כהן *khn* and כהנא *khn* are names of sages in rabbinic literature (Kosovsky, Jer. 472ff., Kosovsky, Bab. 959-70), and that Ἱερεύς occurs as a name in (non-Jewish) documentary and rare literary texts (Hagedorn, Wörterlisten 56; SEG 40, 975 [3 c. BCE], Pape, WGE 537), and moreover that many Greek names begin with Ἱερ- (nearly 80 different Ἱερ- names listed in LGPN, s.v.) – but a personal name cannot be the solution here because of the different words used in Hebrew and Greek indicating the same thing, a title (unless it is presumed, improbably, that the man was called both Hiereus and Kohen, depending on the language being spoken). It could be that, if “priest” had achieved formal status as a title in the synagogue, the son was simply indicating his own and his father's status; on priests in Palestine in the Late Roman period, see comm. ad no. 2202. Yet it should be remembered that the inscription was intended for a closed, private setting, so that public display and honor are not a question here. If the father had been known for important achievements in his role as priest, he could have been called “priest” as a kind of nickname of affection and respect. Instructive are the two related ossuaries from Jerusalem, CIIP I 70 and 72: “Ḥananiya son of Yehonatan the Nazirite” and “Shalom wife of Ḥananiya son of the Nazirite”: in the second inscription the father was identified only by his most distinctive social characteristic. See in general on “nameless people”, J. Naveh, IEJ 40, 1990, 108-23.

The semi-formal Hebrew script may be dated to the 3-4 c. CE.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Cf. D. Noy, in: J. Richardson – F. Santangelo eds., *Priests and State in the Roman World*, 2011, 320ff.

Photo: IAA.

2179.-2181. Rock-cut tomb south of Kibbutz Galuyot Street

Two of the following three inscriptions were found together in 1976 by J. Kaplan and H. Ritter Kaplan in a rock-cut tomb (Cave D) south of Kibbutz Galuyot Street. The excavations were never properly published, and the information here is taken from the analysis of the Kaplans' field notes by A. Ecker in his MA thesis, *The Abu Kabir Necropolis of Jaffa*, The Hebrew University 2010. The burial cave consisted of a sunken courtyard leading to two burial chambers with loculi, and two other loculi accessed directly from the courtyard.

2179. Funerary inscription of the mother of Abudemmus, Samuel and Zenon with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE

White marble plaque, smooth front and unfinished back; left and right side chipped but margins of text preserved. Seven-line deeply incised inscription, first six lines in Greek, l.7 with Greek and Jewish script; ruled lines or grooves between ll.1-2 and 3-4. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar and hyper-extended right leg (ll.1, 5) and in cursive form (passim); *delta* and *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; cursive and capital *mu*; *nu* with inconsistently placed cross-bar; *upsilon* with long stem.

Meas.: h 29.5, w 34, d 5.5 cm; letters 3.5 cm.

Findspot: See Introduction to nos. 2179-2181.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41658. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣΜΗΤΡΟΣ
ΑΒΟΥΔΕΜΜΟΥΚΑΙ
ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛΟΣΚΑΙΖΗ
ΝΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΕΝΟΥΣ
ΑΥΤΩΝΚΕΑΔΕΛΦΗΣ
ΑΥΤΩΝΚΟΧΧΑΘΙΩΝ
שלום אבודם + ΠΕΝΤΕ



fig. 2179.1

Ἀνάπαυσις μητρὸς | Ἀβουδεμμου καὶ | Σαμουῆλος καὶ Ζή|ωνος καὶ τοῦ γένους |
αὐτῶν κὲ ἀδελφῆς | αὐτῶν, Κοχχαθίων | πέντε. +מדימם ושל

Translit.: šlwm 'bwdm+

Resting-place of the mother of Abudemmus and Samuel and Zenon and their family and their sister, five (members) of (the) Kochathioi (family). Peace. Abudemus(?).

Comm.: The word ἀνάπαυσις, “resting-place”, is unique in surviving Jewish inscriptions from Iudaea/Palaestina, thus it may be an imported epigraphic custom; compare another unique feature indicating a foreign epigraphic custom in no. 2180, which is probably related to this inscription. The term ἀνάπαυσις is used to mean “repose” but not “resting-place” in Christian inscriptions from Jerusalem (CIIP I 819, 825, 841,



fig. 2179.2

902, 922, 930, 1034), Sycamina (CIIP II 2147), and elsewhere in Iudaea/Palaestina (J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 203-15 at 204f., 212; SEG 8, 42; SEG 26, 1676; SEG 37, 1484; SEG 52, 1663; SEG 54, 1663; et cetera plura); in Jewish inscriptions from the diaspora it appears in Noy, IJO I, BS 13; Ameling, IJO II 248; Y. Le Bohec, AntAfr 17, 1981, 165-207 at 173 no. 4; CIJ II 877 (Christian?), but again, as in Christian epitaphs, all in the sense of “repose”. Noy, IJO I, p. 290, points out that in the LXX, it means both “rest” and “resting-place”; also in the NT, e.g. Mt 12,43.

Κοχχαθίων seems to be the same name as Κοχχαδων in no. 2180, both genitive plural; the variants, i.e. an interchange of δ and θ (cf. Petrounias, History of Ancient Greek 606 Tb. VI), and an additional *chi* and a *iota* at the end here, are not significant enough to mark a different name; thus the family members were called Kochathioi or Kochadoi. Clermont-Ganneau's suggested interpretation, κὲ ἀδελφῆς αὐτῶν Κόχχα(ς), (ὁ)ῶν πέντε, “and their sister Kochas, (her) five sons”, makes the identities of the deceased even more obscure (and whose five children would they be?). Lidzbarski's Κοχχαβίων renders a different unique name and requires the unlikely interchange of θ and β. Another remote possibility is that Κοχχαθίων is not a name but a mangled version of the Hebrew word *kokh* = *loculus*, but this cannot be the explanation of Κοχχαδων in no. 2180.

The circumstances of the discovery of the present inscription are not known, but since no. 2180 was fixed to the entrance of a burial chamber containing six

loculi, and since the “five Kochathioi” here together with Iaco mentioned in no. 2180 could account for the six loculi, it is logical to think that the present text was placed somewhere inside the chamber or *τόπος* mentioned in no. 2180, but this does not rule out a second burial cave of the same family; the stone would have been removed from the cave before it was converted into a cesspit in the 19 c., with no. 2180 left attached on the outside. The two inscriptions are not paleographically similar. The absence of a patronym here is notable, but it is definite that Iaco in no. 2180 was the patriarch of the entire clan.

The present text is not entirely clear about whom it is commemorating, but the three named males, together with the unnamed mother and sister, amount to the five members of the Kochathioi family mentioned in ll.6-7; that Abudemmus was one of the deceased is confirmed by his Hebrew name in l.7; this leaves obscure, however, the meaning of *καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν* in ll.4-5, perhaps referring to children, as well as the question whether the mother belongs just to Abudemmus or to the others as well. It may be that each of the loculi in the tomb had other labels indicating who was placed inside each one.

Clearly the Greek name Abudemmus is the same as Hebrew *'bwdm+*, but the last Hebrew letter is unclear; Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, Klein (JPCI and 1939) and Frey (CIJ) all read *samekh* (it does not seem to be a *yod*). The name occurs as *Ἀβουδεμος* in the synagogue inscription at Hammath Tiberias, see Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions, no. 16. It resembles names in rabbinic literature, such as *אבדימוס*, *אבודימי*, *אבדימא*, *אבדומה*, *'bdwmh*, *'bdym*, *'bwdymy*, *'bdymws*, see Kosovsky, Yer. 24-5 and Kosovsky, Bab. 20. The first element, Abu-, conforms to the many Jewish names based on *אב* *'b* “father”. The second part may also be Semitic; note Nabataean *דמס* *dms*, Negev, Personal Names no. 278. Yet it could be that the Hebrew name *אבדימוס* *'bdymws* + varr. originally reflected a Greek name such as *Εὐδημος*, and was reconstituted in Greek as *Ἀβουδεμμος* in imitation of the Hebrew letters and/or pronunciation. Gen.R. 85,5 explains the name as meaning, “resembling the mother”, which S. Klein, Leshonenu 1, 1929, 328 n. 2, re-reads as “resembling the father”; both are fanciful; see Ilan, Lexicon I 280 n. 13. Finally, Clermont-Ganneau (1901) mentions the theory that the name reflects a form meaning “father of his mother”, like other Syriac names based on family relationships.

Σαμουῆλος is mistakenly in the nominative instead of the genitive. The Greek name Zenon was in frequent use by Jews outside of Iudaea/Palaestina, see Ilan, Lexicon III 281-3, but also I 281.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 116f. no. 15. (ed. pr.). – Id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 144f. no. 15, 218-24 at 220; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 189; Klein, JPCI no. 119; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschnamen 8; S. Klein, MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74 at 373 n. 5; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 80 no. 9* (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 903; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 2, 130; G. Mussies, in: Safrai - Stern 2, 1040-64 at 1052.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

2180. Tomb of Iaco (?) son of Olympius with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Yellowish white square marble plaque, smoothed front and back, right side broken and other edges chipped but all text preserved. Five-line Greek inscription, letters deeply incised and highly stylized with flowing lines and exaggerated serifs, relatively large lulav and hedera beneath text; *alpha* with broken cross-bar extending beneath the right and left legs; *alpha*, *delta* and *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *mu* with loop for middle hastae; *upsilon* with small stem.

Meas.: h 22, w 22, d 2.5 cm; letters 1.5-2.5 cm.

Findspot: See Introduction to nos. 2179-2181.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1995-135. Autopsy: 2001 and 2012.

ΤΟΠΟΣΙΑΚΩ
ΔΕΣΥΙΟΥ
ΛΥΜΠΙΟΥΑΛΕ
ΞΑΝΔΡΕΟΣΚΟ
ΧΑΔΩΝΕΣΤ

τόπος Ἰακω|δες υἱοῦ
Ὀ|λυμπίου Ἀλε|ξανδρέος
Κο|χαδων, ἐ(τῶν) ξγ'

*Tomb of Iaco (?) son of
Olympius, Alexandrian,
of (the family) of (the)
Kochadoi, 63 years old.*



fig. 2180

Comm.: This inscription was discovered in the same burial complex as

no. 2181, see comm. there. It was attached over the entrance to the southern burial chamber, containing six loculi (based on Kaplan's field notes, analyzed by A. Ecker in his MA thesis). It indicated ownership of that part of the complex and (presumably) its use by the family named in the inscription. Unlike no. 2181, however, this inscription provides more information than is needed merely for claim of ownership, and may have served as an epitaph as well. Kochadoi is the presumed family name from genitive Κοχαδων ll.4-5, and is likely to be the same family name as Κοχχαθιοι recorded in no. 2179, mentioning Κοχχαθιων πέντε, "five Kochathioi"; it is suggested (cf. Ecker) that the present inscription marked the burial chamber or τόπος containing the rest of the family in the six loculi, see comm. ad no. 2179; much information was lost when the whole burial complex was used as a cesspit in

the 19 c. Iaco would have arranged for the tomb, even paid for it. Note the mix of Hebrew and Greek names in both no. 2179 and the present text.

Ἰακωδῆς has no exact parallel, and it is uncertain whether to understand it as an indeclinable name or as a genitive of Ἰακω, a name attested in Jaffa (nos. 2192, 2210, 2212 and 2237, see comm. to no. 2192), in Beth She'arim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 83, 126, 130, 203) and elsewhere outside Iudaea/Palaestina (Ilan, Lexicon III 122f.); on $\omicron > \epsilon$, see Gignac I 289f. In either case, the name is a hypocoristic of Ya'akov (Jacob). The father's common Greek name is attested for Jews in the Diaspora, see Ilan, Lexicon III 347; an Olympus appears on an inscription from the synagogue at Caesarea, CIIP II 1143, and elsewhere in the Jewish diaspora, see comm. ad loc.

This is the only indication of the age of the deceased among the surviving inscriptions from Jaffa, indicating perhaps an imported epigraphic custom.

Bibl.: J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 215-31 at 224ff. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 53, 1850; BE 2004, 393; Feissel, Chroniques 226 no. 722.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

2181. Burial place bought by Nonnus with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Yellowish-white limestone slab, arched top edge, smoothed front and back, rough unfinished edges. Two-line shallowly incised Greek inscription, centered on stone face, no word broken over lines. Letters evenly formed: *alpha* with cross-bar sloping down to the right; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*. Lulav at end of l.2.

Meas.: h 22, w 50, d 4 cm; letters 1-2 cm.

Findspot: See Introduction to nos. 2179-2181.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1995-137. Autopsy: 2001 and 2012.

ΤΟΠΙΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΗΓΟΡΑΣΑ
ΕΓΩ ΝΟΝΝΟΣ

τόπος τὸν ἡγόρασα | ἐγὼ
Νόννος



*The burial place which I,
Nonnus, bought.*

fig. 2181

Comm.: The inscription was attached to the wall over the entrance to the western chamber, containing 10 loculi; the inscription marked ownership of that part of

the burial-cave, the whole chamber being called a *τόπος*; thus this inscription was probably put in place during Nonnus' lifetime; see the introduction to the Jaffa necropolis. On the name Nonnus, see comm. to no. 2188. Note the lack of a patronym: the purpose of the stone was to identify ownership, not public display.

Bibl.: J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 215-31 at 221f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 53, 1848; BE 2004, 393; Feissel, Chroniques 226 no. 722.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

2182. Greek funerary inscription of Abbomari son of A(h)a, 3-6 c. CE

Seven pieces of a white marble slab fitted back together, polished front, unfinished back; left side missing but text can be restored from ed. pr. which shows full tabula ansata; ruled lines of frame above and below; wide blank margin at bottom. A well-executed three-line Greek inscription within incised tabula ansata, lulav at end of l.2. *Alpha* with broken v-shaped cross-bar extending to bottom of line; rounded *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; *mu* with curved line representing two middle bars; *upsilon* with long stem; disproportionately large *kappa* in l.3. Line-ends correspond with word-ends.

Meas.: h 40, w 54.5, d 7 cm; tabula ansata: h 14.5, w 31 cm; letters 2.5-4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41725. Autopsy: 5 August 2003.

ABBOMAPIYIOYAA
ΛΕΥΕΙΤΗΣ
ΒΑΒΕΛΗΣΑΡΤΟΚΟ

Ἀββομαρι υἱοῦ Ἀα | Λευεΐτης |
Βαβέλῃς ἀρτοκό(πος)

*Abbomari son of A(h)a, Lev-
ite, from Babel, baker.*

Comm.: Euting's and Clermont-Ganneau's drawings show the whole stone with the inscription before it was broken, and confirm that the inscription in its present state is complete except for the third line, where a B has to be restored. The whole stone was 80 cm high and had a



fig. 2182.1

large blank space beneath the tabula ansata, with a perforation (see fig. 3); the unfinished back indicates that it might have been built into a structure; it is almost definitely an epitaph.

Αββομαρι is a Semitic name found elsewhere at Jaffa, see comm. to no. 2230.

Although υιοῦ is genitive, Αββομαρι is probably intended as nominative (even if indeclinable) since Λευεῖτης and (apparently) Βαβέλης are nominative; thus the inscriber seems to have made a mistake with the case of υιοῦ, thinking already ahead to the father's name, which was necessarily genitive, or perhaps thinking of the Hebrew or Aramaic construct form "son of -".

Clermont-Ganneau parsed ll.1-3: Ἀαλεὺ τῆς Βαβέλῃς, the first name a phonetic imitation of Hebrew לוי *hlwy*, but this would be highly unusual. The father's name Ἀα, also indeclinable, is best explained as Αἷα, a name of several rabbinic sages, see Margalioth, *Encyclopedia* I 68-80, Kosovsky, *Yer.* 70ff. and Kosovsky, *Bab.* 128ff.; and in an earlier period, on three ossuaries from Jerusalem, CIIP I 67, 78 and 248; Ilan, *Lexicon* I 61f. Jews designated their status as Levites throughout antiquity, for examples in synagogue inscriptions see Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 1, 33, 80, 82; Weiss, *Sepphoris Synagogue* 205f.

no. 6; Ameling, *IJO* II 224; Noy - Bloedhorn, *IJO* III Syr91. This inscription uses the regular Greek term Λευεῖτης (Euting: Λευεῖτες). The title was, so far as is known, an



fig. 2182.2

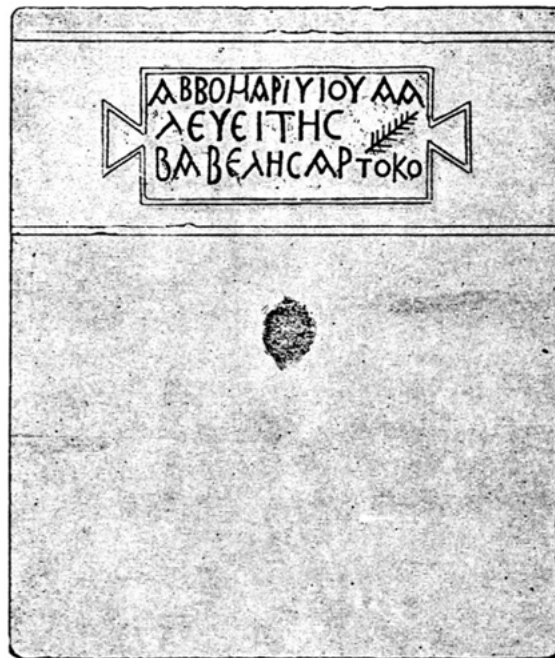


fig. 2182.3

honorary distinction with no significant function in the synagogue or other local institutions; see Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz - Z. Weiss eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?*, 2012, 91-111 at 101ff. Levi as a personal name appears in the Jaffa necropolis at nos. 2194 and 2245, and frequently in Israel and the Diaspora, see Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 14; Ilan, *Lexicon* I 182-5, III 134f., IV 102f.

A baker was not necessarily a poor man's profession. Note another baker in Jaffa in no. 2220.

Βαβέλῃς seems to refer to Babylon, but whether this is Mesopotamian Babylon or the city Babylon in Egypt (present-day Cairo), as Clermont-Ganneau (ARP II and 1901) thought, remains uncertain.

The structure of the inscription – Jewish title, place of origin, profession – is identical in no. 2203, q.v.

Bibl.: Euting 684 no. 72; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 141ff. no. 3 (edd. prr.). – Id., PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 110 no. 4; id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 139 no. 4, 219f.; S. Cook, PEQ 41, 1909, 232f. at 232; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295 no. 13; Klein, JPCI no. 120; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 83 no. 28 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 902; V. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt*, 1963, 23 (Hebr.); Keel – Küchler 18f. no. 9; van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* 96, 99ff.; JIGRE 145; Williams, *Jews* 77 no. III.46; Rajak, *Dialogue* 492; Ameling, IJO II p. 532.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 141 (dr.).

JJP

2183. Epitaph of Alaphtha son of Huanas (?) with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE

White marble plaque, upper right and lower left corners broken but all margins of text preserved; polished front, unworked back. Three lines of Greek deeply incised by professional hand; grid lines above and below each line of script; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with small stem; serifs on most letters. Hebrew *shin* (highly stylized) and *alef* at either end of l.3.

Meas.: h 20, w 27, d 2.6 cm; letters 2.8 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41673.

Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΑΛΑΦΘΑ
ΥΙΟΣ ΨΑΝΑ
Ω ΔΟΣ Ν



fig. 2183.1

Αλαφθα | υἱὸς Ὑαναδος.
(למ)ש , (מנ)א

Translit.: š(lwm) ΔΟΣ ᾿(mn)

Alaphtha son of Huanas(?).
Amen. Peace.

Comm.: Αλαφθα almost certainly reflects the name אלתפּתּ *Ḥlptʿ*, see comm. on מןלפּתּ *Ḥlpwn* in no. 2174; the name Αλαφθα is found also on an inscription from the Golan (Gregg - Urman 129), with variations in other inscriptions from there (ibid. 136, 160, 176, 213). Whether the deceased pronounced his name with an aspirated *alpha* cannot, of course, be known. The father's name is probably also Semitic (but not commented on by Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen*, who included this Αλαφθα in his catalogue); it seems to be in genitive, thus possibly Ὑανας. Given the competence of the inscriber, the likelihood of a spelling mistake is lower. Since *iota* interchanges regularly with *upsilon* in this period (Gignac I 269ff.), the name may be connected to Hebrew ינאי *ynʿy* (Yannai) = Ἰανναῖος, as Clermont-Ganneau, Klein et al. have suggested; compare no. 2208. Yet note also the name Ἀννάς (in some mss. Ἰαννάς) recorded by Josephus (CA 1,80), albeit not for a Jew.

A curiosity: should the two Hebrew letters in the last line be interpreted “Amen. Shalom” or “Shalom. Amen”? Was the inscriber thinking right-left or left-right? Goodenough took ΔΟΣ as Greek imperative and rendered: “Give (him) peace. Amen.”

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEQ* 32, 1900, 110-20 at 120 no. 21 (ed. pr.). – Id., *RAO* 4, 1901, 138-51 at 149 no. 21; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I 191; Klein, *JPCI* no. 122; Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 16; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 81 no. 13 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 904; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* 2, 127f.; D. Urman, in: id. – P. Flesher eds., *Ancient Synagogues* 2, 1995, 373-617 at 418 ad no. 1.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2184. Greek epitaph of Amme, 3-6 c. CE

Small rectangular piece of marble, possibly a fragment of a larger inscription, containing four deeply incised Greek letters; *alpha* with broken cross-bar extending below the line, *mu* with loop for middle hastae (from photo).

Meas.: h 9, w 14 cm (Dussaud).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1280.

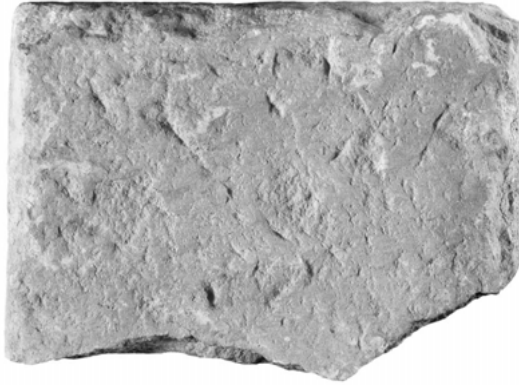


fig. 2183.2

[--?]AMMH[--?]

Ἀμμη

Amme.

Comm.: The attribution of this stone to the Jaffa necropolis is, like many others, reliant on Clermont-Ganneau's second-hand report. An epitaph with a single name is unusual for the Jaffa necropolis.



fig. 2184

The top edge of the stone is not straight and in the photo it looks broken, but there does not seem to be any text above the name. It is uncertain whether Ἀμμη represents a man or woman. There were rabbinic sages called אמי 'my, see Margalioth, Encyclopedia I 150-4, Kosovsky, Yer. 97 and Kosowsky, Bab. 259f. and 1530-7; Ilan, Lexicon III 332-5. Further, עמי 'my is a name found in P. Yadin 54 and on an ossuary (Y. Magen, Qadmoniot 34, 2001, 54 [Hebr.]). Yet it may also be a female name based on אמא 'm' "mother", as in no. 2214 (שלום מאמא šlwm m'm') from Jaffa, two ossuaries from Jerusalem (CIIP I 346 and 1119, see comm. ad locc.), and frequently elsewhere (Ilan, Lexicon III 409-12); Ἀμμη also recalls the Greek name Ἀμμία, used by Jews (CIIP I 361 and 410; Ilan, Lexicon III 401f.); and compare the many names based on אבא 'b' "father" in Jaffa, nos. 2182, 2187, 2222 and 2230.

Bibl.: Dussaud, Louvre 80 no. 106 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 189 no. 77; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 85 no. 42 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 906.

Photo: RMN - les frères Chuzeville, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre.

JJP

2185. Greek epitaph of Anna daughter/wife of Heilasius, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular slab of marble, two lines of Greek separated by a double line. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended right leg, rounded *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with prominent stem (from drawing).

Meas.: h 22, w 30, d 5 cm (Clermont-Ganneau, ARP).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

ANNAEI

ΛΑΣΙΟΥ

Ἄννα Εἰ|λασίου

Anna daughter/wife of Heilasius.



fig. 2185

Comm.: By the time he published this inscription in 1896, Clermont-Ganneau did not remember whether he found it himself or saw it among the possessions of the Russian Archimandrite (same with nos. 2188, 2204, 2229 and 2248). He commented, "The name Anna is indication enough of the Jewish origin of the deceased", which is not at all true; the name of her father or husband is also not definitively Jewish; clear information about provenance, which might have helped, is lacking. As a Jewish name, Anna is the form used by LXX and Josephus for the biblical name חַנָּה *ḥnh* Ḥannah, amply attested in inscriptions and papyri, see Ilan, Lexicon I 240f.; III 177f.; IV 140. The name of the father/husband is not common (LGPN 3a and 5a, s.v.); it is found in Jewish inscriptions at Sardis (Ameling, IJO II 66; see Ameling comm. quoting Robert's opinion that the name is derived from ἰλάσκεσθαι) and Apamea (Noy - Bloedhorn IJO III Syr 53-54). Ed. pr. and some subsequent editors render it with smooth breathing.

Clermont-Ganneau recorded height as 30 and width as 22 cm, but according to his drawing, these measurements should be reversed.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 146 no. 8 (ed. pr.). – Id., PEQ 6, 1874, 261-80 at 275f. no. 10; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 86 no. 48 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 907.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 146 (dr.).

JJP

2186. Tomb of Babaeis and Ezikias with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular marble slab, smoothed front and back, concave face, rough unfinished edges, all margins preserved. Four lines of shallowly incised Greek, stylized menorah in middle of l.3. Letters of uneven size and alignment; *alpha* with straight cross-bar sloping down to left and hyper-extended left leg, but *alpha* with broken cross-bar at beginning of l.3; *delta* with hyper-extended left leg; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; stick-figure *psi*.

Meas.: h 21, w 42, d 4.5 cm; letters 2.5-3.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.
Single-chamber burial cave
near the Moroccan syna-
gogue, Herzl Street.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of
Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA
inv. no. 1995-133. Autopsy: 2001
and 2012.



ΜΝΜΑΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤ
ΑΒΑΒΑΕΙΝΚΑΙΕΖΙΚΙ
ΑΝΑΝΕΨ (menorah) ΙΟΙΣΕΙΣΑΚΚ
ΩΖΩΝΟΣ

fig. 2186

Μν<ῆ>μα διαφέροντ|α Βαβαειν καὶ Ἐζικίαν ἀνεψιοῖς Εἰσάκ Κ|ωζωνος

Tomb belonging to Babaeis and Ezikias, cousins/nephews of Eisak Kozon.

Comm.: The stone was found face up on the floor of the vestibule of an apparently single-chamber, rock-cut tomb in the Jaffa necropolis. This inscription marking ownership was thus the first thing a visitor to the cave would have seen, and it is uncertain whether this text served as an epitaph, as well, or other inscriptions marked the burial-places of Babaeis and Ezikia within the tomb. A fourth-century coin was found in the burial chamber.

The text is simple but its grammar is chaotic: διαφέροντα is a false neuter (as in no. 2217), relating to μνῆμα; Βαβαειν and Ἐζικίαν seem to be in the accusative, although διαφέρειν, with which a dative could be expected, is used with the genitive in Jaffa (nos. 2217, 2218, 2228, 2236). Yet ἀνεψιοῖς, which is an apposition to Βαβαειν καὶ Ἐζικίαν, is dative. Εἰσάκ is undeclined, a genitive is called for; the spelling resembles LXX Ἰσαάκ, in contrast to nos. 2203 and 2236 from this necropolis. If the last name, Κωζωνος, is declinable then it must be genitive; it is taken as a family name here, resembling other instances of family names from Jaffa (nos. 2179, 2180, 2230), but it could also be Isaac's father's name, as suggested by Feissel. There are no exact parallels to the name; cf. Κόσων(ος?) (SEG 26, 492; 28, 724) and Κώδων(ος) (SEG 32, 297), which are however quite distant in time and place from the present inscription.

Βαβαειν suggests a nominative Βαβαεις, which is reminiscent of Βαβᾶς in CIIP II 1123, identified by Ameling ad loc. as a "Lallname", and see Price for the possible connection of Βαβαειν to υἱοὶ Βαβί in LXX Ezra 2,11, Josephus' Βάβα in AJ 15,260 etc., a בַּבְּא בִּרְבָּא *br bb'* from the Judaean Desert, and other suggestions.

The mention of a cousin – or nephew – relationship ("nephew" is a later meaning, cf. Sophocles, s.v. and Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v.) is unusual, but note the parallel in a Jewish epitaph from Phrygia, Ameling, IJO II 177. The reason why the relationship of the two deceased with Eisak had to be stated is unclear, possibly he was the owner of the cave or of the portion which contained their μνῆμα, or he was the patriarch of the family Kozon, or he was simply the one who arranged their burial.

The figure in the middle of l.3 seems to be a menorah without a base, as in Jason's tomb in Jerusalem, see CIIP I 392; A. Negev, EI 8, 1967, 193-210 (Hebr.); L. Rahmani, in: H. Geva ed., *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, 1994, 239-43.

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6, 1973/74, 23-48 at 29ff. (ed. pr.). – HA 18-19, 1966, 9 (Hebr.); Bulletin - Museum Haaretz 9, 1967, 26; BE 1976, 734; SEG 26, 1669; J. Price, *SCI* 22, 2003, 215-31 at 215-21 no. 1; BE 2004, 393; Feissel, *Chroniques* 226 no. 722.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2187. Greek and Hebrew epitaph of Beniamis son of Ioseph, and Ambomare, 3-6 c. CE

Irregularly shaped yellowish-white marble plaque, broken into two and fitted back together; polished front, unworked back; bottom left and right corners broken, but all margins of inscription preserved. Four lines of Greek deeply incised, followed by “shalom” in shallowly incised Hebrew letters by a less secure hand. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar sloping down to the left and hyper-extended right leg; round cursive *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* with small stem; most letters with triangular serifs.

Hebrew letters indistinct.

Meas.: h 20, w 22, d 4.5 cm;
letters 2.5-3 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural
History, University of Oslo, inv. no.
C 41668. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

BENIAMIS
ΥΙΟΣ ΙΩΣΗΦ
ΚΑΙ ΑΜΒΩ
ΜΑΡΗ
שלום

Βενιαμῖς | υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ | καὶ
Ἀμβω|μαρη. שלום

Translit.: šlwm

*Beniamis son of Ioseph, and
Ambomare. Peace.*

Comm.: The Baron von Ustinov bought this stone from a dealer and established later that it had been found in the Jaffa necropolis. Βενιαμῖς is the form of Benjamin used by Josephus (Schalit, NW 26). The father's name Ἰωσήφ imitates Hebrew pronunciation of the biblical name. On the name *Abbomare(s)*,



fig. 2187.1

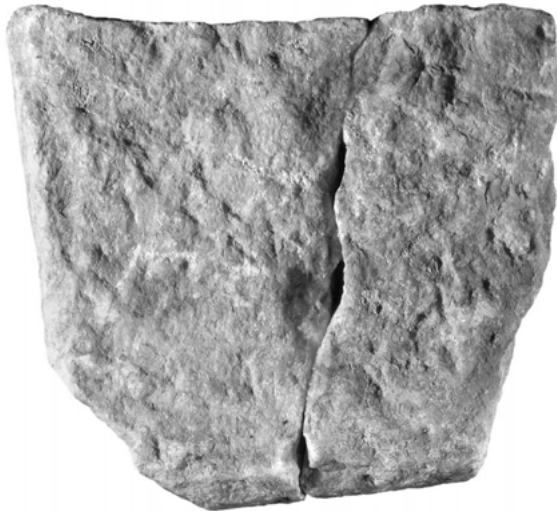


fig. 2187.2

see comm. ad no. 2230; it is almost certainly not a female name, therefore not the mother of Benjamin but another person interred in the tomb. Curiously, the same three names appear on a mosaic inscription from Phoenicia, which further argues against Abbomare + varr. being feminine: Ἰωσὴ Ἀμβαμαρὶς καὶ Βενιαμὶν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr 23).

The relation between the two deceased is not noted. If they had been brothers, it would be strange that the patronym was not applied to both, unless *Abbomare(s)*' name was added later.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 19, 1910, 574f. (ed. pr.). – E. Baumann, ZDPV 34, 1911, 91; BE 1912 p. 67; Klein, JPCI no. 124; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 81 no. 11 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 908.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2188. Greek funerary inscription of Besas (son) of Nonus, 3-6 c. CE

Oval-shape stone, two lines of Greek incised within a tabula ansata; cursive *alpha*, lunate *sigma*, stemmed *upsilon* (from drawing).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

ΒΗΣΑΣ
ΝΟΝΟΥ

Βησας | Νόνου

Besas (son) of Nonus.

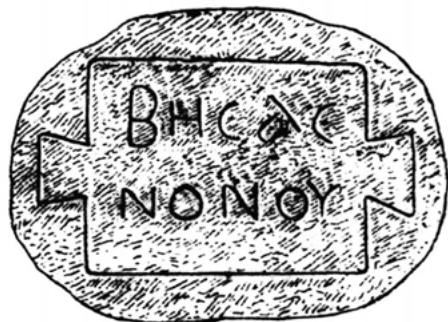


fig. 2188

Comm.: By the time he published this inscription in 1896, Clermont-Ganneau did not remember whether he found it himself or saw it among the possessions of the Russian Archimandrite (same with nos. 2185, 2204, 2229 and 2248). The first name is widely attested in Egypt, see Hagedorn, Wörterlisten 34; Foraboschi 80; cf. also Pape, WGE 209. However, the biblical name בסי *bsy* (Neh 7,52, Ezra 2,49) cannot be ruled out, rendered in LXX as Βασι; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 34 connects בסי *bss* to the well-attested name Βασσος. Nonnus occurs in the Jaffa necropolis at no. 2181, spelled with a double *nu*, and is also found in Caesarea (CIIP II 1520). It is a common name for both Jews (Ilan, Lexicon III 344f.) and non-Jews (LGPN 1-5 s.v.).

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 145 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 85 no. 43 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 909; SEG 53, 1847.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 145 (dr.).

JJP

**2189. Tomb of Bizzus and Reb(e)ca wife of Rufinus
with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE**

Square marble slab, all margins preserved, four-line Greek inscription (with one letter beneath l.4). l.1 separated from rest of inscription by a space. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar slanting down to right; cursive *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; *upsilon* without stem in ll.1 and 3, with stem in ll.2 and 4, ligatured with *gamma* in l.2. Right arm of *upsilon* l.2, recorded in ed. pr., just barely visible in photo.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

BIZZΟΥ
ΡΕΒΚΑΓΥΝΗ
ΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΥ
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΟ
Υ

Βιζζου | 'Ρέβκα γυνή | 'Ρουφίνου |
πρεσβευτο|υ

(Tomb) of Bizzus. Reb(e)ca wife
of Rufinus the presbeutes (or
presbyteros?).



fig. 2189

Comm.: The first line, separated by a space from the rest of the inscription, indicates the owner of the tomb, who is mentioned as the patriarchal ancestor in no. 2190: Μνημῖον τῶν Βιζζου ...; but neither of these stones is Bizzus' epitaph. Circumstances of discovery, which could have clarified the relationship between the two stones, are unfortunately unknown. Klein mistakenly read the first line as Βιζζος. Interestingly the deceased in each epitaph is named Rebecca, so that the name recurred within the family. Yet unlike the professionally executed no. 2190, the letters here are uneven and irregular, and the layout poorly planned: the final *upsilon* was added underneath, for lack of room. Bizzus is a Semitic but not biblical name; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschnennamen 36, connects it to בִּזְזִי *bzz*; it is very rare in Greek epigraphy (IGLS 2, 673 and 674; LGPN IV, s.v.), and has no recorded Jewish parallel. 'Ρέβκα imitates the Hebrew Rivka רבקה *rbqh*, similarly in a tomb from Jatt, Atiqot 37, 1999, 48*f.; LXX and Josephus render the name 'Ρεβέκκα, as in no. 2190; it was a relatively popular name in the Jewish diaspora, see Ilan, Lexicon III 185. The husband's Latin name Rufinus was also popular among Jews outside Palestine, Ilan, Lexicon III 538f.

A *πρεσβευτής* is an ambassador or messenger, either to or from Jaffa (or more likely its Jewish community), compare the individuals with the title *πρεσβευτής* in no. 2176 (from Emesa) and no. 2177, and the one mentioned in the Aphrodisias synagogue inscription, Ameling, IJO II no. 14 with Ameling's comm. pp. 98f. on the terminology. Yet it is very possible that the title here should be understood rather as the equivalent of *πρεσβύτερος*, a minor official within the synagogue or Jewish community, as in nos. 2215, CIIP II 2151, see comm. ad loc.; and on that title, Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 407f.

Bibl.: Euting 687 no. 88 (ed. pr.). – Klein, JPCI no. 149; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 82f. no. 23 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 949; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 380f.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6738.

JJP

2190. Tomb of the Bizzus family with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE

White marble plaque, smoothed front, traces of painted red frame on margins. Six-line inscription, letters deeply incised; first five lines Greek, last line Greek-Hebrew; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon* and w-shaped *omega*; cross bars of *mu* descend from middle of right and left hastae to bottom edge of letter, *upsilon* with stem.

Meas.: h 26, w 27.5, d 2.5 cm; letters 2-2.5 cm (Greek), 1.5-3 cm (Hebrew).

Findspot: Presumably Jaffa necropolis (see comm.), despite claims by owner that it came from Ascalon or Gaza.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 22 January 2009.

MNHMION
ΤΩΝΒΙΖΖΟΥ
ΕΝΘΑΚΙΤΕ
ΡΕΒΕΚΚΑΗΜΗ
ΤΗΡΜΑΝΝΟΥ
ΕΙΡΗΝΗ שְׁלוֹמִי

Μνημῖον | τῶν Βιζζου· | ἔνθα κίτε |
Ρεβέκκα ἡ μή|τηρ Μάννου· |
εἰρήνη. שְׁלוֹמִי

Translit.: šlwm

*Tomb of the (family members)
of Bizzus. Here lies Rebecca, the
mother of Mannus. Peace. Peace.*



fig. 2190

Comm.: By the time Clermont-Ganneau (ed. pr.) and Sauvignac saw this stone, its provenance was already uncertain; both suspected that it came from Jaffa despite the report that it came from Ascalon or Gaza. The suspected provenance from Jaffa is based on comparison with no. 2189, another declaration of tomb ownership by Bizzus and an epitaph for *Ῥέβκα γυνὴ Ῥουφίνου*. The Semitic name Bizzus is very rare, and the repetition of Rebecca is quite striking; it is apparent that Bizzus is the same person in both inscriptions, but the two Rebeccas are perforce different; see comm. to no. 2189. Neither the present stone nor no. 2189 is Bizzus' epitaph; rather, each opens with a statement of his ownership (here by *Μνημῖον τῶν*, in no. 2189 by his name in the genitive, compare no. 2224, *τῶν Βαρβαβι*) and then records the name Rebecca as the deceased. One wonders whether each individual epitaph in the family tomb followed this pattern.

Ρεβέκκα is spelled here as in LXX and Josephus (contrast no. 2189). Mannus may be Semitic in origin (Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 72, connects it to *מנן m'n*), but it is the name of a 3 c. governor of Caria-Phrygia, P. Aelius Septimius Mannus: SEG 46, 1394; Roueché in ed. pr. of this inscription connects the name to the royal family of Osrhoene in Edessa and cites other occurrences in Roman contexts. It appears also in a Jewish epitaph from Rome, Noy, *JWE* II 197; *Μαννα* is found on a Jewish epitaph from Tyana, Ameling, *IJO* II 258, and see comm. ad loc. for further bibliography.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* 1903, 479-95 at 484ff. no. 9 (ed. pr.). – BE 1904 p. 260; PEQ 36, 1904, 177-9 at 177; R. Savignac, *RB* 13, 1904, 82-100 at 82; Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 6, 1905, 182-203 at 187f. no. 9; ZDPV MN 11, 1905, 40; BE 1906 p. 51; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II 199; J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 25; Klein, *JPCI* no. 150; Bagatti, *Flagellazione* 19 no. 15; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 10 no. 16 (Hebr.); L. Robert, *RPh* 18, 1944, 5-56, 52; *CIJ* 2, 948; B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6, 1973/74, 23-48 at 30; id., *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 78-100 at 85; G. Mussies, in: Safrai - Stern 2, 1040-64 at 1042f.; T. Ilan, *NT* 34, 1992, 23-45 at 41.

Photo: WE.

JJP

2191. Tomb of Cyrillus and Alexander with Greek and Hebrew inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Irregular rectangular slab, broken in three pieces, glued together; other pieces missing but inscription fully preserved. Four lines of Greek, followed by the word "shalom" in Hebrew letters, incised within an etched square frame. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, curved *epsilon* and w-shaped *omega*, cursive *mu*, *upsilon* without stem (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

MNHMA
 ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ
 ⲓⲟⲩⲱ

Μνημα | Κυρίλλου | καὶ
 Ἀλεξανδρου | Ἀλεξανδρέων. ⲓⲟⲩⲱ

Translit.: šlwm

*Tomb of Cyrillus and Alexander,
 from Alexandria. Peace.*

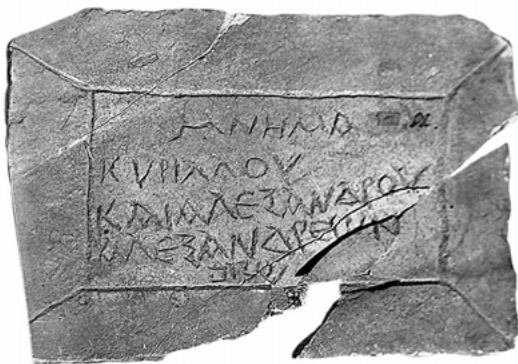


fig. 2191

Comm.: Word-ends and line-ends correspond throughout. The two deceased could have been brothers. Ἀλεξανδρέων indicates either that the two deceased came from there, or are descendants of Alexandrian immigrants, see J. Price, *SCI* 22, 2003, 215-31 at 227ff.

Bibl.: Euting 681 no. 53 (ed. pr.). – J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295 no. 9; Klein, *JPCI* no. 141; id., *MGWJ* 75, 1931, 369-74 at 371; E. Sukenik, *PEQ* 64, 1932, 83f.; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 83 no. 27 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 934; Keel - Küchler 18f. no. 10; *JIGRE* 150; Williams, *Jews* 77 no. III.51.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6728.

JJP

2192. Burial place of Eiaco the Cappadocian, of his wife Acholia and of Asterius with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Triangular slab, back shows traces of a frame. Seven-line Greek inscription, letters of uneven size and poorly aligned, ll.1-6 of increasing length; there is a seven-branched menorah in the middle of ll.4-7. *Alpha* with a broken cross-bar, round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with stem, round w-shaped *omega* (IMC and photo).



fig. 2192

Meas.: h 42, w 38, d 3.8 cm (IMC).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

ΤΟΠΙΟΣ
ΕΙΑΚΩ
ΚΑΠΑΔΟΚΟΣ
ΚΕ ΑΧΟΛΙ
ΑΣΣΥ ΝΒΙΟΥΑΥ
ΤΟ ΥΚΕΑΣΤΕ
ΠΙ ΟΥ

τόπος | Ειακῶ | Καπάδοκος | κέ Ἀχολί|ας συνβίου αὐ|τοῦ κέ Ἀστε|ρίου

Burial place of Eiaco the Cappadocian and of his wife Acholia and of Asterius.

Comm.: Knowledge of the whereabouts of this stone has been lost since it was displayed in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (on loan from the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission), together with nos. 2240 and 2242, in 1972.

The inscriber created lines of increasing length, corresponding to the triangular shape of the stone, which was reused for this epitaph.

Ειακῶ = Ἰακῶ: this hypocoristic form of the biblical name Jacob (apparently indeclinable, but Ειακῶ is possibly genitive of Ειακῶς, see Mussies; Ειακο<β> in Murray and Klein [JPCI] is mistaken) is found in Jaffa as Ἰακω at nos. 2210, 2212 and 2237, cf. no. 2180 as well; it may have become a name in its own right, compare instances in Caesarea (CIIP II 1490, and Ἰακων, *ibid.* 1485), in Beth She'arim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 83, 126, 130) and outside Palestine (Ilan, *Lexicon* III 122f.); and see Schwabe's remarks.

Another Cappadocian buried in the Jaffa necropolis is recorded in no. 2203, which mentions a synagogue or community of Cappadocians in Jaffa, see *comm. ad loc.* It is interesting that the region in Asia Minor rather than a city is indicated, which Ameling (*comm. ad IJO* II 251) explains as reflecting the relative paucity of cities in Cappadocia. On the names Acholia and Asterius, see Ameling's comments, *IJO* II, pp. 104 and 537, quoting Robert's observation that such names were "normaux au Bas-Empire". But for Jews, Asterius may in some way be connected with Esther; it is found in Rome (Noy, *JWE* II 8, 351) and North Africa (Y. Le Bohec, *AntAfr* 17, 1981, 165-207 at 178f. no. 14), and significantly as a male name אַסְטִיר *'styr* on an Aramaic incantation bowl from Babylonia (J. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*, 2000, 039A). Aster as Esther for a woman occurs frequently, see Noy, *JWE* I 26, 47, 130, 192; *JWE* II 91, 552, 596 and Asteria at 209 and 304 etc.; Ameling, *IJO* II, p. 104, speculates that Acholia may be related to Solomon. Asterius here is probably the son of Eiaco and Acholia.

Bibl.: C. Schick, *PEQ* 25, 1893, 286-93 at 290 fig. 7; A. Murray, *ibid.*, 300 ad fig. 7 (edd. *pr.*). – Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 4, 1901, 138-51 at 147 n. 2; Klein, *JPCI* no. 179; *id.*, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*,

1939, 85 no. 37 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 910; M. Schwabe, IEJ 3, 1953, 127-30 at 128; IMC no. 265; L. Robert, RPh 32, 1958, 15-53 at 40; Z. Baras et al., Eretz-Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest 1, 1982, 25 (Hebr.); G. Mussies, in: J. van Henten - P. van der Horst eds., Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy, 1994, 242-76 at 253 n. 19; Williams, Jews 77 no. III.47; Rajak Dialogue 492; Ameling, IJO II 251; SEG 54, 1664.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6549.

JJP

2193. Tomb of Eisas (son) of Benniamin with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular marble plaque, smooth front, rough unfinished back, all margins preserved. Six-line Greek inscription, letters deeply incised, decreasing size of letters in successive lines. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar, sloping down to left in some instances; round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; *mu* with curved line for middle bars; *upsilon* with stem.

Meas.: h 23, w 23, d 2.6 cm; letters 4-6 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41683. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΕΙΣΑΣΒΕ
ΝΝΙΑΜΙΝ
ΕΝΤΟΙΣΔΙΑΣΥ
ΛΛΑ ΟΑΝΙΥ
ΘΑΝΟΥΜΑΣΥ
ΟΣΡΟΥΒΗ

Εἰσᾶς Βε|ννιαμῖν | ἐν τοῖς διὰ
Σύ|λλα {ΟΑΝΙΥ}. | Θανοῦμας
ύ(ι)|ὸς Ρουβῆ

Eisas (son) of Benniamin, in the tomb (acquired) by Sulla. Thanumas son of Rube(s).



fig. 2193.1

Comm.: Eisas is probably biblical

יִשָּׁי yšy Yishai, less likely a hypo-

coristic of Yizhāk (Isaac), see comm. ad no. 2202; possibly also יִצְחָק 'sy used by rabbinic sages (Margalioth, Encyclopedia I 156-61). Βεννιαμῖν with double *nu* as here is attested in Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 189.

ll.3-4 have generated different interpretations. First, the expression ἐν τοῖς διὰ Σύλλα is coherent without editing or amplification; it means "in the place/tomb (acquired) by Sulla", like other expressions of ownership in the Jaffa necropolis; see intro-

duction to the Jaffa necropolis. Thus *δια(φέρουσι?) | Σύλλα? Ἰωάννου?* in ed. pr. (Clermont-Ganneau) is to be set aside, as is Schwabe's explanation of *ἐν τοῖς* as *τῶν*, signifying a family relationship with *διά*, which is far-fetched even in a world of casual grammar. In any case, this is not Sulla's epitaph. Lifshitz's suggestion *διὰ Συλλ<ο>υαν(ο)υ* is impossible. Second, the letters OANIY in l.4 are most simply explained as a false start for *Θανοῦμας*, written properly in l.5. Other suggestions are unnecessarily complicated: *<Α>λα[φ]<θ>α ΝΙΥ?* (Clermont-Ganneau 1901); *θανοῦσι* (Lidzbarski; Klein [JPCI]).

The Latin cognomen Sulla (Σύλλας; Συ<μ>α, Schwabe) is odd for a Jew, but note the commander of Agrippa II's forces by that name (Josephus, *Vita* 398), who may have been Jewish. Yet if a Semitic name is intended, then it may be compared with Σουλαῖος, which Mussies equates with the Hebrew name *שׁוּלַי* *šwly*, based on a reconstructed papyrus from the Judaean Desert (DJD XXVII, Se 69); Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 113. Shila *שׁילָא* *šyl'* was the name of four different Amoraim, see Margalioth, *Encyclopedia* II 800ff.; Kosovsky, *Bab.* 1546-8; Kosovsky, *Yer.* 644f. Note the similar text in no. 2212, *διὰ Σάλω*, but Σύλλα is probably not the same name.



fig. 2193.2

Θανοῦμας is the Hebrew name Tanḥum תנחום *tnḥwm*, found in the Jaffa necropolis in nos. 2239 and 2240. This name was used by many Amoraim, cf. Margalioth, *Encyclopedia* II 883-92, Kosowsky, *Bab.* and Kosovsky, *Yer.*, s.v.; it is found on various synagogue inscriptions in Iudaea/Palaestina, Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 30, 33, 35, 87, and in southern Syria (*Τανόμου*), Noy - Bloedhorn, *IJO* III Syr41.

Πουβῆ = biblical Reuben, see Cohen 117-28, esp. 124ff., and the same name in nos. 2213 and 2229. The nominative may have been Πουβῆς.

Thanumas' name and patronym, squeezed in at the bottom, may have been incised at a later time than Eisas'.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEQ* 32, 1900, 110-20 at 119 no. 19, 123 (ed. pr.). – J. Hanauer, *PEQ* 32, 1900, 120ff. at 120f.; Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 4, 1901, 138-51 at 148 no. 19; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I 190; Klein, *JPCI* no. 124a; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 85 no. 38 (Hebr.); M. Schwabe, *Tarbiz* 15, 1944, 210-3 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 912; BE 1969, 589; B. Lifshitz, *RB* 76, 1969, 92-8 at 93 no. 3; N. Cohen, *JSJ* 7, 1976, 97-128 at 124f.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

2194. Greek funerary inscription of Eizikia, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular slab, two lines of Greek crudely incised in the center, cursive *alpha*, *epsilon* and *lambda*, *upsilon* with no stem; wide margins (from photo).

Meas.: h 10.5, w 25.5 cm (Dussaud).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1205.

EIZIKIA

ΛΕΥΕΙ

Εἰζίκια | Λευεῖ

Eizikia, Levi.



fig. 2194

Comm.: The name of the deceased is biblical Ḥezekiah, appearing twice more in the Jaffa necropolis but spelled differently, nos. 2186 and 2196. The case of both names is unclear, and the laconic text can be parsed in various ways: Eizikia son of Levi, Eizikia Levi, *of* Eizikia Levi or *of* Eizikia son of Levi, Eizikia (and) Levi. In any case, Levi here is a personal name, not a title.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 9, 1882, 277-321 at 278 (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 164 no. 2; Dussaud, Louvre 80 no. 104; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 86 no. 47 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 911; B. Lifshitz, Epigraphica 36, 1974, 78-100 at 84ff. no. 3.

Photo: RMN - les frères Chuzeville, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre.

JJP

2195. Greek funerary inscription of Elkana, 3-6 c. CE

Lopsided pentagonal white marble slab, smoothed back; two holes drilled in back (not showing on front); wide margin of 7 cm between the text and bottom edge. Two-line Greek inscription, second line larger and more deeply incised than first; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, in second *alpha* two cross-bars are not connected and extend to bottom of letter; round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 21.5, w 23.2, d 2 cm; letters 2-3.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41672. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΤΟΠΙΟΣ
ΕΛΚΑΝΑ

τόπος | Ἐλκানা

Burial place of Elkana.



fig. 2195.1

Comm.: Elkana is a biblical name, the father of the prophet Samuel, spelled here as in LXX, undeclined (compare Ἐλκάνης in Josephus, AJ 5,342-3, 347); it was not commonly used by Jews of the period.

Bibl.: A. Jaussen - L. Vincent, RB 10, 1901, 570-80 at 577 no. 21 (ed. pr.). – Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 336f.; Klein, JPCI no. 125; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 85 no. 39 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 913.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.



fig. 2195.2

JJP

2196. Tomb of Ezikias son of Isa with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Square stone with four lines of Greek, seven-branched menorah with tripod base flanked by lulavim on bottom. Cursive *alpha* in ll.1-2, *alpha* with broken cross-bar in ll.3-4; square *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega* (from drawing).

Meas.: h 26, w 24 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

ΗΖΙΚΙΑΥΙΩ
ΙΣΑΦΡΟΝΤΙΣ
ΤΙΑΛΕΧΑΝΔ
ΡΙΑΣ

Ἡζικία υἱὸν | Ἰσαῶ φροντισ|τὶ
Ἀλεξανδ|ρίας

(Tomb belonging) to Ezikias son of Isas,
phrontistes of Alexandria.



fig. 2196

Comm.: Ezikias is biblical הזקיה *hzqyh* = Hezekiah, compare nos. 2186 and 2194; it is Ἐζεκίας in Josephus and LXX. His name and title are in the dative, common in epitaphs, but given the local context it may imply something like μνήμα διαφέρον, even if διαφέρειν is used in a different construction in other Jaffa epitaphs (nos. 2186, 2217, 2218, 2228, 2236); see introduction to the necropolis. Isas probably=Yishai, see comm. to no. 2230, possibly the rabbinic name ישאי 'sy, cf. Margalioth, *Encyclopedia* I 156-61. Alternatively, this inscription could have been a declaration of ownership, fixed to the entrance of a cave or room.

The position of φροντιστής was curatorial or supervisory (cf. φροντίζειν), as noted by L. Robert, *RPh* 32, 1958, 39, and, while not of course exclusively Jewish (e.g., *IG* 14, 715, 759; Robert, *ibid.*), it is amply attested in Jewish inscriptions: Noy, *JWE* I 17; *JWE* II 164, 540; Noy, *IJO* I, Ach58, 59; Ameling, *IJO* II 219, 220; possibly no. 2204 this vol. (provenance and Jewishness uncertain) and *SEG* 20, 468 (Jewishness uncertain); see discussions by Ameling; Panayotov in Noy, *IJO* I, pp. 207f.; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 410. Given its curatorial nature, the position could be held for a specific term, as in the four-year term of the phrontistes in Aegina (Noy, *IJO* I, Ach58) and the two terms held by the Jewish phrontistes in Rome (Noy, *JWE* II 540). For Beryllus, the archisynagogos and phrontistes in Caesarea, see *CIIP* II 1140 + comm. Given the grammar here, it is likely (but not provable) that the post referred to was held within a Jewish synagogue or community in Alexandria; Ezikias would have held that position in Alexandria before migrating to Jaffa; alternatively, but less likely, he held the post in Jaffa. Assuming that the Alexandria mentioned here is the city in Egypt, this is one of several stones from the Jaffa necropolis indicating Egyptian origin, see J. Price, *SCI* 22, 2003, 215-31, esp. 227ff.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RCr* 8, 1883, 141-7 at 142 n. 1 (ed. pr.). – Id., *PEQ* 6, 1874, 3-10 at 3, 5; id., *ARP* II 133f.; S. Klein, *MGWJ* 75, 1931, 369-74 at 371; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 83 no. 25 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 918; B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 78, 1962, 64-88 at 79; *BE* 1968, 560; B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6, 1973/74, 23-48 at 24; id., *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 78-100 at 78f., 84; Keel - Küchler 18f. no. 7; *JIGRE* 146; Williams, *Jews* 41 no. II.41; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 381; Ameling, *IJO* II 217 comm.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II 133 (dr.).

JJP

2197. Epitaph of Ḥananiya with Hebrew inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Broken bottom left side of a white marble plaque. Five partial lines of Hebrew letters, serifs.

Meas.: h 13, w 12, d 2 cm; letters 3.5-4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis? (Pedersen).

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1979-504. Autopsy: 3 December 2007 and 14 May 2012.

חנניה[--]
בן רבי[--]
ם שמן[--]
דריה[--]
ום[--]



fig. 2197

חנניה[--] | בן רבי[--] | ם שמן[--] | דריה[--] | של[ום]

Translit.: [--] ḥnnyh | [--] bn rby | [--]m šmn | [--]dryh | [--] šl]wm

Ḥananiya ... son of Rabbi ... who is from ...dria ... peace.

Comm.: Pedersen first published this inscription when he saw it in the Ustinov collection in Oslo. He assumed provenance from Jaffa, based on similarity with other epitaphs from there and the preponderance of stones from there collected by Ustinov, who lived in the city.

The bottoms of the letters of the first preserved line (there could have been more lines lost above) seem to form the name Ḥananiya (Klein). The next legible words are in l.2, *bn rby*, “son of Rabbi”, which would have been followed by a personal name; it is probably not *berebi*; cf. no. 2233. If only a few letters are missing from the beginning of l.4, then ll.3-4 may be construed “who is from ...dria”, supplying a city-name like Alexandria, as Klein conjectured, but Horbury and Noy,

JIGRE, p. 242, expressed doubt. The final *shalom* may have been the only word in that line, centered.

Bibl.: J. Pedersen, *Inscriptiones semiticae collectionis Ustinowianae*, 1928, 12 no. 26549 (=5) (ed. pr.). – S. Klein, *MGWJ* 75, 1931, 369-74 at 371f.; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 80 no. 4 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 895; H. Cavallin, *Life After Death I*, 1974, 166f. no. 4.12.1; S. Cohen, *JQR* 72, 1981/82, 1-17 at 6 no. 45; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 378 n. 178; Rajak, *Dialogue* 492.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

2198. Epitaph of Ḥiyya son of El'azar with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE

Yellowish-white marble plaque, smoothed front, unfinished back, edges chipped but margins preserved. Three-line bilingual inscription, letters irregularly and shallowly incised. First line is Hebrew, followed by two lines of Greek: *alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma* (square in l.2), *upsilon* with small stem; miniature *omicron* ll.2 and 3; third line squeezed at end.

Meas.: h 21.9, w 26, d 2.5-5 cm; letters 3-5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41645. Autopsy: 31 July 2003.

חייא בן אלעזר
ΕΙΑΣΥΙΟΣ
ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ

חייא בן אלעזר
Εἰάς υἱὸς | Λαζάρου

Translit.: ḥyy' bn 'l'zr

Ḥiyya son of El'azar. Eias son of Lazarus.



fig. 2198

Comm.: The texts in Hebrew and Greek are identical. Ḥiyya חייא Ḥyy' is the name of rabbinic sages, see Kosovsky, *Yer.* 244-56 and Kosovsky, *Bab.* 461-90; Ilan, *Lexicon I* 380f. The name is recorded in two inscriptions from Dura Europus, Noy - Bloedhorn, *IJO III*, *Syr* 93-94. It is interesting that the Greek is Εἰάς: this equivalence has so far not been encountered (but the name is attested, *LGPN* 5a, s.v.).

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 115 no. 13 (ed. pr.). – Id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 143 no. 13, 218-24 at 221; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 189; Klein, JPCI no. 117; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 81 no. 12 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 899; Dinkler, Signum Crucis 9 with n. 27.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2199. Greek epitaph with ... of Iacob and Iustus, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular marble plaque, façade smooth, back smooth with broken edges; all margins of inscription preserved. Two lines of Greek, first line unclear with deeply incised letters of irregular form and uneven size; traces of guidelines above and below first line. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar; *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg; rounded lunate *sigma*; *upsilon* with stem; abbreviation mark on last *kappa* l.l. Meas.: h 13.5, w 26.5, d 2.9 cm; letters 2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41680. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

Ι Ε/Ο/Σ Λ Ε/Ο/Σ ΙΟ Λ/Δ ΦΟΡ
Λ/Δ ΙΑΚΚ
ΙΟΥΣΤΟΥ

Ι Ε/Ο/Σ Λ Ε/Ο/Σ ΙΟ Λ/Δ
ΦΟΡ Λ/Δ Ἰακ(ῶβ) κ(αί) |
Ἰούστου



... of Iacob and Iustus.

fig. 2199.1

Comm.: Previous attempts to decipher the nearly inscrutable first line include Παστοφόρα Ἰακ<ῶ>β[ου] (Jaussen - Vincent, Klein) and Παστοφόρα Ἰακ<ῶ>β (Frey [CIJ]). Yet the first letter does not seem to be Latin P, the supposed T is really an *iota* (the top cross-bar of the T is really a guide-line

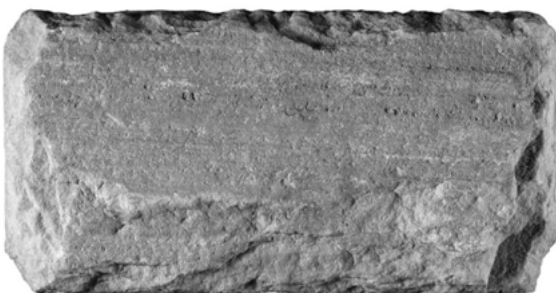


fig. 2199.2

running across the top of most of the first line), and these solutions ignore the abnormally large *lambda* (or *delta*) in the middle of the line. After the initial *iota* comes a half-circle which could be a backward lunate *sigma* or *epsilon*, or an incomplete *omicron*; it follows a *lambda*; another half circle oriented the other way; *iota*; *omicron*;

oversized *lambda* (*delta*?); then, more clearly, *phi*, small *omicron*, large *rho*, *lambda* (*delta*?), *iota*, *alpha*, *kappa*, *kappa* with abbreviation sign. Conceivably the prominent *lambdas* could be upside-down *upsilons*, thus making the first name, perhaps, Ἰούστου, in conformity with the second line. In any case, the first line contains names, or perhaps a word for tomb + a form of διαφέρων, followed by IAK K(AI). IAKK can also be parsed Ἰακκ(ώβ).

The second line, almost certainly incised by a different hand, contains the name Ἰούστου, genitive of Ἰοῦστος, a favorite among Jews of the period.

Bibl.: A. Jaussen - L. Vincent, RB 10, 1901, 570-80 at 577 no. 21 (ed. pr.). – Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 336f.; Klein, JPCI no. 146; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 86f. no. 53 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 946; L. Robert, RPh 32, 1958, 15-53, 40.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2200. Funerary inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew of Rabbi Ioda, 3-5 c. CE

Irregularly shaped white marble plaque, top right and bottom left corners broken but margins preserved and inscription complete. Six-line bilingual inscription consisting of three lines of neatly incised square Jewish script in straight rows, with three lines of Greek, one above and two below, chaotically inscribed around it; letters unevenly spaced, rows crooked, second *iota* in l.1 squeezed in. Both open and closed *he*. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar; square *omicron* in l.5; *upsilon* with long stem, square *theta*, lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. Spaces between Hebrew words. Meas.: h 27.5, w 34, d 3 cm; letters: Greek 2.5-3.5 cm, Hebrew 1.5-4.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1979-501. Autopsy: 3 December 2007.

PABIIOΔA

הקבר הזה שלרב

יודן הכהן ברב

נוח נפש שכן לוד

YIOΣIΩNA

ΘA

Il.1,5,6: Παβιῖ Ἰόδα | υἱὸς Ἰωνά|θα

Il.2-4: הקבר הזה שלרב | יודן הכהן
ברב. | נוח נפש. שכן לוד

Translit.: hqbr hzh šlr̥b | ywdn hkhn
brb. | nwḥ npš. škn lwd



fig. 2200

Greek: *Rabi Ioda son of Ionatha.*

Hebrew: *This grave is of Rav Yudan the priest, bereb(i) (or: son of Rav/a rabbi). His soul is at rest. Resident of Lod (= Lydda).*

Comm.: The Hebrew portion, inscribed in three relatively neat lines, was apparently made first; although that text contains small obscurities, letters are well-formed and proportional, with notable spaces between words. The Greek seems to have been added afterwards above and below the Hebrew; the letters are of uneven size, lines are ragged and poorly planned, with the *iota* of Ioda's name in l.1 forgotten at first, and the last two letters of Ionatha's name forced into a separate line; the word *υῖός* is bisected by the final *nun* of שכן *škn* from the line above. The Hebrew letters are typical of the 3-5 c. CE.

It is interesting that different information is conveyed in the two languages. While Παβι Ἰόδα is obviously the same as רב יודן *rb ywdn* (compare same name in no. 2205), only the Greek gives his father's name, Ἰωνάθα (Jonathan), conceivably a genitive of Ἰωνάθης vel sim., cf. CIIP I 65, 153, 493, 500; Ilan, Lexicon I 146, III 109. In the Hebrew, ברב *brb* at the end of l.2 either refers to the father's title, i.e. = רב בן *bn rb*, he was a rabbi like the son, or it is the equivalent of בירבי *byrby*, a title of respect, like βρεβί in no. 2233, and יודן ברב דרבי טרפון בירבי *ywdn brh drby tṛpwn byrby* Yudan the son of R. Tarfon *berebi* in no. 2205, see comm. ad locc. Further, the Hebrew portion contains the information that the deceased was a priest; it is curious, to say the least, that this information is missing from the Greek, and one wonders whether the inscriber simply did not have space for it, or forgot it, or did not think it important enough to record in Greek; on Jewish priests during this period, see no. 2202 comm. Finally, the Hebrew contains a formulaic wish for the peaceful repose of the soul of the deceased, and the information that he was from Lod/Lydda, if that is the correct interpretation: Pedersen supported Clermont-Ganneau's reading שכן לוד *škn lwd*; Klein 1931 proposed שמן לוד *šmn lwd* "who is from Lod"; Lidzbarski followed by Frey (CIJ) read שקלוד *šqlwd*, which in itself is meaningless, interpreting it as a mistake for שלום *šlwm* "peace" (like Klein, JPCI). The placement of "resident of Lod" after the formulaic blessing is odd.

The similarity of names and formulae in inscription no. 2205 is striking, and raises the possibility that they both came from the same cave; but knowledge of the provenance of each has been lost forever.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 114 no. 11 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 142f. no. 11; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 188f. no. B11; Klein, JPCI 36 no. 110; J. Pedersen, Inscriptiones semiticae collectionis Ustinowianae, 1928, 7ff.; S. Klein, MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 80 no. 1 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 900; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 2, 127f.; S. Cohen, JQR 72, 1981/82, 1-17 at 6 no. 46; G. Mussies, in: J. van Henten - P. van der Horst eds., Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy, 1994, 242-76 at 251; J. Park, Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions, 2000, 103, 152f. – Cf. S. Lieberman, Greek in Jewish Palestine/Hellenism in Jewish Palestine, 1994; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76; B. Rosenfeld, JJS 61, 2010, 234-56;

H. Lapin, JQR 101, 2011, 311-46; D. Noy, in: J. Richardson - F. Santangelo eds., *Priests and State in the Roman World*, 2011, 320ff.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP/AY

2201. Grave of Iose(s) and Daniel with Greek and Hebrew inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular slab, right corner broken, face quite abraded. Three lines of Greek followed by the word "shalom" written in Hebrew letters. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, extending to bottom of line; rounded *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* without stem (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (Euting).

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

ΘΗΚΗΙΩΣ[.]
ΚΕΔΑΝΙ
ΗΛΟΥ
שלום

θήκη Ἰωσ[ῆ] | κὲ Δανιήλου | שְׁלֹמֶה

Translit.: šlwm

Grave of Ioses and Daniel. Peace.

Comm.: Euting reports seeing a full first line, so that the stone has been damaged since then. The first name may be genitive of Ἰωσῆς or indeclinable.



fig. 2201

Bibl.: Euting 682 no. 56 (ed. pr.). – J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295 no. 11; Klein, JPCI no. 140; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 81f. no. 15 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 933.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6740.

JJP

2202. Tomb of Isas son of Lazarus with Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Triangular slab of gray-white marble, unfinished back; all margins preserved. Three lines of Greek and one of Hebrew shallowly incised by amateur hand, letters of uneven height in crooked lines. *Alpha* with v-shaped cross-bar extending even

below line and right or left hasta extending upwards; square *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; stemmed *upsilon*. The last two letters of l.1 were made smaller in order not to break word across lines. Lulav on lower right corner.

Meas.: h 16, w 32, d 2 cm; letters 1-2 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41684. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΙΣΑΥΙΟΥΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ
ΙΕΡΕΟΣΣΥΓΓΙΠΙΟ
ΕΙΡΗΝΗ
לעזר



fig. 2202.1

Ἰσαῦ υἱοῦ Λαζάρου | ἱερέος Ἑγγιπ(τ)ο(ῦ)(?) | Εἰρήνη | לעזר

Translit.: l'zr

(Tomb) of Isas son of Lazarus, priest, Egyptian(?). Peace. L'azar.

Comm.: The engraver made an effort to preserve whole words on each line of this triangular slab, resorting even to squeezing letters at the end of l.1 and (perhaps) abbreviating a crucial word in l.2. There are 29 instances of Ἰσαῦς in LGPN 1-5a (s.v.) and three other persons

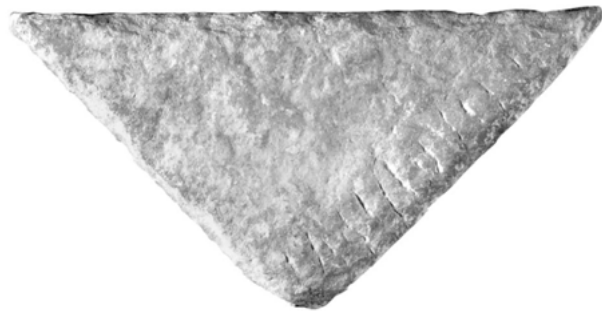


fig. 2202.2

with this name in the Jaffa necropolis (nos. 2193, 2196, 2210). Ἰσαῦ, as in no. 2196 and Εἰσαῦ in no. 2210, seems to be the genitive of Ἰσαῦς = Εἰσαῦς in no. 2193, probably Semitic, thus possibly biblical ישי yšy Yishai (Jesse), see comm. to no. 2230; or possibly a hypocoristic of Ἰσαάκ; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschnennamen 45, understood Εἰσαῦς as deriving from עשׂו 'šw Esau. There is a small possibility that the name אסי 'sy, used by rabbinic sages, was intended; cf. Margalioth, Encyclopedia I 156-61, and comm. to no. 2462 from Gaza, containing a similar name.

Only two other priests were found in the Jaffa necropolis inscriptions (nos. 2178, 2200). The prevalent scholarly theory posits a resurgent influence of priests in Late Antique Palestine in the wake of the abolition of the Patriarchate and the decline of the rabbinic class, cf. O. Irshai, in: L. Levine ed., *Continuity and Renewal*, 2004, 67-106 (Hebr.) and D. Amit, *ibid.* 143-54 (Hebr.); but see now Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz - Z. Weiss eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?*, 2012, 91-111, arguing that the archaeological evidence does not support the theory.

Vincent in the ed. pr. and all subsequent editors have rendered ΣΓΠΠΟ as "Ε'γπ(τ)ο(ϋ) or "Ε'γπ(τ)ο(υ), "Egyptian", which requires the following assumptions: the initial *epsilon* stands for AI and was written without its middle bar; *iota* stands for *upsilon* after the *gamma*; a *tau* and perhaps a second *iota* are somehow ligatured to *pi* or omitted; and the final *upsilon* was omitted because of lack of room. None of these assumptions is in itself difficult, but their necessary combination causes some hesitation to accept the full restoration. Initial *epsilon* in Ἐγύπτιος vel sim. is attested in SEG 32, 1066 and 1493; 37, 467 et al. There are, however, quite a few inscriptions from Jaffa with an Egyptian connection, see J. Price, *SCI* 22, 2003, 227ff.

Only the father's name is written in Hebrew, indicating perhaps ownership of the tomb or authorship of the inscription, or simply לְעִזְרָא (בֶּן) *l'zr* "(son of) L'azar" with the first word missing. Bleckmann and Klein both read לִזְר.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, *RB* 21, 1912, 116 no. B (ed. pr.). – F. Bleckmann, *ZDPV* 36, 1913, 219-40 at 239; Klein, *JPCI* no. 137; H. Leclercq, *DACL* 8, 1928, 240; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 81 no. 10 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 930; Robert, *Hellenica XI/XII* 381-413 at 382f. n. 3; B. Lifshitz, *ANRW* II 8, 1977, 290f. no. 2; B. Broton, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue*, 1982, 97 n. 73; *JIGRE* 149; Williams, *Jews* 77 no. III.50; J. Kloppenborg Verbin, *JJS* 51, 2000, 243-80 at 259f.; J. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions*, 2000, 91f.; D. Noy, in: J. Richardson – F. Santangelo eds., *Priests and State in the Roman World*, 2011, 320ff.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2203. Greek funerary inscription of Isakis from Tarsus, 3-6 c. CE

White marble slab of irregular rectangular shape, front polished and back smoothed; all margins preserved. Seven-line Greek inscription shallowly incised by an unsteady hand; varying *alpha*, with straight and broken cross-bars; rounded *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; *theta* in l.1 without cross-bar; *upsilon* with small stem; angular w-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: h 26, w 17.5, d 3.2 cm; letters 2-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41679. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΤΕ
ΙΣΑΚΙΣΠΡΕΣ
ΒΥΤΕΡΟΣΤΗΣ
ΚΑΠΑΔΟΚΩ
ΝΤΑΡΣΟΥΛΙ
ΝΟΠΩΛ
ΟΥ

ἐνθ' ἄδε κ<ῖ>τε | Ἰσάκισ
πρεσ|βύτερος τῆς | Καπαδοκῶ|ν
Ταρσοῦ λι|νοπώ|λου

*Here lies Isakis, presbyteros of
the (community of the) Cap-
padocians, from Tarsus, linen
merchant.*

Comm.: On the formula ἐνθάδε
κέῖται in Jaffa, see comm. ad no.
2206 (deceased also from Tar-
sus).

Ἰσάκισ is obviously Isaac.
This spelling has parallels, but it
could also be understood as Ἰσάκιος, like Εἰσάκιος in no. 2236; note that the *omicron* has dropped from the endings of other names in the Jaffa epitaphs, as in no. 2226. Ameling, commenting on an Ἰσάκισ in Side, notes that dropping the *omicron* was a phenomenon of Late Antiquity, see his comm. ad IJO II 219. Josephus uses Ἰσακος for Isaac (LXX: Ἰσαάκ), but both Ἰσάκισ and Ἰσάκιος are amply attested in papyri and inscriptions in Iudaea/Palaestina and the Diaspora (Ilan, *Lexicon* I 175; III 128f.; Schwabe - Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* II 18, 19, 20, 23).

Various interpretations have been offered for the string of words in ll.2-7, which should probably be parsed: πρεσβύτερος τῆς (συναγωγῆς τῶν) Καπαδοκῶν, Ταρσοῦ, λινοπώλου, i.e., “presbyteros of the community (or synagogue) of the Cappadocians, from Tarsus, linen merchant”. The problem with “from Tarsus of the Cappadocians” (Clermont-Ganneau et al.) is that there is no known Tarsus in Cappadocia, and Ταρσοῦ is clearly the genitive of the ethnic designation. Other proposals, such as “ancien de la Synagogue des Cappadociens à Tarse” (BE 1902) and “merchant of Tarsian linen” (Krauss), are difficult for similar reasons, and “of the synagogue (or guild) of Cappadocian linen-merchants of Tarsus” (Wordsworth) requires an unwarranted emendation and violates natural sense in the word-order; see Ameling, *IJO* II pp. 531ff. for thorough discussion. Ameling points out the identical structure – Jewish title, place of origin, profession – in no. 2182, q.v. It seems there was a community of



fig. 2203.1

Cappadocians in Jaffa, cf. no. 2192. There was also a synagogue of Cappadocians in Sepphoris, mentioned in *γShev.* 9,5 39a. How a man from Tarsus became a leader of Cappadocian Jews in Jaffa is a matter of speculation.

The man's profession, *λινόπώλου*, is in the genitive by attraction to previous word; the occupation could indicate both modest means and wealth, and his position as elder of the community indicates important status, although there is nothing in his amateurishly executed epitaph, aside from its length, reflecting such. On the title *presbyteros*, see Ameling, *IJO* II pp. 49f. and Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 407f., and cf. no. 2189 comm., the other elder mentioned in the Jaffa epitaphs.



fig. 2203.2

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEQ* 32, 1900, 110-20 at 118 no. 18 (ed. pr.). – J. Wordsworth (Bishop of Salisbury), *ibid.* 122; Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 4, 1901, 138-51 at 146ff. no. 18; *PEQ* 33, 1901, 205f.; *BE* 1902, p. 93; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I 190, II 123; Klein, *JPCI* no. 132; S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, 1922, 237; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 84 no. 35 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 931; Hemer, *Book of Acts* 222f. no. 2.9-11, 225 no. 7.58; van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* 91, 99f.; Williams, *Jews* 73 no. III.24; Rajak, *Dialogue* 492; Ameling, *IJO* II 249; B. Rosenfeld - J. Menirav, *Markets and Marketing in Roman Palestine*, 2005, 217f.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2204. Tomb of Isidorus (son?) of Pinaras and of Lulianus with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Square marble plaque, five-line Greek inscription, top edge damaged but all letters legible and all margins of text preserved; *oenochoe* flanked by two *lulavim* in lower right corner, after text in l.5; letters in l.5 spaced widely in order to fill up line. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon* and w-shaped *omega*, *upsilon* with stem (from photo).

Meas.: h 22, w 23, d 5 cm; letters 3 cm (Dain and Bernand).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis?

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MA 3035/MA 3471.

ΗΣΗΔΩΡΟ
ΥΠΙΝΑΡΑ
ΚΑΙΛΟΥΛΙ
ΑΝΟΥΦΡΟΤ
ΙΤΩΝ

Ἡσηδῶρο|υ Πιναρᾶ | καὶ
Λουλι|ανοῦ φρο<ν>τ|ι<σ>τῶν

(Tomb) of Isidorus (son?)
of Pinaras and of Lulianus,
phrontistai.

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau
was uncertain, when he pub-
lished the stone in 1896 (with-
out any drawing), whether he
had found it himself or seen it



fig. 2204

among the possessions of the Russian Archimandrite (same with nos. 2185, 2188, 2229 and 2248). Ameling has since made a strong case that Clermont-Ganneau found the stone in Alexandria and sent it to Paris from there; the argument is based on the information in the 1922 Paris catalogue (Michon's revision of Villefosse's 1896 edition) and again in Dain's 1933 catalogue, that the stone came from Alexandria and was a gift from Clermont-Ganneau, recorded in June 1886. But doubt must remain since Clermont-Ganneau himself was the source for both pieces of information; the supposed attribution by him to Alexandria, quoted in both catalogues, is second-hand, while his first-hand account, published in 1896, attributes the stone to Jaffa; he first published the stone in 1883 (without a drawing), together with no. 2196, certainly from Jaffa, and even if his cryptic note there, "en voici une autre que j'ai recueillie depuis", leaves some question as to the provenance, it was "collected" before his expedition to the Red Sea in 1886; thus judging from his 1883 ed. pr. and subsequent republication of the text in ARP II in 1896, which is based on his own notebooks, he believed that he had collected the stone during his expedition to Palestine in the 1870s; it is evident from his failure to include any drawing or photo in his publications of the inscription that he did not know, or did not remember, that it was in the Louvre, where he could have checked it; thus he had no recollection of sending it from Alexandria. Bernand, who republished this stone among the inscriptions from Egypt in the Louvre, expressed doubt as to its provenance, despite Dain's clear note. It is included here because of this lingering doubt.

Bernand's photo has now banished any uncertainty about the reading, evident in Clermont-Ganneau's first and subsequent edition of the text; Dain's interpretation, Ἡσηδῶρου Πίναρα καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ Φρόντων ("Pinara, fille d'Isidoros, et Fronton, fils de Ioulianos"), must also be rejected as violating the clearly incised letters before him.

Isidorus was a theophoric name used by Jews, esp. from Egypt, see Ilan, *Lexicon* III, 314f. Πίναρᾱ is not, as Clermont-Ganneau concluded, a place-name, but rather an unusual personal name, either Isidore's patronym or a second name (nickname); note that the second person mentioned in the epitaph does not have a patronymic. Πίναρᾱ would be the genitive of Πίναρᾶς (see Ameling 190 n. 29, quoting Łajtar), unless Pinarius is meant, for which see PIR² III 306-14. Lulianus can be interpreted either as Iulianus (Julianus) or Lollianus (PIR² V.1, 306-8); note that the name לוֹלִיָּנוּס *Lwlyynws* found in rabbinic literature (Ilan, *Lexicon* I 333; III 509) can be pronounced either Lullianus or Lollianus. Α Λουλιανός is found in Zoar (Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a 41), and there are examples from Egypt as well. Note Ἰουλι(α)νός in no. 2210 this vol. and Λολιανός Εἰσακ in Beth She'arim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 82).

The deceased were both phrontistai, perhaps brothers; on the position and title, see comm. ad no. 2196, a Jewish phrontistes from Alexandria. Dain thought the present inscription to be Christian, and Ameling also doubts the Jewishness of the two deceased; if the stone did come from the Jaffa necropolis, it would almost certainly be Jewish.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RCr* 8, 1883, 141-7 at 142 n. 1 (ed. pr.). – Id., *ARP* II 136f. n. *; É. Michon, *Musée national du Louvre. Département des antiquités grecques et romaines. Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques*, 1922, 178 no. 3035; A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre. Les Textes inédits*, 1933, 130f. no. 149; *SEG* 8, 430; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 177 no. 66 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 919; *SB* 5, 7878; G. Mussies, in: *Safrai - Stern* II, 1040-64 at 1042f.; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre*, 1992, 155ff. no. 104; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 381; W. Ameling, *ZPE* 178, 2011, 185-90 at 187-90 no. 7.

Photo: C. Larrieu, courtesy of Museum of Louvre.

JJP

2205. Epitaph of Yudan son of Rabbi Tarfon with Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-5 c. CE

Marble slab, polished front, three-line Aramaic inscription within tabula ansata, in Hebrew letters typical of the 3-5 c. CE; spaces between words.

Meas.: h 18.5, w 53, d 2 cm; letters 1.5-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (Clermont-Ganneau said that it was found by workers and brought to Baron Ustinov).

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1979-500. Autopsy: 14 May 2012. Plaster cast in the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut (inv. no. A I.24).

הדא קבורתא דיוֹדן ברה
 דרבי טרפון בירבי נוח נפש זיכרונו
 לברכה שלום



fig. 2205

הדא קבורתא דיוֹדן ברה | דרבי טרפון בירבי נוח נפש זיכרונו | לברכה שלום

Translit.: hd' qbwrt' dywdn brh | drby trpwn byrby nwḥ npš zykrwnw | lbrkh
 šlwm

This is the grave of Yudan son of Rabbi Tarfon berebi. His soul is at rest. May his memory be a blessing. Peace.

Comm.: The names of the son and father, Yudan (hypocoristic of Yehuda) and Tarfon (= Τρῴφων, as in no. 2243) were used by rabbinic sages (Margalioth, Encyclopedia 381-6 and 476-80), and frequently by other Jews in Iudaea/Palaestina and the Diaspora. On Tarfon's title *berebi*, see no. 2233, comm.; this inscription further demonstrates that *berebi* could be a general term of respect rather than a specific title or designation, since Tarfon's name is preceded by his title Rabbi. While the grave marker and name of the deceased are in Aramaic, the formulaic wishes for the deceased are in Hebrew. We agree with Naveh that the formula *זיכרונו לברכה zykrwnw lbrkh*, "may his memory be a blessing", was not part of the original text of the inscription. There are striking similarities in the names and formulae in this inscription and in no. 2200, but since each was plundered from its site, their relation, if any, will never be known. Based on Hebrew paleography, the inscription may be dated to the 3-5 c. CE.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PSBA 6, 1884, 123ff. (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 11, 1885, 200 no. 9; Euting 680 no. 47; S. Reinach, RA 11, 1888, 61-97 at 94f.; Klein, JPCI 39f. no. 114; J. Pedersen, Inscriptiones semiticae collectionis Ustinowianae, 1928, 5ff. no. 26489 (=1); S. Klein, MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74; E. Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara), 1935, 49; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 80 no. 2 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 892; S. Birnbaum, The Hebrew Scripts, 1971, 162f. no. 90*; E. Dinkler, RAC 50, 1974, 121-144 at 129; S. Cohen, JQR 72, 1981/82, 1-17 at 5 no. 43; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 391 no. ggNJ 1; Naveh, On Sherd and Papyrus 202; J. Park, Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions, 2000, 103; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 377-80; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 223ff. – Cf. S. Lieberman, Greek in Jewish Palestine/Hellenism in Jewish Palestine, 1994; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76; B. Rosenfeld, JJS 61, 2010, 234-56; H. Lapin, JQR 101, 2011, 311-46.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2206. Funerary inscription for Iudas from Tarsus, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular stone broken on top, left side and bottom right corner, but only one line of text on top and part of a letter in the lower right corner have been lost. Six-line Greek inscription (sixth line is one letter only), finely carved, deeply incised square letters; *alpha* with broken cross-bar and right leg extending upwards, stemmed *upsilon*, lunate *sigma*, serifs on all letters (and overdone in *rho* 1.5) (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

[--]
ΔΕΚΙ
ΤΕΙΟΥ
ΔΑΣΥΙ
ΟΣΙΟΣΗ
ΤΑΡΣΕΥ
Σ



fig. 2206

[ἐνθάδ] | δε κί | τε Ἰού | δας υἱ | ὃς Ἰοσῆ | Ταρσεύ | σ

Here lies Iudas son of Iose(s), from Tarsus.

Comm.: The common funerary formula ἐνθάδε κεῖται is relatively rare in Jaffa, found only here and in no. 2203, the epitaph of a man who was also from Tarsus, and no. 2190. Ἰοσῆ is either genitive of Ἰοσῆς (usually Ἰωσῆς) or indeclinable Ἰοσῆ, imitating יוֹסֵף *ywsy*; all these are short forms of biblical Yosef = Joseph, see Ilan, *Lexicon* I 150-68. Ameling notes, regarding Tarsus, that the origin from Tarsus “zu dieser Zeit keine Bürgerrechtsfragen im eigentlichen Sinn mehr betrifft”.

Bibl.: Euting 686 no. 87 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 4, 1901, 146ff. no. 18.1; J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 17; Klein, *JPCI* no. 131; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 84 no. 31 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 925; Keel - Küchler 18f. no. 8; Hemer, *Book of Acts* 225 no. 7.58; Williams, *Jews* 77 no. III.48; Ameling, *IJO* II 250; *SEG* 54, 1664.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6739.

JJP

2207. Greek funerary inscription of Iudas (son) of Paregorius, 3-6 c. CE

Irregularly shaped slab, three lines of crudely carved Greek, all margins preserved. *Alpha* with broken and stemmed cross-bar, *delta* with hyper-extended right side, round lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with very short stem (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

ΙΟΥΔΑΣ
ΠΑΡΗΓΟ
ΡΙΟΥ

Ἰούδας | Παρηγορίου

Iudas (son) of Paregorius.



fig. 2207

Comm.: Παρηγόριος (Euting and Klein misread the text as Παρεγορίου), a translation of Menaḥem (cf. Mussies), was a common Jewish Greek name, see Ilan, *Lexicon* III 353; CIIP II 1456, 1524, 1525 (Caesarea); Schwabe - Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* II, nos. 31, 61, 83. It occurs in Jaffa also in nos. 2221, 2226, 2227. It was not, however, exclusively Jewish, see Pape, *WGE* 1133.

Bibl.: Euting 688 no. 94 (ed. pr.). – J. Germer-Durand, *EO* 3, 1900, 142f.; J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 22; Klein, *JPCI* no. 133; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 87 no. 63 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 926; B. Lifshitz, *RB* 72, 1965, 520-38 at 526; G. Mussies, in: *Safrai - Stern* II, 1040-64 at 1052.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6741.

JJP

2208. Funerary inscription of Iudas son of Yannai, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular stone containing two lines of Greek, lullav at end of l.1; inscription is apparently complete. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended right hasta, *delta* with hyper-extended right leg, lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with stem; serifs on most letters (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (Schick).

ΙΟΥΔΑΣ
ΥΙΟΣΙΗΝΝΑΗ

Ἰύδας | υἱὸς Ἰηνναη

Iudas son of Yannai.



fig. 2208

Comm.: According to Schick, this inscription was found in the excavations on the Jaffa necropolis conducted by the Russian Archimandrite. Ἰηνναη (genitive of Ἰηνναης?) probably represents Yannai יַנַּי *yn'y*, which is a hypocoristic of Jonathan, judging from the case of the Hasmonean king Alexander Yannai/Yehonatan, whom Josephus calls both Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰανναῖος and Ἰωνάθης (Schalit, NW 8). See Ilan, *Lexicon* I 134f. and III 109.

Bibl.: C. Schick, *PEQ* 25, 1893, 286-93 at 291 fig. 8; A. Murray, *ibid.* 300 ad fig. 8 (edd. ppr.). – Klein, *JPCI* no. 176; *id.*, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 86 no. 49 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 924.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6737.

JJP

2209. Tomb of Iuda(s) (son) of Zachai ΨΙΜΙΘΗ with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Marble slab, upper left corner broken, three lines of deeply inscribed Greek, letters haphazardly rendered (from photo).

Meas.: h 11, w 20, d 1.25 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

ΜΝΗΜΑΙΟ
ΥΔΑΖΑΧΑΙ
ΨΙΜΙΘΗ

Μνήμα Ἰοῦδα Ζαχαί | ΨΙΜΙΘΗ

*Tomb of Iuda(s) (son) of Zachai (or:
Tomb of Iuda(s) Zachai), ΨΙΜΙΘΗ.*



fig. 2209

Comm.: Although Euting first published the text, Clermont-Ganneau (PEQ 1874) first saw the stone in Jaffa and recorded its measurements, publishing it more fully in ARP II.

The name of the deceased was *Ἰούδα*, or *Ἰούδας* if *Ἰούδα* is intended as genitive. *Ζαχαί*, obviously undeclined, is biblical *זכאי* *zky* (Neh 3,20; 7,14); *Ζαχχαῖος* in no. 2244 is the same name; in the LXX it is *Ζαχχαῖν*; according to Ilan, *Lexicon* I 90-3, III 86f., it is a hypocoristic of Zechariah. It could be either a second name of the deceased here, or his father's name.

The word in l.3 is puzzling. Euting read *Ψιμιών* or *Ψιμεών*, the latter adopted by Klein. The reading here is that of Clermont-Ganneau, who actually examined the stone. He thought it represented a place-name, perhaps "some Egyptian village" because of the initial *psi*; this exact toponym does not appear in H. Verreth, *A survey of toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 2008, but there are similar names such as *Ψιματε* (p. 476). Alternatively, it could be a family name, a phenomenon found elsewhere in Jaffa, nos. 2179, 2180, 2224, 2230.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 261-80 at 275f. no. 6; Euting, 687 no. 89; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 144 no. 5 (edd. prr.). – J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 19; Klein, JPCI no. 130; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 86 no. 50 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 923; B. Lifshitz, *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 78-100 at 86f.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6741.

JJP/HMC

2210. Tomb of Iuli(a)nus, Gregoria and Eisa with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Slab of white-gray marble, irregular square, smoothed back and front; all margins of inscription preserved, front abraded but all letters legible. Five lines of shallowly incised Greek, letters uneven, two *lulavim* beneath text. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar and extended right hasta, lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with stem, w-shaped *omega*. An *alpha* of different style very lightly etched between I and N in l.1, probably a later addition.

Meas.: h 15, w 16, d 2.2 cm; letters 1 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41685. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

top, three-legged stand. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar and legs melding into vertical line on top, lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with practically no stem.

Meas.: h 22, w 26.5, d 1.8 cm; letters 3-4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41686. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΙΥΣΗΣ
ΛΟΥΛΑ
ΒΟΥ

Ἰυσῆς | Λουλά|βου

Iuses (son) of Lulabus.

Comm.: The *upsilon* in Ἰυσῆς can reflect either peculiar pronunciation (cf. Gignac I 293f.), or a writing error; if the latter, which is more likely, the inscription is to be corrected either as Ἰωῶς (one loop of *omega* omitted) or Ἰοῶς (*omicron* not closed). The father's name seems to be based on Hebrew *lulav* לולב *lwlb*, a word first appearing in rabbinic literature (M. Sukkah 3,1 etc.) and meaning "palm-branch", one of the "four species" used ritually during the festival of Sukkoth. Another was the ethrog or citron, which seems to be behind the name Ἀθρογγαῖος (Jos. BJ 2.60, AJ 17.278); Schalit, NW 5 equates it with אתרונגא *'trwng'*. This seems to be the only recorded instance of *lulav* as the basis for a personal name.

Bibl.: A. Jaussen - L. Vincent, RB 10, 1901, 570-80 at 577 no. 21 (ed. pr.). – Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 336f.; Klein, JPCI no. 139; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 86 no. 51 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 932.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP



fig. 2211.1



fig. 2211.2

2212. Tomb of Iustus and Iaco with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Gray marble slab, broken on upper left and lower left corners, but all margins of text preserved; polished front, smoothed back. Three-line Greek inscription, *lulav* at end

of l.3; well-formed letters, cursive *alpha*, *delta* and *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg, round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*, *upsilon* with stem.
Meas.: h 19.5, w 29, d 2.3 cm; letters 1.5-2 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41665. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΙΟΥΣΤΟΥΤΝΑΦ
ΕΟΣΙΑΚΩΚΥΜΙΝΑ
ΔΙΑΣΑΛΩ

Ἰούστου γναφεύς, Ἰακω
κυμινᾶ, | διὰ Σάλω

(Tomb) of Iustus the carder
(and) of Iaco the cumin-seller;
(tomb procured) by Salo.



fig. 2212.1



fig. 2212.2

Comm.: The stone is the epitaph of two people with relatively humble professions; no καί separates their names. Vincent, followed by many editors, understood an implied [υἱοῦ], making Iaco the son of Iustus, but this is less likely: multiple burials and joint epitaphs were common in Jaffa (Tod, writing before most of the inscriptions from Jaffa were known, wrote, “that the stone should mark

the grave of two men seems to me less probable” [86 n. 2]). On the name Iaco, see no. 2192, comm. The profession of carder or fuller, γναφεύς/κναφεύς, is often mentioned in papyri, see Gignac I 77f. If the mark at the top of the *kappa* is a blemish on the stone and not an abbreviation mark for καί, the best explanation of κυμινᾶ is as genitive of κυμινᾶς, a vendor of κύμινον, a spice used in food and medicine; cf. Mt 23,23; cumin כמון *kmwn* is frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature, but not in a commercial context, e.g. M.Ter. 1,4, T.AZ 4,1. Examples of occupational nouns with the suffix -ᾶς are discussed by Masson, who by re-reading an epitaph from Isauria produces a parallel: ὁστᾶ Παύλου κιπουροῦ κυμινᾶ καὶ Στεφάνου κναφεύς. Many more instances of occupations marked by -ᾶς are collected from papyri by Gignac II 18f. This interpretation was accepted by Robert (BE; 1944, 52; 1958, 40;

Hellenica 11-12, 1960, 43) and by the editors of the LSJ Suppl. (s.v.). Vincent in ed. pr. had suggested a place-name, Κυμινᾶς, in Syria, and Dalman (cited by Klein) posited “Cumanus, Einwohner von Cumae”; both are rightly rejected by Tod.

Most editors have read the last two words as a mix of Greek and Hebrew, διὰ σαλω(μ), with σαλώ(μ) = Hebr. shalom, thus rendering an equivalent of ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Brassloff went so far as to read κυμινᾶς as κύμισις, with κύμισις διὰ σαλώ(μ) being the equivalent of the funerary formula ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησις αὐτοῦ. But this formula, common elsewhere, was not used in any of the surviving inscriptions from the Jaffa necropolis, and more important, the intention of the quite competent inscriber here is clear: he did not make such a gross mistake. Lifshitz most improbably isolated σαλώ(μ) and understood ΔΙΑ as an abbreviation of διαφέρον, indicating Iustus' ownership of the tomb.

The meaning of διὰ Σάλω is illuminated by comparison with nos. 2193 and 2243, where διὰ + name seems to indicate that a certain person made arrangements for the tomb. Σάλω is a woman's name on two Jerusalem ossuaries (CIIP I 134, 589), but here it could be hypocoristic for biblical מלך שְׁלֹמֹה *šlmh* Solomon, represented in LXX as Σαλομών, Σολομών and other variations (Hatch - Redpath, Suppl. 134, 146); Σαλώ as biblical שְׁלֹו *slw'* or שְׁלֹוּם *šlwm* (Num 25,14, 2 Kings 15,10, Hatch - Redpath, ad loc.), is less likely because of the rarity of those two names in the period, and the negative associations of the first.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 605-12 at 611f. no. 21 (ed. pr.). – BE 1904, p. 261; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 6, 1905, 174-82 at 181f. no. 21; Klein, JPCI no. 136; S. Brassloff, WS 48, 1930, 111ff. at 113; M. Tod, JHS 51, 1931, 211-255 at 253; id., PEQ 67, 1935, 85f.; BE 1936, p. 391; SEG 8, 143; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 82 no. 21 (Hebr.); L. Robert, RPh 18, 1944, 5-56 at 52; CIJ 2, 929; M. Schwabe, IEJ 3, 1953, 127-30 at 129; L. Robert, RPh 32, 1958, 15-53 at 40 n. 1; O. Masson, ZPE 11, 1973, 1-19 at 14f. pl. 2; B. Lifshitz, Euphrosyne 6, 1973/74, 23-48 at 32; id., Epigraphica 36, 1974, 78-100 at 87; SEG 26, 1671; van der Horst, Ancient Jewish Epitaphs 99f.; J. Kloppenborg Verbin, JJS 51, 2000, 243-80 at 264.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2213. Tomb of Iustus (son) of Robe(s) with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Grayish marble plaque, front and back smoothed, left side broken but top, right and bottom margins preserved. Four-line Greek inscription deeply incised, thick letters evenly and well formed; cursive *alpha*, *upsilon* with stem; rounded *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; triangular serifs on most letters.

Meas.: h 18.5, w 20.5, d 3 cm; letters 3-3.4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41649. Autopsy: 1 August 2003.

[--]ΣΤΟΥΡΩΒΗ
 [--]ΕΞΑΝΔΡ
 [--]ΣΤΡΥΤΟΠ
 ΩΛΟΥ

[Ἰού]στου Ῥωβῆ | [Ἀλ]εξανδρ[έω]ς
 γρυτοπ[ώ]λου

(Tomb) of Iustus (son) of Robe(s), Alexan-
 drian, peddler.



fig. 2213.1

Comm.: Most of the stone is preserved, and only two or three letters are missing from the beginning of ll.1-3. There may be no letters missing from l.4, since γρυτοπώλου seems correct; there could have been a symbol such as a lulav there, or, as commonly, the inscription was not perfectly planned and a shorter last line accommodated the spill-over from the previous line.

[Ἰού]στου is not the only possible restoration of the first name. Clermont-Ganneau published the inscription as if the first line were legible, but he misread the last letter in the name as *sigma*

(as did Klein: *Ιουστός Ρωβῆ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς γρυπτο[ω]λός; Ἀλεξανδρε[ύ]ς* Frey [CIJ]).

Ῥωβῆ(ς) = biblical Reuven, see full discussion in Cohen 117-28, esp. 124ff. In Jaffa the same name occurs in nos. 2193 and 2229.

The deceased had a humble profession, dealing in small wares (LSJ, s.v.); the same word (restored) occurs in the Aphrodisias synagogue inscription, Ameling, IJO II 14B l.28, translated by Ameling as “Trödler”.

On Alexandrians in Jaffa, see J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 215-31, esp. 227ff.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 138-58 at 147f. – Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 313; Klein, JPCI no. 135; id., MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74 at 371; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 83 no. 26 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 928; N. Cohen, JSJ 7, 1976, 97-128 at 124f.; van der Horst, Ancient Jewish Epitaphs 99ff.; JIGRE 148; Williams, Jews 77 no. III.49; Rajak, Dialogue 492; Ameling, IJO II, p. 105 ad l.28.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

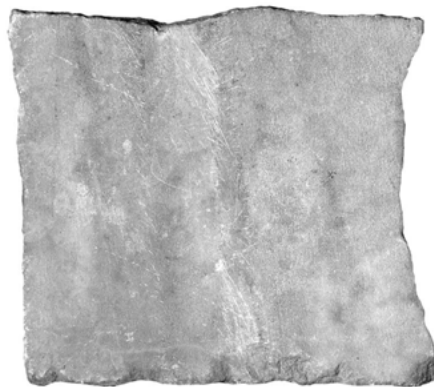


fig. 2213.2

2214. Epitaph of L'azar son of Yehoshu'a with Hebrew inscription, 3-5 c. CE

White marble plaque, polished front, upper right corner broken. Three-line Hebrew inscription; plene spelling.

Meas.: h 23, w 34, d 3 cm; letters 2.5-4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1979-503. Autopsy: 3 December 2007 and 14 May 2012.

מקום הציעתו
של עזר בן יהושע
שלום מאמא ושלום



fig. 2214

[זה] מקום הציעתו | של <ל>עזר בן יהושע. | שלום. מאמא ושלום

Translit.: [zh] mqwm hsy'tw | šl <l>'zr bn yhwšw'. | šlwm. m'm' wšlwm

This is the place of repose of L'azar son of Yehoshu'a. Peace. And peace from 'Ima.

Comm.: The missing letters at the beginning of the first line can be restored fairly confidently, as proposed. The word הציעתו *hsy'tw* is perfectly intelligible as a verb with possessive suffix, from the verb יצע *yś*, meaning to lay out or make a bed or couch. Other suggestions are fanciful or do not decipher the letters properly: הציין הז <ה> *hšywn hz<h>* "this (grave-)marker" (Clermont-Ganneau, ed. pr.); <?> [של] ום הצינ <נ>ועה <ת>אשת <?> *hšywn hš<n>w'h <bt?>'št <?>* or ום הצינועה [של] *hšywn hšnw'h* "Shalom (personal name), the modest one ..." (Lidzbarski, Klein); [מק] ום הצרעתי *[mq]wm hšr'ty* "the place of the resident of Zor'a ..." (Pedersen, Frey [CIJ], Dinkler); [בשל] ום הציעהו *[bšl]wm hsy'hw* "He laid him to rest in peace" (Löw, quoted by Klein).

The last line is also clearly read but has been deciphered variously. Klein proposed שלום מאמא ושלום *šlwm m'm'ws šlwm* "Peace from Emmaus, peace"; Fleckenstein, Shanks et al. have based historical conclusions on this. Pedersen (followed by Dinkler) suggested שלום באבותו ושלום *šlwm b'bwtw šlwm* "Peace to his fathers' house, peace"; the legible letters do not support this.

The name or by-name אמה 'm' is found frequently in the Jerusalem necropolis, see CIIP I 501 with the parallels cited there; for a similar name in Jaffa, possibly that of a man, cf. no. 2184. Her salutation here means either that she herself arranged for the tomb, or merely felt the need to add her personal expression of affection

(or both). The last two words are interpreted here “and peace from ’Ima”, but they could also be rendered “from ’Ima and Shalom”, the last word being a proper name.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 117 no. 16 (ed. pr.). – Id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 145 no. 16; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 189f.; Klein, JPCI no. 116; J. Pedersen, Inscriptio-nes semiticae collectionis Ustinowianae, 1928, 9-12 no. 26490 (=4); S. Klein, MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74 at 372f.; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 80 no. 5 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 897; H. Cavallin, Life After Death I, 1974, 166f. no. 4.12.1; E. Dinkler, RAC 50, 1974, 121-44 at 129f. no. c; K. Fleckenstein, in: id. – M. Louhivuori – R. Riesner eds., Emmaus in Judäa, 2003, 279-96 at 284f. no. 8; H. Shanks, BAR 34,2, 2008, 7 no. 8.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP/AY

2215. Tomb of Lazarus and Selaption with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Marble plaque broken into four pieces, rejoined; all margins preserved. Four-line Greek inscription; beneath text, menorah with seven branches connected at top, three-legged curved base. Letters uneven, deliberately joined (not ligatures), especially in l.1, and stylized: *alpha* with exaggerated v-shaped cross-bar extending below line; rounded *epsilon*, *mu* and lunate *sigma*; round w-shaped *omega* with flourishes on each end (from photo).

Meas.: h 25, w 26 cm (Dussaud).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, originally inv. no. AO 6214, now inv. no. AO 1279; cf. no. 2251 this vol.

ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥΚΑΙ
ΣΗΛΑΠΤΙΩ
ΝΟΤΕΚΑΣΥ
ΜΩΝΟΣ

Λαζάρου καὶ | Σηλαπτίω|νο<ς?>
τέκ<ν>α Σύ|μωνος

(Tomb) of Lazarus and Selaption,
children of Symon.

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau first saw this stone in France but reports that it came from Jaffa. The restoration here is similar to that suggested by Dussaud,



fig. 2215

who missed the *omega* in l.2 (Σηλαπτινο<ς> τέκ<ν>α; cf. Frey [CIJ] and Schwabe). TEKA could also be rendered τε καί (as suggested by Clermont-Ganneau 1878, who made a mess of the rest: Σήλ<α> Αππίωνο<ς> τε καί), but τε καί is not normally used in epitaphs from the Jaffa necropolis or other contemporary sites. Compare CIIP II 2098 from Caesarea: Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Κύρου τέκνα Σαμουήλου, and similarly a non-Jewish inscription from there, CIIP II 1528: θήκ[η] Πο[λυ]χρο[νίου] καὶ Ουρ[σο]υ, τέκ[να] Σευ[ήρου]. The second name, despite Mussies' doubts, seems to be a form of Shelamzion; its nominative form (with or without ν) and declension are in doubt; on the name, see Ilan, *Lexicon* I 426-9; III 688.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 9, 1877, 106 (ed. pr.). – Id., RA 36, 1878, 312-6; id., PEQ 14, 1882, 16-9 at 19; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295 no. 7; Dussaud, *Louvre* 79 no. 103; Klein, JPCI no. 142; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 86 no. 52 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 935; M. Schwabe, IEJ 3, 1953, 233-8 at 236; G. Mussies, in: J. van Henten - P. van der Horst eds., *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, 1994, 242-76 at 255.

Photo: RMN - les frères Chuzeville, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre.

JJP

2216. Greek epitaph of Lucianus and ..., 3-6 c. CE

A “small and flat” stone with three lines of Greek (Clermont-Ganneau).

Meas.: h 20, w 20 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣΚ[--]

[--]

[--]

Λουκιανὸς καὶ --|--|--]



fig. 2216

Lucianus and ...

Comm.: This stone was partially described but never fully published by Clermont-Ganneau. Its provenance from “the gardens” in Jaffa is based on an assertion by a French merchant to Clermont-Ganneau. Clermont-Ganneau mentions three legible lines but records only the first, containing the Latin name Lucianus.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 147 no. 11 (ed. pr.). – S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 87 no. 54 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 936.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau ARP II 147 (dr.).

JJP

**2217. Tomb belonging to Maria daughter/wife of Anatolius
with Greek and Hebrew inscription, 3-6 c. CE**

White marble plaque, polished front, unworked back, all margins of inscription preserved. Three lines of Greek shallowly incised, beneath which “shalom” is incised in stylized cursive Hebrew letters (*shin* missing). Lulavim on either side of Hebrew word. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar extending to bottom of line, both round and square *epsilon*, curved lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with long stem; middle has-tae of *mu* represented by a loop.

Meas.: h 21, w 31.5, d 4.8 cm; letters 2-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41682. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

MNHΜΑΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝ
ΤΑΜΑΡΙΑΣΑΝΑΤΟ
ΛΙΟΥΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ
𐤓𐤓

μνήμα διαφέρον|τα Μαρίας
Ἀνατολίου ἐργάτου. 𐤓𐤓<ש>

Translit.: <š>lwm

*Tomb belonging to Maria daughter/wife of Anatolius, laborer.
Peace.*



fig. 2217.1

Comm.: διαφέροντα is a false neuter, relating to μνήμα; the same is found in no. 2186. Anatolius is a well-attested Greek name in Late Antiquity, see Robert, *Hellenica* IV 54; in Jewish contexts it is found in a synagogue inscription in Lydia (Ameling, *IJO* II 62), a very late Latin-Hebrew epitaph from Taranto (Noy, *JWE* I 120), and a fifth-century papyrus from Egypt (Ilan, *Lexicon* III 212). An



fig. 2217.2

undifferentiated ἐργάτης may seem a modest profession to record in an epitaph, and the term may belie an advanced skill (the term in religious contexts from various periods is probably not relevant here, but see e.g. SEG 31, 983; TAM V.1, 144; IG

XI,2, 145; MAMA 1, 162 [ἐργάτης Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ]). As often in the Jaffa necropolis, the Hebrew word *shalom* is written with less skill than the Greek text.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 201 no. 11; id., PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 115f. no. 14 (edd. prr.). – Id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 143f. no. 14; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 189; Klein, JPCI no. 143; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 82 no. 19 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 937; B. Lifshitz, Euphrosyne 6, 1973/74, 23-48 at 29f.; id., Epigraphica 36, 1974, 78-100 at 84; van der Horst, Ancient Jewish Epitaphs 30 n. 52.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2218. Tomb belonging to Maria and Lazarus with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Plaque of white marble, smooth face, rough unworked back. Four-line Greek inscription deeply incised, grooves of letters unusually wide. All margins preserved, word-endings match line-ends. Letters are irregular in size; *alphas* have broken cross bars; *alpha*, *delta* and *lambda* have hyper-extended right leg; middle hasta of *nu* descends from top of left leg to middle of right; square *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *kappa* with abbreviation sign = *καί*. Meas.: h 24, w 28.5, d 4.1 cm; letters 3-4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis or Caesarea.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41654. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΜΗΜΟΡΙΟΝ
ΔΙΑΦΕΡΩΝ
ΜΑΡΙΑΣ
ΚΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ

Μημόριον | διαφέρων | Μαρίας |
καὶ Λαζάρου



fig. 2218.1

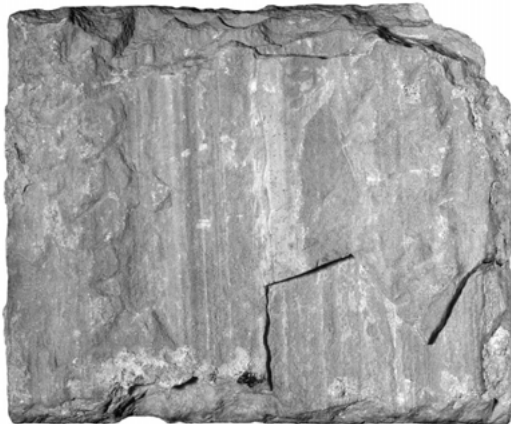


fig. 2218.2

Tomb belonging to Maria and Lazarus.

Comm.: The provenance of this stone is quite uncertain. Germer-Durand reported that it was found in Caesarea, but it almost certainly came from Jaffa. Clermont-Ganneau found it among the many stones from Jaffa in the Ustinov collection (where it is today), but noted that it was believed then to have come from Caesarea. This inscription closely resembles the Jewish epitaphs from Jaffa in style and syntax. Compare e.g. no. 2236: Μιμόριων Σύμονος Εἰσαχίου διαφέρων, and on ω for ο in διαφέρων here, see Gignac I 277.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 239-249 at 246f. no. 9 (ed. pr.). – P. Batiffol, BZ 1, 1892, 614-7 at 616; H. Gelzer, ZDPV 17, 1894, 108-82 at 180ff.; Clermont-Ganneau, EAO 1, 140f.; H. Gelzer, ZDPV 18, 1895, 236f. at 237; H. Leclercq, DACL 8, 1928, 1-254 at 239f. fig. 6391; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 150 no. 69, 177 no. 65 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 938; B. Lifshitz, Epigraphica 36, 1974, 78-100 at 86; van der Horst, Ancient Jewish Epitaphs 30; B. McLean, AncW 30, 1999, 3-28 at 16 no. 119; C. Lehmann - K. Holum, The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima, 2000, 154 no. 187; J. Park, Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions, 2000, 129f.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2219. Tomb of Marunius and Megalus with Greek inscription, 5-6 c. CE

Marble plaque, edges chipped but text intact. Three lines of Greek deeply incised, beneath which is a seven-branched menorah with tripod base, with shofar to the left of it and etrog to the right. Greek capitals, *alpha* with broken-cross bar, round *epsilon*; *omicron-upsilon* ligatures; *καί* abbreviated.

Meas.: h 23, w 25 cm; letters 3.5-4 cm (according to 1:1 drawing from excavator).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis, east of Herzl Street.

Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum, Haifa, IAA
inv. no. 1994-1017.

ΜΗΜΟΡΙΟΝ
ΜΑΡΟΥΝΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

Μημόριον | Μαρουνίου | (καί)
Μεγάλου.

Tomb of Marunius and Megalus
(or: *Megas*).



fig. 2219

Comm.: This stone was found in a socket above the entrance to “Cave B” in a burial complex discovered during a salvage excavation conducted by Y. Levi east of Herzl Street, Tel Aviv; this area lies within the ancient necropolis of Jaffa. The cave consisted of a sunken vestibule giving access to two chambers with loculi. Ceramics date from the 5-6 c. CE.

The carved symbols and findspot identify this epitaph as Jewish. *Μαρώνιος* occurs in a Jewish context at Noy, IJO I, Ach52 and Noy, JIWE II 338. *Μεγάλου* could be the genitive of either *Μέγας* or *Μεγάλος*; see no. 2221 and CIIP II 1513, with comm. ad locc.

Bibl.: Y. Levi, ESI 12, 1993, 46f. (= HA 99, 1993, 41ff. [Hebr.]) (ed. pr.). – SEG 43, 1058; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 142-62 at 143 no. 3; BE 1995, 639; Feissel, *Chroniques* 226 no. 721.

Photo: IAA.

JJP

2220. Tomb of Meke the Baker, 3-6 c. CE

Square slab with two-line Greek inscription on upper part, bottom portion blank. Cursive *alpha*, rounded *epsilon*, middle bars of *mu* rendered by curved line, *upsilon* with stem (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

ΜΕΚΗΑΡΤΟ
ΚΟΠΟΥ

Μεκη ἀρτοκόπου

(Tomb) of Meke the baker.

Comm.: The wide margin on the bottom of the stone indicates either that it was not cut to fit the inscription or that space was deliberately left for the epitaphs of other family members or for decoration not completed (compare no. 2235).

Μεκη is an extremely rare name, see Pape, WGE 883, but in this Jewish context a Semitic name may be suspected (*Micha?*); it is not in Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnennamen*. It is either genitive or indeclinable. Another baker in Jaffa is commemorated in no. 2182.

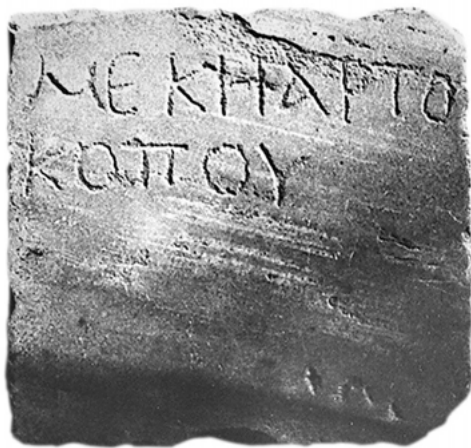


fig. 2220

Bibl.: Euting 688 no. 95 (ed. pr.). – J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 23; Klein, JPCI no. 144; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 82 no. 22 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 940; van der Horst, Ancient Jewish Epitaphs 99f.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6735.

JJP

2221. Tomb of Megalus with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular stone, right side broken but all other margins preserved. Three-line Greek inscription incised by professional hand; there is a blank space before the two remaining letters in l.3. *Alpha* with cross-bar sloping down to left; square *epsilon* and angular *mu*.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ[--]
ΠΑΡΙΓΟΡΙΟ[--]
ΚΤ[--]

Μεγάλου [--] | Παριγορίο[υ --] |
ΚΤ[--]

(Tomb) of Megalus (Megas?)
(and? son?) of Parigorius ...

Comm.: This inscription was in the collection of the Russian archimandrite when Germer-Durand published it, and it is therefore assumed to have come from Jaffa. While *Μεγάλου* is the proper genitive of *Μέγας*, which is well attested as a name both within and outside the Jewish world, the names *Μέγαλος* and *Μέγαλλος* also occur (Pape, WGE 876f.; Hagedorn, Wörterlisten 75; LGPN, 2a, 3a and 3b, s.v.); the same name occurs at Caesarea in CIIP II 1513. *Παρηγόριος* = Menahem is a popular name for Jews of the time. The name Parigorius also occurs in 2207, 2226, 2227.



fig. 2221

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 3, 1900, 142f. at 143 (ed. pr.). – S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 88 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 939; B. Lifshitz, RB 72, 1965, 520-38 at 526.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6736.

JJP

2222. Tomb of Menasses son of Abbi with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Gray marble plaque, polished front, smoothed back with groove on right side, lower left corner broken but no text lost; palm branch along bottom margin. Three-line Greek inscription deeply incised, line-ends correspond to word-endings; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with stem. Abbreviation mark at end of l.1 = *ov*. Meas.: h 17, w 23.5, d 3.5 cm; letters 3-3.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41650. Autopsy: 1 August 2003.

MHMOPI
MENASSH
YIOYABBI

Μημόρι(ον) | Μενασσῆ | υἱοῦ Ἀββι

Tomb of Menasses son of Abbi.

Comm.: Vincent examined the stone in the Ustinov collection and claimed that the stone came from the Jaffa necropolis. Μημόρι(ον) = *memorium*, as in nos. 2218, 2219 and 2236; the word was abbreviated here because of lack of space, the inscriber making sure that no word was broken over two lines.

Μενασσῆς (gen. Μενασσῆ) is the biblical name מנשה *mnšh*, Joseph's first-born (Gen 41,51 etc.), rendered by Josephus as *Μανασσῆς* and by the LXX as *Μανασση*. It is frequent in the Jewish onomasticon, Ilan, *Lexicon* I 188ff.; III 186; IV 106ff. Ἀββι is one of the many Semitic names of the period based on אבא 'b' "father", see comm. ad no. 2230.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, *RB* 14, 1905, 98-103 at 98 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – ZDPV MN 13, 1907, 10-7 at 13 no. 3; Klein, *JPCI* no. 145; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 87 no. 55 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 941; D. Goodblatt, *JSJ* 38, 1987, 38-55 at 48; J. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions*, 2000, 129f.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP/HMC



fig. 2222.1



fig. 2222.2

2223. Tomb of Meniami and Sara with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Square stone slab, corners broken but all margins preserved. Four-line Greek inscription, beneath which are two lulavim. Well-formed letters; *alpha* with straight cross-bar, round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, *mu* with buckled line for middle bars (from photo).

Meas.: h 23, w 23, d 2 cm; letters 2.4 cm (Sukenik).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (Sukenik).

MNHMHME
NIAMIKAI
ΣΑΡΑΗΡΗ
NH

Μνήμη Με|νιαμι καὶ |
Σάρα. Ἡρή|νη

*Tomb of Meniami and Sara.
Peace.*

Comm.: Like no. 2242, this stone was identified by a Russian label as coming from the Jaffa necropolis (Sukenik).

Minyamin מנימין *mnymin* is a priestly name found in the bible (2 Chron 31,15; Neh 12,17, 41), and is attested in an Aramaic graffito at Dura Europus, Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr83 as well as a papyrus (restored) from there (J. Milik, Syria 45, 1968, 97-104); the name also occurs in rabbinic literature (Kosovsky, Bab. 1022; Ilan, Lexicon IV 64ff.). But the intended name could be Βενιαμ(ε)ιν, which the LXX uses to translate מנימין (R. de Vaux, RB 45, 1936, 400ff. finds the two to be interchangeable in the LXX; cf. A. Oppenheimer, JSJ 21, 1990, 76-86 at 84f. nn. 30-1), or even Menahem. However that may be, Μενιαμι seems indeclinable, but notably Sara is not in the genitive. On η for ει in Ἡρήνη, see Gignac I 240ff. The word “peace” is frequent in Hebrew in the Jaffa necropolis, and appears in Greek in nos. 2190, 2202 (εἰρήνη) and no. 2231 (ἰρήνη).



fig. 2223

Bibl.: E. Sukenik, PEQ 64, 1932, 83f. at 84 no. 2 pl. 2 (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, RB 42, 1933, 632-7 at 635; SEG 8, 142; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 85f. no. 44 (Hebr.); M. Schwabe, Tarbiz 15, 1944, 210-3 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 942.

Photo: Sukenik, pl. 2 no. 2.

**2224. Epitaph of Naḥum son of Simon with Greek
and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE**

Cream-colored marble plaque, smoothed face and rough back, slightly smoothed edges. Four lines of Greek deeply incised, followed by a fifth line consisting of “shalom” incised in ungainly Hebrew letters; stylized lulavim (resembling menoroth) in bottom right and left corners. No words are broken between lines; cursive *alpha* and *mu*; rounded *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* in l.1 with no stem, in l.2 with normal stem.

Meas.: h 27.5, w 24.5, d 2.5 cm;
letters 1.5-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History,
University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41687.

Autopsy: 5 August 2003.

ΝΑΟΥΜ
ΥΕΙΟΣ
ΣΟΙΜΩΝΟΣ
ΤΩΝΒΑΡΒΑΒΙ
שלום

Ναουμ | υεῖδς | Σοίμωνος | τῶν
Βαρβαβι. | שלום

Translit.: šlwm

*Naḥum son of Simon of the
Barbabi family. Peace.*

Comm.: Ναουμ is the biblical name Naḥum (נְחֻם *nḥwm*), spelled here as in the Septuagint, widely used by Jews of the period (Ilan, *Lexicon* I, III, IV, s.v.). For υτ>υει and ι>οι, see Gignac 203 and 272. Given the plural τῶν, Βαρβαβι must be a family name



fig. 2224.1



fig. 2224.2

(and not a variation of $\beta\eta\rho\epsilon\beta\iota$, contra Clermont-Ganneau, Klein et al.), compare no. 2190 identifying the tomb as the $\mu\eta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \text{Βιζζου}$. The “sons of Baba” are mentioned in Jos. AJ 15,260, and the name Βαβαεις appears in no. 2186, see comm. there and Ilan, *Lexicon* I 80 (בבי).

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 113f. no. 10 (ed. pr.). – Id., *ibid.* 123; J. Hanauer, *ibid.* 120ff. at 121; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 141 no. 10; Ch. Wilson, PEQ 33, 1901, 205f. at 205; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I 188 no. 79; Klein, JPCI no. 112; id., MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74 at 373 n. 9; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 80 no. 8 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 943; B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6 1973/74, 23-48 at 30; id., *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 78-100 at 85; S. Cohen, JQR 72, 1981/82, 1-17 at 7; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 378 n. 179.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2225. Greek funerary inscription of Neicomedes, 3-6 c. CE

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (Euting).

NEIKOMH
ΔΟΥΝ+

Νεικομή|δου Ν+

(Tomb) of Neicomedes N...

aus der Necropole v. Jaffa
NEIKOMH
ΔΟΥ Ν

fig. 2225

Comm.: This epitaph was recorded by Euting in his *Tagebücher* as coming “from the Jaffa necropolis”, but nothing else is known. The common Greek name Neicomedes is followed by a N and inscrutable letters. There was probably at least one more line to this text.

Bibl.: J. Euting, *Tagebücher der Reise nach Ägypten und auf die Sinai-Halbinsel* 2. Ägypten 16.-21. April 1889, 1889, 69 (<http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/Md676-5/0141?sid=1f2bb8de2a17c6c088781329a652c4f0> [viewed: 4 March 2014]) (ed. pr.).

Photo: J. Euting, *Tagebücher* (dr.).

JJP

2226. Funerary inscription in Greek of Paregores son of Ananias

Gray marble slab, back side smoothed, all margins preserved. Three-line Greek inscription deeply incised and centered on stone (upper and lower margins 6 cm and

4 cm, respectively), *alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended left leg, lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with short stem. Space between *upsilon* and *iota* in l.2.

Meas.: h 22.5, w 23, d 3 cm; letters 2.5-3.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem, inv. no. A I.22. Autopsy: December 2009.

ΠΑΡΗΓΟΡΗΣ
ΥΙΟΣ ΑΝΑ
ΝΙΑΣ

Παρηγόρης | υἱὸς Ἀνα|νίας

Paregores son of Ananias.

Comm.: Alt reports that the stone came from the necropolis in Jaffa but he found it in a pile. Παρηγόρης = Παρηγόριος, with *η* for *ι* and *omicron* dropped. The father's name Ananias is in nominative instead of the required genitive. The name Paregorius also occurs in 2207, 2221, 2227.



fig. 2226

Bibl.: A. Alt, PJB 18-19, 1922, 100-105 at 102ff. (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 139; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 87 no. 62 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 944; B. Lifshitz, RB 72, 1965, 520-38 at 526.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP/HMC

2227. Tomb of Parigorius and Cyra with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Square marble slab, four-line Greek inscription, bottom half of face is blank; *alpha* with straight cross-bar slanting down to left and hyper-extended right leg, resembling cursive *alpha*; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* with practically no stem (from photo).

Meas.: h 27, w 27, d 2.5 cm; letters 1.6-1.9 cm (Schwabe).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in Bezalel Museum (precursor of the Israel Museum), Jerusalem.

ΠΑΡΙΓΟΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΚΥΡΑ
ΣΤΗΣΤΗΣΕΣΤΟΝΒΟΛΟ
ΝΕΥΝΓΕΝΙΚΗΣΤΟΥΛΥ
ΣΑΕΙΟΠΙΤΩΝ

Παριγορίου καὶ Κύρας τῆς {τῆς} ἐς
τὸν βόλον| συγγενικῆς τοῦ Λυσᾶ,
Εἰοπιτῶν

(Tomb) of Parigorius and Cyra of the
association of fishermen of Lysas,
from Jaffa (lit. Jaffans).



fig. 2227

Comm.: Schwabe examined this stone in the Bezalel Museum in the 1930s; he was told that it had been found in Jaffa. Much space was left on the bottom of the inscription, as if anticipating names to be added. Thus it is not certain whether the present inscription was meant as a declaration of ownership or an epitaph, or both.

Παρηγόριος was a name popular among Jews of the period (equivalent of Menaḥem, Neḥemiah etc., cf. CIIP II 1456, 1524, 1525, with comm. to no. 1465; Ilan, Lexicon III 353); the iotacism in Παριγόριος is unexceptional, and occurs also in no. 2221 from the Jaffa necropolis, while the name spelled regularly with *eta* occurs in nos. 2207 and 2226. Κύρα is the same name as Cyria, cf. CIIP I 296 with comm., I 47, I 302; Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 170; Noy, IJO I, Moes1; Noy, JIWE 486. Cyra can also be a title of respect instead of a personal name, as frequently at Beth She'arim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 39, 57, 66, 70, 151, 165, 191, 219; cf. JIGRE 15; Noy, IJO I, Ach52). It is obviously a name here, as it is also in nos. 2174 and 2247 from Jaffa, both Aramaic. It was not an exclusively Jewish usage either as name or title, see Pape, WGE 745 (Κύρη), and Ameling, IJO II 248 with comm. ad loc., quoting Robert.

The inscriber incised a superfluous τῆς in l.2, although Schwabe suggested it was intentional, the first τῆς an attributive pronoun referring to Cyra and the second a definite article with συγγενικῆς, but this seems less likely than simple dittography; if Schwabe is right, then only Cyra belonged to the fishermen's association. The meaning of the phrase τῆς ἐς τὸν βόλον συγγενικῆς is not immediately apparent, but the best suggestion (SEG) is to take συγγενική (συγγένεια) as a professional association, a collegium, and βόλος "casting a net" as "fish caught", thus a guild of fishermen, of which Lysas was the founder or head; on the name Lysas see Hagedorn, Wörterlisten 72; LGPN 3a-5a, s.v. Schwabe understood συγγενική to refer more narrowly to the family of the deceased, i.e., "family of fishermen", which is not impossible. But the suggestion that συγγενικῆς τοῦ Λυσᾶ refers to Cyra

as “relative of Lysas” forces Greek grammar and flexible word-order too far. In any case, a group of fishermen would be appropriate for Jaffa. Εἰσιπιδῶν must refer to the deceased; to make it refer to the fishermen’s guild would require the definite article τῶν from an inscriber who knew how to use definite articles. The only other surviving inscription from Jaffa mentioning the city is no. 2234.

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, Sefer ha-Yovel le-Professor Samuel Krauss, 1936, 80-6 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 140; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 82 no. 20 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 945; B. Lifshitz, RB 72, 1965, 520-38 at 526; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More 1, 1990, 67-90 at 80 no. 18 (Hebr.); Hachlili, Funerary Customs 208f.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6517.

JJP

2228. Tomb of Patrice, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular marble slab, reddish tint, front and back smoothed, stone broken on bottom just at bottom line of letters; upper right side damaged; red pigment preserved in some letters. Three lines of deeply incised Greek, letters well formed and relatively uniform; *alpha* with straight cross-bar slightly inclined upwards to right and hyper-extended right hasta, cursive *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, vertical bar of *phi* extends below line, stemmed *upsilon*.

Meas.: h 9, w 26, d 3.2 cm; letters 1.5-2 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41678. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΜΝ[.]
ΜΑΔΙΑΦΕΡΙΑ
ΠΟΠΑΤΡΙΚΗΣ

Τοῦτο τὸ μν[ῆ]μα διαφέρει
ἀπὸ Πατρικῆς

This tomb belongs to Patrice.

Comm.: For εἰ>ι in διαφέρει, see McLean, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy 349. The syntax, διαφέρειν with ἀπὸ + genitive (v. infra) = belong to, is quite odd. Πατρικῆς can be



fig. 2228.1

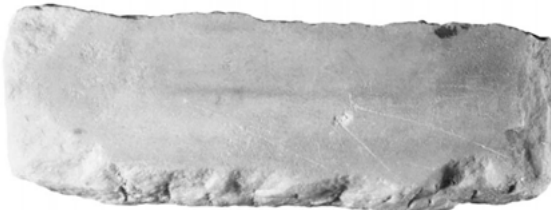


fig. 2228.2

understood as genitive of Patrice or Patricia, but this is a rare name for Jews (cf. Noy, *JWE* II, 287), and furthermore it is highly unusual for the owner of a tomb to be a woman. Thus one cannot rule out that the name is Patricius, with $\iota>\eta$ and *omicron* dropped, compare Ἰσάκις no. 2203 and Παρηγόρης no. 2226. Patricius is less rare in Jewish contexts (see Ilan, *Lexicon* I 336; Ameling, *IJO* II 14B, l.53 and Ameling's comment ad loc.), yet the resulting syntax, with $\alpha\pi\delta$ + nominative, produces yet even stranger grammar, even in an epigraphic group marked by grammatical irregularity. The alleged findspot is the main reason for considering this inscription Jewish.

Bibl.: Euting 684 no. 73 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *AMSL* 11, 1885, 157-251 at 200 no. 4; J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 14; Klein, *JPCI* no. 147; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 87 no. 56 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 947; B. Lifshitz, *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 78-100 at 86; van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* 30.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2229. Tomb of Rube son of Iacob with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

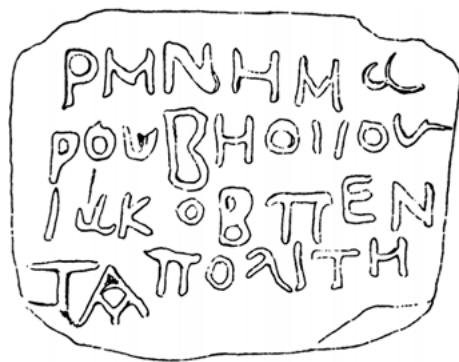
Square stone slab, margins preserved. Four-line Greek inscription, cursive *alphas* ll.1 and 3, *alpha* with broken cross-bar l.4., square *epsilon*, Latinate U (from drawing).

Meas.: h 11, w 14 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

PMNHMA
ΡΟΥΒΗΟΙΟΥ
ΙΑΚΟΒΙΕΝ
ΤΑΠΟΛΙΤΗ

{P}Μνήμα | Ρουβη οίοϋ |
'Ιακοβ Πεν|ταπολίτη



Tomb of Rube son of Iacob, from Pentapolis.

fig. 2229

Comm.: By the time he published this inscription in 1896, Clermont-Ganneau did not remember whether he found it himself or saw it among the possessions of the Russian Archimandrite (same with nos. 2185, 2188, 2204 and 2248). The letter-forms are mixed (square *epsilon* with cursive *alpha*, two styles of *alpha*) and irregular, as is the spelling (οίοϋ , on $\upsilon>\text{οι}$, cf. Gignac I 273ff.). The cursive *alpha* in

l.3 is very poorly formed, but Clermont-Ganneau's drawing may not be entirely accurate. Πενταπολίτη is presumably intended as a genitive.

The initial *rho* in the first line was a mistake of the inscriber: he started writing the name of the deceased and then realized that he needed to start the inscription with *μνήμα*.

On the name Πουβη = biblical Reuven, see N. Cohen 117-28, esp. 124ff., and the same name in nos. 2193 and 2213; the form here is similar to LXX Πουβην. The father's name represents the pronunciation of the Hebrew name Jacob (יַעֲקֹב *yāqov* Ya'akov).

Pentapolis probably refers to the region in western Cyrenaica by that name, which during the probable period of this inscription was an informal name for the Roman province in the area; yet there was also a region by that name in Phrygia (Barrington Atlas 62).

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 261-80 at 275 no. 9; id., ARP II 143f. (edd. prr.). – S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 84 no. 34 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 950; N. Cohen, JSJ 7, 1976, 97-128 at 124f.; Williams, Jews 77 no. III.52; Rajak, Dialogue 492.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 143 (dr.).

JJP

2230. Greek funerary inscription for Samoēs, Abbomares and Esses, 3-6 c. CE

Irregularly shaped stone, broken into three pieces, a fourth piece from upper left corner missing. Five lines of amateurishly inscribed Greek. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar slanting down to the left and extended right leg; short-stemmed *upsilon*; round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; w-shaped *omega*. In lower left-hand corner, traces of perhaps the edge of a tabula ansata; on lower right, traces of ornamentation, either erased or never completed (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

[..]ΜΩΗΣ
ΑΒΒΟΜΑΡΗΣ
ΗΣΣΗΣ
ΥΙΟΙ ΑΒΒΩΝΕΣ
ΟΙΤΑΣΕΛΗΑΣ

[Σα]μωής |
Ἀββομαρής |
Ἡσσης | υἱοὶ
Ἀββωνες | οἱ
Τασεληας



fig. 2230

Samoēs, Abbomares, Esses (or: Hesses), the sons of Abbones(?), the (family) Taseleas(?).

Comm.: The inscription was not executed by a professional hand but is logically laid out, with no words broken between lines: three brothers, whose names in the nominative each occupy one line, are followed by their collective patronym, and a family name (apparently) in the final line. The first line may be confidently restored [Σα]μωής = either hypocoristic of Samuel (שמואל) or more likely the biblical name Shamua (שמוע), in Num 13,4, 2 Sam 5,14, 1 Chron 14,4, Neh 11,17 and 12,18, variously transliterated in LXX, none exactly as here (Hatch - Redpath, Suppl. 136f.; cf. J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 226). It occurs in two other inscriptions from the Jaffa necropolis (nos. 2231, 2232).

Abbomares is an obviously Semitic name, composed of אב(') "father" and מרי *mry*, a title of respect translating roughly "my master".

The name Abba Mari אבא מרי occurs many times in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, e.g. yBer. 1,3 2b; yTer. 8,46 2d; bGit. 29b, 76b; bKid. 31b; etc.; and the Jerusalem Talmud has further instances of אבמרי *'bmry*, e.g. yDem. 2,22, 3a, kBik. 1,63 4c etc. and see Kosovsky, Bab. and Kosovksy, Jer., s.v. This name occurs on two other epitaphs from Jaffa, as Ἀββομαρι in no. 2182 and Ἀμβωμαρη in no. 2187; it is not impossible that two of them, or all, are somehow related. Note also Ἀμβαμαρις in Phoenicia, Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III, Syr23. The third brother's name, Ησσης, could represent the biblical name ישי *yśy* Yishai (it is Ἰεσσαῖος in Josephus and Ἰεσσαί in LXX, see Hatch - Redpath, Suppl. 83); note parallel Ἰσσης from Gaza, no. 2462; for possibly the same name spelled differently in the Jaffa necropolis, nos. 2193, 2196, 2202, 2210; for the Gaza occurrences, Ovadiah maintains that it is אסי *'sy* used by rabbinic sages, see comm. ad no. 2462 and cf. Margalioth, Encyclopedia I 156-61. The father's name, while unparalleled, is clearly based on אב *'b* "father"; if this is a genitive, the nominative is not obvious; Wuthnow, Semitische Menschnamen 10, mentions Αβουνα and Αβουνου. Τασεληας is probably to be counted among the several family names mentioned in Jaffa (not an ethnic, contra Klein and BE 1971); see introduction to the necropolis.

Bibl.: Euting 687 no. 90 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 220; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 20; Klein, JPCI no. 121; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 84 no. 30 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 901; BE 1971, 695.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6734.

JJP

2231. Tomb of Samoēs son of Cholbidias with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular white marble plaque, broken into six pieces but glued back together; smoothed face, rough unfinished back and edges, left side missing but text complete. Three-line inscription, first two in deeply incised wide-lined Greek, 1.3

Greek+shallowly incised Hebrew. Word-breaks coincide with line-breaks. *Alphas* with both straight and broken cross-bars with hyper-extended right leg; round lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *delta* and *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg; *upsilon* with stem; serifs.

Meas.: h 19, w 46.5, d 3 cm; letters 3-4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis, "Cave B" south of Kibbutz Galuyot Street.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1995-138. Autopsy: 2001 and 2012.

ΤΟΠΙΟΣΣΑΜΩΗΥΙΟΥ
ΧΟΛΒΙΔΙΑΙΡΗΝΗΤΩ
ΙΣΤΡΑΗΛ

τόπος Σαμωῆ υἱοῦ |
Χολβιδία· ἱρήνη τῷ |
Ἰσραήλ. שלום



fig. 2231

Translit.: šlwmm

Tomb of Samoes son of Cholbidias. Peace on Israel. Peace.

Comm.: This inscription was found in "Cave B", one of the eight caves at the foot of the hill south of Kibbutz Galuyot Street, excavated by H. Ritter Kaplan in 1975/76. The Kaplans' field notes have been analyzed by A. Ecker in his MA Thesis, see introduction to nos. 2179-2181. The cave consisted of a sunken square vestibule leading to two chambers with loculi. The present stone was found face-down in the vestibule. Ritter Kaplan determined that it had originally been attached above the entrance to the eastern chamber.

Σαμωῆ is the genitive of Σαμωῆς, the biblical name Shamua (שמוע' šmw', Num 13,4), one of the spies sent into Canaan. The name is transliterated variously in the LXX. It is attested in rabbinic literature and in documents from the Judean desert, see ed. pr. The name occurs in two other inscriptions from the Jaffa necropolis (nos. 2230, 2232). Χολβιδίας is so far without parallel. It is reminiscent of the Hebrew name Caleb (כלב *klb*), note various renderings in Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 146: Χολαιβος, Χαλβης, etc. It would be odd indeed if a man named after Caleb named his son after one of the notorious spies who opposed Caleb. On the spelling ἱρήνη, see no. 2223 comm. The spelling Ἰσραήλ reflects pronunciation; it is amply attested in literary and documentary evidence, see Price.

Bibl.: J. Price, *SCI* 22, 2003, 215-31 at 226f. no. 5 (ed. pr.). – H. Ritter Kaplan, *IEJ* 42, 1992, 246-9 at 249 no. 3; *SEG* 42, 1469; *SEG* 53, 1851; *BE* 2004, 393; Feissel, *Chroniques* 226 no. 722.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2232. Greek funerary inscription of Samues (son) of Amachius, 3-6 c. CE

White marble slab broken into three pieces, fitted together; smoothed back and polished front. Two lines of Greek incised to medium depth; inscription centered, filling stone with even margins. Well-executed letters: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; *upsilon* with long stem; lunate *sigma*. Upside-down *alpha* 3 cm tall on top of final *upsilon* l.2.

Meas.: h 24.5, w 36.5, d 2.8 cm; letters 6.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41671.

Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΣΑΜΟΥΗΣ

ΑΜΑΧΙΟΥ

Σαμουῆς | Ἀμαχίου

Samues (son) of Amachius.



fig. 2232.1

Comm.: Both Σαμουῆς and Ἀμαχίος are attested Jewish names, thus there is no need to read with Clermont-Ganneau, CIJ et al.: Σαμουή(λ) Σαμαχίου; see Williams. Σαμουῆς is either a hypocoristic form of Samuel שמואל *šmwʾl* or more likely the biblical name שמוע *šmwʿ*; it occurs elsewhere in Jaffa, in nos. 2230 and 2231 (see comm. ad locc.). Klein, Lidzbarski et al. interpreted the small upside-down *alpha* as a palm branch, but it is



fig. 2232.2

clearly a letter. Either it was on the stone already, or more likely the inscriber originally carved it by mistake, then turned the stone upside down and cleverly incorporated it into the inscription, making it look like an ornament.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 119 no. 20 (ed. pr.). – Id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 149 no. 20; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 190; Klein, JPCI no. 151; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 87 no. 58 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 952; M. Williams, ZPE 92, 1992, 248-52 at 250 n. 18; SEG 42, 1438; BE 1993, 773; BE 2004, 393.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

**2233. Epitaph of Samuel (son) of Gallus with Greek
and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE**

Square stone slab, all margins preserved, four-line bilingual inscription with three lines of Greek and a fourth line with Greek and Hebrew. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar; square *epsilon*, *omicron* and lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with short stem (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

ΣΑΜΟΥ
ΗΛΓΑΛ
ΛΟΥΒΗΡ
ΕΒΙ שְׁלֹמ

Σαμουήλ Γάλλου βηρεβι. שְׁלֹמ

Translit.: šlwm

Samuel (son) of Gallus, berebi. Peace.

Comm.: The Roman cognomen Gallus is probably the father's name but could be a second name of Samuel, if Σαμουήλ is undeclinable and understood as genitive ("tomb of ..."); so far Gallus has no parallel in a Jewish context.

The title בִּירְבִּי *byrby* occurs dozens of times in rabbinic literature (see S. Friedman, *Studies in Talmudic Language and Terminology*, [forthcoming], Part II chapters 1-15 for full assemblage of sources and discussion) and is found also in inscriptions from Iudaea/Palaestina, including as many as four Hebrew or Aramaic inscriptions in Jaffa, no. 2205 (combined with, and therefore different from, "rabbi"), no. 2239, and possibly nos. 2197 and 2200; an ossuary from H. Rimmon, cf. Rahmani, CJO 865; epitaphs in Beth She'arim, cf. Mazar, Beth She'arim I no. 40 and Avigad, Beth She'arim III no. 16 (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II no. 89, Βαραβαι, is not to be interpreted as βηρεβι); synagogue inscriptions from Beth Alfa and Susiya, cf. Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 43 and 75; and an epitaph from Zoar mentioning רבי סימון בִּירְבִּי *rby symwn byrby*, cf. J. Naveh, Tarbiz 69, 2000, 622f. The present inscription is the only instance in Greek. Although in rabbinic literature the term can mean רבי בן/בר *bn/br rby* = son of a/the rabbi, which must have been its original significance, it developed into a title of respect and status, appearing after the person's name, as here; S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 2nd ed. 1965, 157, translates it as "great" (and in his Hebrew version of the same book [Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine, 1962; both repr. in one vol. 1994], as בֶּן גְּדוֹלִים *bn gdwlym*, lit. "the son of greats", following Rashi); whether it was formal-



fig. 2233

ized as a title and position is a matter of controversy; Friedman stresses its informal use as a sign of affection in rabbinic texts. In all epigraphic instances except possibly Avigad, Beth She‘arim III 16, רבי יהושע בירבי הלל בן אטיון *rby yhšw' byrby hll bn 'tywn*, it serves as a mark of respect and status. That is its indisputable meaning here, revealing in Greek how the two elements בר/בן *bn/br* and רבי *rby* coalesced into a single term. On rabbis in inscriptions, with discussions of the title *berebi*, see the articles of S. Cohen, JQR 72, 1981/82, 1-17; Rajak, Dialogue 479-500; S. Miller, JQR 94, 2004, 27-76 and B. Rosenfeld, JJS 61, 2010, 234-56, and now H. Lapin, JQR 101, 2011, 311-46 (with an updated appendix of epigraphical references to “rabbi”).

Bibl.: Euting 681 no. 54 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 141 no. 10.2, 218-24 at 220; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295 no. 10; Klein, JPCI no. 113; id., MGWJ 75, 1931, 369-74 at 373 n. 9; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 80 no. 9 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 951; H. Cavallin, Life After Death I, 1974, 166f. no. 4.12.1; Hachlili, Funerary Customs 223.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6729.

JJP

2234. Tomb purchased from Baruchius with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Yellowish-white marble plaque, smoothed face, rough back; all margins preserved; 4.5 cm of blank space on bottom. Six-line Greek inscription incised by professional hand, although ll.3-6 squeezed together and slanting slightly down to right. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar sloping down to left; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* with stem.

Meas.: h 18.2, w 23.4, d 2.4 cm; letters 2 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41646. Autopsy: 1 August 2003.

ΗΓΟΡΑΣΑΕΓΟΣΑΟΥΛ
ΕΝΘΙΟΠΠΗΠΑΡΑ
ΒΑΡΟΥΧΙΟΥΜΝΗΜΑ
ΑΝΕΘΙΚΑΜΕΝΠΡ
ΩΤΩΣΣΑΟΥΛΚΑΙ
ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΗΝ

ἡγόρασα ἐγὼ Σαουλ | ἐν τῇ
Ἰόππῃ παρὰ | Βαρουχίου
μνήμα. | ἀνεθίκαμεν πρὶ | ὡς
Σαουλ καὶ | Συνκλητικὴν



fig. 2234.1

I, Saul, purchased (this) tomb from Baruchius in Jaffa. We first deposited (here) Saul and Syncletice.

Comm.: Unlike many other stones in the Ustinov collection in Oslo, the attribution of this stone to the Jaffa necropolis depends not on Clermont-Ganneau's vague report, but on the content of the text itself. The only other stone surviving from the Jaffa necropolis and mentioning the city is no. 2227, the tomb of Παριγορίου καὶ Κύρα ... Εἰσιπιτῶν. Yet here the city is mentioned not as the origin of the deceased but as the



fig. 2234.2

place of the purchased tomb, reflecting perhaps the legal language of the original transaction. Clermont-Ganneau supposed, improbably, that Jaffa is mentioned because the deceased had come from abroad. The acquisition of tombs in Jaffa was managed, apparently, in an orderly and legal manner, as indicated by other stones mentioning purchase and ownership (ἡγόρασα in no. 2181, διὰ in no. 2193; forms of διαφέρειν in nos. 2186, 2217, 2218, 2228, 2236, cf. also nos. 2189, 2190, 2196), see introduction to Jaffa necropolis. A similar formula registering purchase is used on a Jewish dedicatory inscription from Acmonia, Ameling, IJO II 171.

The first three lines, recording the purchase, were incised with generous and regular spacing (aside from the somewhat smaller *alpha* at the end of l.3, indicating the shortage of space at the end of the line and the inscriber's desire to confine the whole sentence to three lines). The next three lines, recording the first burials in the tomb, are squeezed together, and a word is broken between ll.4 and 5, indicating the prevailing desire to conserve space. The relatively large blank space at the bottom of the stone could have been intended for further family members.

Σαουλ is the LXX version of the biblical name Saul (שאול). Baruch (ברוך) is also a biblical name (Jer 22,12, etc.; Neh 3,20, 10,7); the present Greek version is closer to Josephus' Βαροῦχος than LXX Βαρουχ (cf. Schalit, NW 25). Συνκλητική (Συγκλητική) is a relatively rare female name (LGPN vols. 1, 4, 5a, s.v.; Pape, WGE 1459), unique so far in the Jewish onomasticon. It is interesting that no patronymics are mentioned, thus obscuring (for us: the family obviously knew) whether the Saul who purchased the tomb and the Saul who was interred there were the same person. By the same token, the plural subject of ἀνεθίκαμεν is obscure.

The interchange of η and ι in ἀνεθίκαμεν and of ω and ο in ἐγὼ is common in the period (Gignac I 235-7, 275-7); ἀνεθήκαμεν is an aorist form used in later Greek prose.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 19, 1885, 14f. (ed. pr.). – Id., RAO 1, 1888, 99f.; id., PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 110 no. 3; id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 139 no. 3; id., RAO 6, 1905, 314ff. at 315f.; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 83 no. 24 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 953; Hemer, Book of Acts 225 no. 7.58.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2235. Greek funerary inscription of the Ḥazan (?) Symon, 3-6 c. CE

Square stone, all sides preserved, abraded façade, two lines of Greek on upper part of stone, large bottom margin filled with lulav. Initial *alpha* with incomplete broken cross-bar, second *alpha* cursive; cursive scribal *mu*; round lunate *sigma*; w-shaped *omega*. Second character in l.1 (one or two letters) unidentifiable (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

Α/ΑΘΖΑΝΣΥ
ΜΩΝΟΣ

Α{θ}ζαν Σύ|μωνος

(Tomb) of the Ḥazan(?) Symon.

Comm.: The chaotic execution of the first two or three letters renders the first word inscrutable. The first letter could be an incomplete *alpha* or *lambda* with a superfluous stroke. The second letter cannot be a *lambda*, as Euting thought in proposing a “barbaric” name (Αλζαν, adopted by Klein and Frey [CIJ]); A. Veronese, in her unpubl. M.A. thesis (Hebr. Univ. Jerusalem), has suggested cursive *theta*, which may be supported by the cursive *mu* and *alpha*, hinting perhaps at an inexperienced scribal hand. It cannot be ruled out that the second character is not a letter but a symbol, although its placement would be exceedingly strange; but if so, then the title Αζαν = ḥazan can be read. If this first word is a name, then Σύμωμος is the patronymic. If it is a title, then it applies to Simon himself. On the ḥazan in synagogues, see Levine, Ancient Synagogue 410-7; and see comm. to CIIP II 1490, a ḥazan in Caesarea.



fig. 2235

Bibl.: Euting 687 no. 91 (ed. pr.). – J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 21; Klein, JPCI no. 123; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 85 no. 41 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 905.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6739.

JJP

2236. Tomb of Simon son of Eisakius, 3-6 c. CE

White marble slab with gray streaks, broken in half and glued back together, abraded front, smoothed back; bottom right corner broken, but no text seems to be lost. Three-line Greek inscription, letters incised to uneven depth, varying size; *alpha* with v-shaped cross bar extending to bottom of letter, left hasta hyper-extended; square *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* with very short stem. Meas.: h 13, w 27.5, d 2 cm; letters 2.5-3 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41662. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΜΙΜΟΡΙΩΝΣΥ
ΜΟΝΟΣΕΙΣΑΚΙ
ΟΥΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝ

Μιμόριων Σύ|μονος Εἰσακί|ου
διαφέρων

*The tomb belonging to Simon
(son) of Eisakius.*



fig. 2236.1

Comm.: For the interchange of ε-η-ι and ω with ο, see Gignac I 235f. and 275f. Neuter singular διαφέρων agrees with μιμόριων (= μημόριον/μεμόριον = *memorium*); the genitive Σύμονος, instead of dative expected with διαφέρων, could be influenced by the usual genitive after μημόριον.



fig. 2236.2

Bibl.: Euting 684 no. 74 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 200 no. 6; id., PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 112 no. 6; id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 139 no. 6; id., RAO 7, 1905, 195f. no. 2; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 15; Klein, JPCI no. 153; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv,

1939, 87 no. 59 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 955; BE 1955, 245; B. Lifshitz, *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 78-100 at 86; van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* 30.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2237. Tomb of Symon son of Iaco with Greek and Hebrew inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular white marble slab, smoothed front, rough back, margins preserved. Four-line bilingual inscription: three lines of Greek; Hebrew "shalom" on separate line, flanked by lulav bottom left and six-branched menorah bottom right corner. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, *upsilon* with long stem, rounded lunate *sigma* and *w*-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: h 15.5, w 23, d 2.8 cm; letters 2-3 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41677. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ΣΥΜΩΝΟΣ
ΥΙΟΥ ΙΑΚΩ
ΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ
שלום

Σύμωνος | υἱοῦ Ἰακω |
Διοσπολίτου | שלום

Translit.: šlwm

(Tomb) of Symon son of Iaco,
from Diospolis. Peace.



fig. 2237.1

Comm.: Word-ends and line-ends correspond throughout. On the name of the father, Ἰακω, see comm. to no. 2192. There are several cities called Diospolis in this period, including three in Egypt, where there was also a Diospolites Nomos (Barrington Atlas 74, 77, 80), and indeed Clermont-Ganneau thought the deceased was from Egypt; see



fig. 2237.2

J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 215-31 at 227-31. But closer to Jaffa there was the Colonia Lucia Septimia Severa Diospolis, present-day Lod (TIR 171). In fact it is not certain whether Διοσπολίτου refers to the son or father.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 114f. no. 12 (ed. pr.). – Id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 143 no. 12; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I 189; Klein, JPCI no. 154; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 83f. no. 29 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 956; M. Schwabe, IEJ 3, 1953, 127-30 at 128; L. Robert, RPh 32, 1958, 15-53 at 40; JIGRE 150; J. Park, Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions, 2000, 91.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2238. Greek epitaph of Symmachus of Chios, 3-6 c. CE

Marble slab, smooth front, rough back; all margins preserved. Three-line Greek inscription deeply incised by professional hand; lulavim in upper left and lower right corners. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar sloping down to left; lunate *sigma*; *mu* with straight middle hastae, forming a V starting from middle of left and right hastae; *upsilon* with short stem. Meas.: h 23.5, w 31.5, d 3.5 cm; letters 4.5-5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41676.

Autopsy: 4 August 2003.



fig. 2238.1

ΣΥΜΜΑ

ΧΟΥ

ΧΙΟΥ

Συμμάχου | Χίου

(Tomb) of Symmachus of Chios.

Comm.: This inscription is identified as Jewish by its alleged provenance and the two lulavim. It is the only evidence of Jews from Chios during the Roman

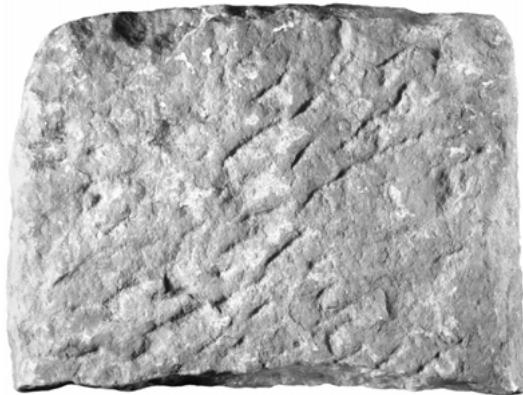


fig. 2238.2

Empire. Symmachus was a common Greek name used by Jews, *Ilan*, *Lexicon I* 307; *III* 375; Schwabe - Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim II* 170.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, *RB* 14, 1905, 98-103 at 98 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – *ZDPV MN* 13, 1907, 10-7 at 13 no. 2; Klein, *JPCI* no. 152; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 87 no. 57 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 954; Williams, *Jews* 77 no. III.53; Ameling, *IJO II* 4.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2239. Epitaph of Tanḥum with Hebrew or Aramaic inscription, 3-6 c. CE

White marble plaque with three lines of Hebrew letters, one word to a line. Spikes on letters.

Meas.: h 22.5, w 23, d 2.5 cm; letters ca. 3 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1979-502. Autopsy: 3 December 2007 and 14 May 2012.

תנחום
ביריבי
שלום

Translit.: tnhwm byryby šlwm

Tanḥum berebi. Peace.

Comm.: Tanḥum is a name found in Jaffa twice more in Greek nos. 2193 and 2240. On the title *berebi*, see comm. ad no. 2233.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEQ* 32, 1900, 110-20 at 117 no. 17 (ed. pr.). – Id., *RAO* 4, 1901, 138-51 at 146 no.

17; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris I* 190; Klein, *JPCI* 38 no. 111; J. Pedersen, *Inscriptiones semiticae collectionis Ustinowianae*, 1928, 9 no. 26491 (=3); S. Klein, *MGWJ* 75, 1931, 369-74 at 370 n. 4; E. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara)*, 1935, 48f.; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 80 no. 3 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 893; J. Kaplan, *Biblical Archaeologist* 35,3, 1972, 66-93 at 92; E. Dinkler, *RAC* 50, 1974, 121-44 at 129 no. b; S. Cohen, *JQR* 72, 1981/82, 1-17 at 6 no. 44; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 378 n. 178; Hachlili, *Funerary Customs* 223.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.



fig. 2239

JJP

2240. Epitaph of the grandson of a Jewish officer in the Roman army in the 4 c. CE with Greek and Hebrew inscription

White marble slab, smoothed face, inscribed with six lines of Greek and the word “shalom” written in Hebrew letters in a seventh line, with a lulav. The Greek letters are inexpertly carved, of uneven size, with many showing double chisel marks; *alpha* with broken cross-bar; round *epsilon*, *sigma* and w-shaped *omega* (square *sigma* l.2); *upsilon* with stem, *mu* with curved line for middle hastae (from photo). Meas.: h 28, w 28, d 3.7 cm (IMC).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

ΘΑΝΟΥΜΥΙΟΣ
ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣΕΝ
ΓΟΝΙΝΒΕΝΙΑ
ΜΙΝΤΟΥΚΕΝ
ΤΗΝΑΡΙΟΥΤΗΣ
ΠΑΡΕΝΜΒΟΛΗΣ
שלום

Θανουμ υἱὸς | Σίμωνος ἐν|γόνιν
Βενια|μιν τοῦ κεν|τηναρίου τῆς |
Παρε|ν|μβολῆς | שלום

Translit.: šlwm

*Thanum son of Simon, grandson
of Benjamin the centenarius from
Parembole. Peace.*



fig. 2240

Comm.: The inscription was displayed in 1972 in an exhibition in the Israel Museum, subsequently lost.

Θανουμ represents the Hebrew name *Tnhwm* תנחום, “consolation”. It appears in the Jaffa necropolis in no. 2193 (mentioning a Benjamin as well) and no. 2239, and elsewhere in the Jewish world: Ilan, *Lexicon* I 417, III 681, IV 405.

ll.2-3: ἐνγόνιν: the identical form, also as nominative, is found in the inscription from the Ascalon synagogue, no. 2321, and in an epitaph from Venosa (ινγόνιν, Noy, *JWE* I 62); this is the same word as ἐγγόνην, also nominative, in *CIIP* II 1123, a 4-6 c. funerary inscription from Apollonia; ἐνγόνιν may reflect the diminutive ἐγγόνιον, found in Greek literature from the 3 c. and later (*Hist. Alex. Magni* 78,16, cf. *Sophocles* 412), and in inscriptions (e.g., *TAM* II 3, 1086); in Classical Greek the word would be ἔγγονος.

The grandfather Benjamin is probably named in the epitaph because of his distinction as *centenarius*. This term indicated a lower officer rank in the Late Ro-

man army, not earlier than the fourth century; see D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer*, 1969 vol. I passim; cf. M. Christol, ZPE 158, 2006, 243-50. There were also centenarii among the *agentes in rebus*, with quasi-military functions; compare no. 2177. The Jews were banned from civil and military posts in 418 (Cod. Theod. 16.8.24), so that Benjamin the grandfather held the post before that date.

l.6: the inscriber accidentally carved *nu* instead of *mu*, and rather than attempting erasure or correction, merely carved the correct letter next to it.

Preamble could be a place-name or a generic military camp. Barrington's Atlas lists two places by this name in Egypt (75 E2, 81 C2) and one in Macedonia (49 D2); Horbury and Noy (JIGRE), ad loc., thought that "this is probably the one just south of Syene on the upper Nile, mentioned as a *statio* in the Antonine itinerary 161W".

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RCr 8, 1883, 141-7 at 143 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Euting 682 no. 57; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 137-41 no. 2; id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 148 no. 19; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295 no. 12; Klein, JPCI no. 155; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 81 no. 14 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 920; BE 1964, 506; IMC no. 266; H. Cavallin, *Life After Death I*, 1974, 166f. no. 4.12.1; JIGRE 147; Williams, *Jews* 97; H. Lapin, in: E. Meyers ed., *Galilee through the Centuries*, 1999, 239-68 at 262; J. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions*, 2000, 91; Jaroš, *Inschriften* 401f. no. 262; Rajak, *Dialogue* 492; Evans 70.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6733.

JJP

2241. Greek funerary inscription of Thuma[--] and Ana[--], 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular stone, surface abraded; left, bottom and apparently top edges preserved, broken on right side. Two lines of partially legible Greek; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon*, *upsilon* with stem (from photo).

Meas.: h 13.5, w 19.5 cm (Dussaud).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1294.

ΘΑΥ[--]

ΚΕΑΝΑ[--]

Θαυ[μα --] | καὶ Ἀνα[--]

Thuma... and Ana...

Comm.: Dussaud printed Θαυ[μ]α, indicating that he saw a second *alpha* in l.1 which is not visible in the photograph, but makes it most likely that the fourth letter was *mu*: of the 24 names in LGPN beginning ΘΑΥ[--], 22 have *mu* as the next letter, and 13 of those have *alpha*



fig. 2241

after that. *Θαυμα* with no additional letters is not a specifically Jewish name; it resembles *Θυμη* in Beth She‘arim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She‘arim II 11f.), which Schwabe and Lifshitz equate with the Palmyrene name *תמא tm’*. The possibilities for restoring the second name are numerous.

Bibl.: Dussaud, Louvre 80 no. 105 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 192 no. 91; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 87 no. 60 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 921.

Photo: RMN - les frères Chuzeville, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre.

JJP

2242. Tomb of Theodorus, Hesychius and Cyrillus with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE

Rectangular slab, all margins preserved. Three lines of Greek, beneath which the Hebrew word “shalom” is incised as a monogram flanked by two lulavim. Greek letters evenly formed in even lines; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma*, stemmed *upsilon*, w-shaped round *omega* (from photo).

Meas.: h 26, w 24, d 4.5 cm (IMC).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown (lent in 1972 by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem to the Israel Museum, displayed in an exhibition).

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΗΣΥΧΙΟΥ
ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ
שלום

Θεοδώρου | Ἡσυχίου | Κυρίλλου |
שלום

Translit.: šlwm

(Tomb) of Theodorus, Hesychius,
Cyrillus. Peace.

Comm.: According to Sukenik in ed. pr., a label in Russian on the stone indicated that it came from Jaffa; knowledge of its whereabouts has been lost since it was displayed in the Israel Museum (on loan from the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission) in 1972.

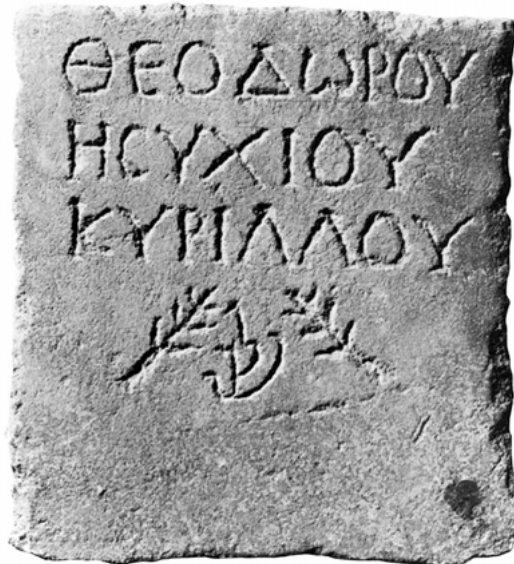


fig. 2242

The inscriber took care to ensure that one name occupied each line. The three deceased were certainly related, probably brothers (it is less likely that either the second or the third name is a patronym). Notably all three names are Greek, but well-attested for Jews in both Palestine and the Diaspora. Monograms are unusual in Jewish funerary inscriptions, but an almost exact parallel to “shalom” written in this way has been discovered in a dedicatory inscription in the synagogue recently excavated in Andriake, see N. Çevik - H. Eshel, *Qadmoniot* 139, 2010, 41ff. (Hebr.).

Bibl.: E. Sukenik, *PEQ* 64, 1932, 83f. no. 1 pl. 1 (ed. pr.). – L. Vincent, *RB* 42, 1933, 632-7 at 635; *SEG* 8, 141; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 82 no. 16 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 922; *IMC* no. 267; G. Mus-sies, in: *Safrai - Stern II*, 1040-64 at 1052; D. Urman, in: id. – P. Flesher eds., *Ancient Synagogues* 2, 1995, 419.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive.

JJP

2243. Tomb of Tryphon son of Maris with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Square plaque of white marble with reddish tint, smoothed front, rough unfinished back and edges. Five-line deeply incised Greek inscription; *alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended right leg (ll.1, 5) and cursive *alpha* (ll.3, 4, 5); round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *mu* with loop for middle bars; cursive *xi*; *upsilon* with stem; serifs. There is an indecipherable mark at the end of l.5, possibly an abbreviation sign, and an indistinct zoomorphic design below the inscription. Dots over *upsilon* and *iota* in l.2 seem to be blemishes on stone.

Meas.: h 32, w 30, d 3 cm;
letters 2.5-4 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis,
south of Kibbutz Galuyot
Street.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum
of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa,
IAA inv. no. 1995-134. Autop-
sy: 2001 and 2012.

MNHMATPY
ΦΩΝΟΣΥΕΙ
ΟΥΜΑΡΙΣ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕ
ΟΣΔΙΑΒΕΝΑ



fig. 2243

μνημα Τρύφωνος υεί|οῦ Μάρης | Ἀλεξανδρέ|ος, διὰ Βενα(-?)

Tomb of Tryphon son of Maris, the Alexandrian; (tomb procured) by Bena(-?).

Comm.: This inscription was found in a sealed cave south of Kibbutz Galuyot Street, excavated by J. Kaplan in 1972. The cave consists of a sunken vestibule which gives access to two chambers with loculi and a single independent loculus (based on Kaplan's field notes, analyzed by A. Ecker in his MA thesis, see introduction to nos. 2179-2181). The stone was found face-down on the floor of the vestibule, near the entrance of the single loculus; Ecker surmises that it had been attached above the loculus. A fourth-century coin was found on the floor of one of the chambers.

Tryphon was a common Greek name in frequent use by Jews, see Ilan, *Lexicon* I, III, IV, s.v. *Μάρης*, sometimes declined but here not, is one of the many Jewish names based on Hebrew/Aramaic *mr/mry/mr'*, "master", see comm. to CIIP I 543. Ed. pr. interprets ΔΙΑΒΕΝΑ as indicating the origins of the deceased from Adiabene in Syria, but notes the problems with this rendering. It now seems better to parse the letters διὰ Βενα-, "by arrangement/procured by Bena-", in light of nos. 2193 and 2212, where διὰ + name seems to indicate that a certain person made arrangements for the tomb. Βενα by itself is not a known name, but the inscrutable chiseled mark at the end of l.5 may well have stood for missing letters. Βεν(ι)α(μίν) is a possibility, as is the biblical name Benaya (1 Chron 4,36, etc.) is attested in both documentary and literary evidence (CIIP I 543; Ilan, *Lexicon* I 81f., III 80, IV 64).

Bibl.: J. Price, *SCI* 22, 2003, 215-31 at 222ff. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – HA 48-49, 1974, 59 (Hebr.); IEJ 24, 1974, 137; SEG 53, 1849; BE 2004, 393; Feissel, *Chroniques* 226 no. 722.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

2244. Greek funerary inscription of Zacchaes son of Asterius, 3-6 c. CE

Roughly rectangular slab of white-gray marble, smoothed on both sides, all margins preserved. Five lines of shallowly and unevenly incised Greek. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, *upsilon* with short stem.

Meas.: h 20.4, w 10.2, d 2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41663. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

ZAX
XAH
ΣΥΙΟΣ
ΑΣΤΕ
ΠΙΟΥ

Ζαχ|χαη|ς
υἱὸς |
Ἀστε|ρίου

Zacchaes
son of
Asterius.



fig. 2244.1



fig. 2244.2

Comm.: The stone has an odd shape; either it was cut to fit a particular space in the tomb, or was a random slab used for this purpose. The reading *Ζαχχαης* is unquestionably correct (Vincent, Leclercq and Frey [CIJ]: *Ζαχχαμης*; Klein: *Ζαχχαρις*). The name seems to be *Ζαχχαῖος*, biblical זכִי *zky* (Neh 3,20, 7,14), possibly a hypocoristic of זכריה *zkryh*, cf. Ilan, *Lexicon* I 90-3, III 86f. and see comment on *Ζαχα* at no. 2209. For the name *Asterius*, LGPN 3b and 5a, s.v., and in Jewish contexts, Ilan, *Lexicon* I 269; III 229f.; it appears in Jaffa also in no. 2192. A Greek-named father gave his son a Hebrew name.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, *RB* 21, 1912, 115f. no. A (ed. pr.). – Klein, *JPCI* no. 127; H. Leclercq, *DACL* 8, 1928, 1-254 at 240; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 86 no. 46 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 916; B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6, 1973/74, 23-48 at 31f.; id., *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, 78-100 at 86f.; *BE* 1976, 734; *SEG* 26, 1670.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

2245. Greek epitaph of Zoilus, 3-6 c. CE

Square slab, irregular edges, with four lines of well-carved Greek. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, *lambda* with extended right leg, middle bars of *mu* represented as curved line, *upsilon* with no stem (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

ZOEIAOC
YIOΣAEYI
HKAIMHTHP
NONNA

Ζοείλος | υἱὸς Λευι | ἡ καὶ μήτηρ |
Νόννα

*Zoilus son of Levi, and his
mother Nonna.*



fig. 2245

Comm.: Ζοείλος is the common Greek name Ζωίλος. Nonna occurs elsewhere in the Jaffa necropolis (no. 2175, but not definitely a woman), in southern Palestine and Arabia (DGI no. 925), and outside Palestine in Jewish (Ilan, *Lexicon* III 439) and non-Jewish (LGPN IV, Va, s.v.; Ameling, *IJO* II 225 comm.) contexts.

Euting and Klein (JPCI) interpreted the last two lines, “während seine Mutter Nonna (hiess)”, followed by Frey (CIJ 2): “(tandis que la mère s’appelait?) Nonna”; but more likely, with a simple reversal of ἡ and καί, the intention was to indicate that Zoilus’ mother was also buried in the tomb. The *eta* can also be construed as an (otherwise unattested) genitive ending: Λευιῆς.

Bibl.: Euting 688 no. 97 (ed. pr.). – J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295f. no. 24; Klein, *JPCI*, no. 129; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 86 no. 45 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 917.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6735.

JJP

2246. Tomb of Z[–] from Ptolemais, (and) of his sister Entolia with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Marble slab, right side broken, left and top margins preserved, probably bottom margin as well. Five-line Greek inscription, *alpha* with broken cross-bar, *theta* with

hyper-extended cross-bar, round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, *omicron-upsilon* ligature in l.4 but not elsewhere (from photo).

Findspot: Jaffa (Schick).

ΘΗΚΗΖ+[-]
ΟΥΥΙΟΥΙΟ[-]
ΠΤΕΛΕΜ[-]
ΟΥΕΝΤΟΛΙ[-]
ΛΦΙΣΑΥ[-]

θήκη Ζ+[-]|ου υίοϋ'Ιο[-] |
Πτελεμ[αικ]|οϋ <καί> 'Εντολί[ας
ἀδε]|λφῖς αὐ[τοϋ]

*Tomb of Ζ... son of Ιο..., from Ptolemais,
(and) of his sister Entolia.*

Comm.: Schick identified the present stone as having been found in rock-cut tombs “which had been cleared out recently”; he did not see it in situ. The stone was already broken when Schick first examined it; letters are missing on the right side of each line.

Editors have deciphered the legible letters variously and proposed different restorations of the missing parts. Schick, Murray, Clermont-Ganneau and Klein read K at the end of l.2, but the photo clearly shows IO. Murray printed ΠΤΟΛΕΜ in l.3, rationalizing ΠΤΕΛΕΜ clearly engraved on the stone. The O-Υ ligature at the beginning of l.4 was misread by Clermont-Ganneau as Ξ, leading to ἐ]ξ ἐντολ[ῆς τῆς ἀδελ]λφ(ῆ)ς α[ὐτοϋ], for which moreover there seems not to be enough space. Klein (JPCI) further conjectured, improbably, ἐντολ[η]λφεισα? for ll.4-5. Murray thought that the last words of the inscription could be rendered εἰς αὐ[τόν].

The beginning of the text is preserved: *θήκη* was followed by a name beginning with Ζ, in the genitive. The tip of the second letter appears on the stone, but not enough for a clear reading. It could be ω, as suggested by Murray and Klein (JPCI), who rendered Ζωίλου, but ΖΩ- could be completed in more than one way (LGPN lists 135 names beginning with ΖΩ-, even if many of these names are feminine or too long for restoration on the current stone). The preserved tip of the second letter does not seem to belong to *alpha*, therefore Ζαχχαί, as suggested by Clermont-Ganneau and followed by Klein (1939) and Frey (CIJ), does not seem possible. Similarly,



fig. 2246

the name of the father, beginning with IO, can be resolved in too many ways to support any conjecture.

Πτελεμ[...]|ου should probably be resolved Πτολεμαϊκοῦ, with an interchange of ε and ο (cf. Gignac I 289f. for many examples). It is also possible to restore the name Πτολεμαίου, meaning that the father had two names. Ptolemais (today Akko) was a coastal city north of the Carmel (TIR 204f.), but there were three cities by that name in Egypt, three in Asia Minor and another in Cyrenaica (Barrington Atlas Gazetteer, s.v.).

The restoration Ἐντολί[ας ἀδε]|λφῖς αὐ[τοῦ] requires supplying (καί), which is not a serious difficulty, and five missing letters at the end of l.4, which may be more than the other lines require. All previous editors have rendered ΕΝΤΟΛΙ as a form of ἐντολή, i.e. some sort of order or arrangement providing for the tomb. In imperial inscriptions the word means “order, command” (e.g., Syll³ 559, 613, 671, 705, 799, 888), and “commandment” in religious contexts (e.g., SEG 17, 439, 440, Christian epitaphs from Sicily; cf. LXX Gen 26,5, Ex 12,17, etc.). It seems simpler to render a personal name based on ἐντολή, suggesting someone who is loyal to commandments, appropriate for a Jew or Christian. The masculine form Ἐντόλιος is found at Caesarea (CIIP II 1263, 1466 [definitely Jewish], 1467, 1520), and in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt (JIGRE 15) and Cyprus (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III App26). The iotacism in ἀδελφῖς in ll.4-5 is unexceptionable.

The bottom margin of the stone seems preserved, but there could have been a greeting such as “shalom” in the missing part at the end of the last line.

Bibl.: C. Schick, PEQ 25, 1893, 286-93 at 289 fig. 4; A. Murray, *ibid.*, 300 ad fig. 4 (edd. prr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 149ff.; Klein, JPCI nos. 128, 177; *id.*, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 84 no. 33 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 915; B. Lifshitz, Euphrosyne 6, 1973/74, 23-48 at 32 n. 40; *id.*, Epigraphica 36, 1974, 78-100 at 87 n. 40.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6737.

JJP

2247. Aramaic funerary inscription, 5-6 c. CE

White marble plaque with gray veins, broken on right side and bottom. Three lines of shallowly incised professional Hebrew bookhand; spikes on letters. Traces of tops of letters on bottom edge. Remains of red paint appear inside the engraved letters.

Meas.: h 12, w 17, d 1.5 cm; letters 1.5-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1979-505. Autopsy: 3 December 2007 and 14 May 2012.

ריאן קירא
ברתה דבי
יסנא לוית
[--]



fig. 2247.1

[--] | ריאן קירא | [--] | ברתה דבי | [--] | יסנא לוית | [--]

Translit.: [--]ry'n qyr' | [--]brth dby | [--]ysn' lw/yt | [--]

...rian? Cyra daughter of the house of...

Comm.: This partial text had no lines before the first preserved line, but it cannot be determined how many letters are missing on the right side of each line. The inscription can be dated to 5-6 c. on paleographical grounds.

1. ריאן קורא
2. ברתה דב
3. יסנא לוית

fig. 2247.2

l.1: The first legible letter seems to be *resh*. Thus if the fourth letter is a final *nun*, then it could be the end of a name, “-rian Cyra”, thus Cyra is probably a title. Cyra could also be a name; the preceding word could be Marian; the name Maryn (without *alef*) appears e.g. in contemporary incantations, e.g. J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 1985, 44 A 2,2, and more. It is to be noted that ברתה *brth* “daughter of” in l.2 is singular; the *he* has an unusual form – one would expect a straight downstroke, yet it clearly differs from the preceding *tav*. Euting and Klein read l.1 as דיאן קורא *dy'n qwr'*, which they translate “Richter und Vorleser”, but this is both an unlikely decipherment of the letters and difficult to construe. Pedersen and Frey (CIJ) decipher the legible letters as דיא וקורא *dy' wqwr'*, “und Vorleser/lecteur”, setting aside “Richter”. The least likely solution is that of Kaplan, who conjectured that דיאן *dy'n* is the same as דין *dyn* “this”, thus “This is (the tomb of) Kyra ...”.

l.2: *dby* means “of the house (of)”. Kaplan and Beyer emend דבי to ד[ר]בי *d[r]by*, “of rabbi”.

l.3: The letters סנא *sn'* are probably the end of a broken word, although Beyer understands it as a full word meaning “Feind”, and Kaplan rendered (ב)יסנא *(b)ysn'*, the name of an Amora. Similarly, Klein compares ll.2-3 to בית בר סנא *byt br sn'* in the Talmud. But this incorrectly assumes that the line is fully preserved on the stone. The end of a letter is clearly detectable before *samekh*, which could be the left

part of a *yod* or *vav*, or perhaps *mem*; but a preposition “near/at” requires a name or noun to follow, and this may have been written at the beginning of the next line. Further, there is a big difference between לִּוֹת *lwt*, a preposition (“gegenhin” Pedersen; “nearby” Kaplan, suggesting that the text ends with a preposition!) and לִּית *lyt*, a negation. Beyer reads לִּית וְסִנָּא *wsn’ lyt*, translating “und einen Feind hatte [sie] nicht”. No editor seems to have fully accounted for the loss of at least one more line on the bottom of this inscription (Kaplan denied its existence, but the heads of one or two letters are clearly seen), so that the final three legible letters in l.3, *lwt* (*lyt?*), could be the beginning of a word or expression continued in the next line.

Bibl.: Euting 680 no. 48 (ed. pr.). – Klein, JPCI 41f. no. 115; J. Pedersen, *Inscriptiones semiticae collectionis Ustinowianae*, 1928, 12 no. 26493 (=6); S. Klein, *MGWJ* 75, 1931, 369-74; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 80 no. 6 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 896; S. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, 1971, 162 no. 90; Beyer, *Aramäische Texte* 391 no. ggNJ 3; J. Kaplan, *EI* 19, 1987, 284-7 (Hebr.); Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 377-80.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive (ph. and dr.).

JJP/AY

2248. Tomb of [--]ana and El[--] from Neapolis (?) with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Right side of a marble plaque containing the ends of four lines of Greek. Menorah and shofar beneath text. In drawing, letters appear well-rendered; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, square *epsilon*, round w-shaped *omega* (ed. pr.).

Meas.: h 23, d 3 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

[--]ΑΝΑ
[--]ΑΙΕΛ
[--]ΝΕΑΠ
[--]ΩΝ

[--]ΑΝΑ | [--]αἰ'ΕΛ|[--] Νεαπ|[ολιτ?]ῶν

(Tomb) of ...ana and El... from Neapolis(?).

Comm.: By the time he published this inscription in 1896, Clermont-Ganneau did not remember whether he found it himself or saw it among the possessions of the Russian Archimandrite (same with nos. 2188, 2185, 2204 and 2229). Judging from Clermont-Ganneau's sketch, the epitaph was fairly substantial relative to others in the Jaffa necropolis, containing four



fig. 2248

lines of well-rendered Greek with a well-carved menorah and shofar at the bottom. Somewhat more than half of each line is missing, if the menorah at the bottom was aligned with the middle of the lines above. The text of the inscription was restored speculatively by CIJ, based on Clermont-Ganneau's conjectures, as follows: [?Μνημα Μ]ανα[ήμου? κα]ι Ἐλ[εαζάρου] Νεαπ[ολιτ]ῶν. There were many cities called Neapolis in this period, including the biblical city Shechem in Samaria, or cities by that name in Egypt or Cyrenaica.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 145 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Id., AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 189 no. 76; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 84 no. 32 (Hebr.); M. Schwabe, Tarbiz 15, 1944, 210-3 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 957; JIGRE 242.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 145 (dr.).

JJP

2249. Fragment of a Greek epitaph, 3-6 c. CE

Upper left-hand corner of Greek inscription of indeterminate length preserving two partial lines of text; cursive *alpha* and *mu*, *upsilon* with stem.

Meas.: d 2.5 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Unknown, last seen in the Russian convent in Jaffa (Euting).

MNHMA[--]

HNOYK[--]

[--]

μνημα [--] | ηνου κα[ι] [--]

The tomb of...enus and ...

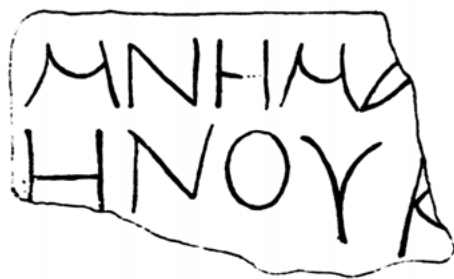


fig. 2249

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau mentions seeing the top of a letter beneath the preserved text, indicating a third line.

Bibl.: Euting 688 no. 96 (ed. pr.) – A. Murray, PEQ 25, 1893, 300 fig. 6; C. Schick, *ibid.* 286-93 at 287-91 fig. 6; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 146 no. 10; Klein, JPCI no. 178; *id.*, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 85 no. 40 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 960; Feissel, *Chroniques* 226 no 722.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 146 no. 10 (dr.).

JJP

2250. Epitaph with Aramaic inscription, 5-6 c. CE

Bottom right corner of broken gray marble plaque, seven fragments glued back together; four partial lines of bookhand Hebrew typical of the 5-6 c. CE. Remains of red paint appear inside the engraved letters.

Meas.: h 16, w 14, d 1.5 cm; letters 1.5-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1979-506. Autopsy: 14 May 2012.

[--]
[--]ש[--]ב
בהדהק[--]
ברמןדע[--]
דקבורתה[--]



fig. 2250

[--] | ב[--]ש[--] | בהדהק[--] | ברמןדע[--] | דקבורתה[--]

Translit.: [--] | b[--]š[--] | bhdh q[--] | br mn d'[--] | dqbwtrh [--]

... in this grave(?) ... aside from which/who ... of the grave of ...

Comm.: The fragmentary nature of this stone has led to different readings, not all worth recording. The only legible full words are *ברמן* *br mn* “aside from” in l.3 and *דקבורתה* *dqbwrth* “of the grave ...” in l.4. In l.2, it might be possible to read *בהדה* *bhdh*, “in this ...”.

Euting and other previous editions printed an *alef* in the line above l.1, no longer visible on the stone.

Bibl.: Euting 680 no. 49 (ed. pr.). – Klein, JPCI 43 no. 118; J. Pedersen, *Inscriptiones semiticae collectionis Ustinowianae*, 1928, 14f. no. 26494 (=7); S. Klein, *MGWJ* 75, 1931, 369-4; id., *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 80 no. 8 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 894; Beyer, *Aramäische Texte* 391 no. ggNJ 2; J. Kaplan, *EI* 19, 1987, 284-7 (Hebr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2251. Fragment with Greek inscription, 3-6 c. CE

Two fragments of a white marble slab broken on right and left sides; four partial lines of Greek, lulav to right of l.1; *alpha* with broken cross-bar.

Meas.: h 10, w 7, d 2 cm; letters 2.5-3 cm (Dain).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (according to Clermont-Ganneau).

Pres. loc.: Unknown. Clermont-Ganneau took it to Paris, it was catalogued in the Museum of Louvre as inv no. AO 1279, but that number is now assigned to no. 2215; this stone has since been lost.

[--]ΔΑ[--]
 [--]ΤΙΟΧ[--]
 [--]ΟΥ[--]
 [--]ΟΗ[--]



fig. 2251

Comm.: Dain suggested restoring l.2: [-- Ἀν]τιοχ[ο--].

Bibl.: A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre. Les Textes inédits*, 1933, 124f. no. 141 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *AMSL* 11, 1885, 157-251 at 189 no. 76; L. Robert, *RA* 2, 1933, 121-47 at 138f. (with erroneous reference to Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II 141); *SEG* 8, 144; *CIJ* 2, 958.

Photo: Dain 125 no. 141 (dr.).

JJP

2252. Fragment of an epitaph with Greek and Hebrew inscription, 3-6 c. CE

White marble slab, broken on top; polished front, unfinished back; on upper broken edge, traces of the bottoms of letters (Greek or Hebrew) with serifs. The word “shalom” is centered on the stone, in well-executed, deeply incised square Hebrew script, flanked by two lulavim; raised *lamed*. Below this word is a single Greek word incised shallowly by a less experienced hand; round *epsilon*, *upsilon* with short stem.

Meas.: h 10.5, w 22.3, d 2.3 cm; letters: l.1: 3-4 cm, l.2: 1 cm.

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis (Euting).

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41692. Autopsy: 5 August 2003.

[--]
 שלום
 ΕΥΜΥΡΟΥ



fig. 2252.1

[--] | שלום | Εὐμύρου

Translit.: šlwm

..., *Peace. May your portion be good* (lit.: “of good portion”).

Comm.: Most of the inscription is missing and the number of missing lines unknown; the missing text would have contained at least the name of the deceased. Only the final wish or greeting is preserved in two languages. The word εὐμύρου = εὐμοίρου, “of good portion/lot”, is equivalent to the He-



fig. 2252.2

brew expression חלק טוב *hlq twb*, as Lieberman has shown (Greek in Jewish Palestine, 2nd ed. 1965 [repr. 1994], 72-5). While this is its only appearance in the Jaffa necropolis, it is quite frequent in Beth She‘arim, especially as a verbal form (εὐμύρι = εὐμοίρει, “may you be endowed with a good portion”), see Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She‘arim II, index s.v. and discussion on pp. 2f. It is frequently used by Christians as well (cf. Ameling IJO II, p. 497); in Jewish texts it does not refer exclusively to the afterlife (Lieberman), but on epitaphs this is its most likely meaning. This single word here seems to have been added as an afterthought in the narrow margin at the bottom, since the remains on the stone indicate a professionally executed, well laid-out inscription. For a discussion of the word “peace” in Jewish epigraphy, especially its possible religious meanings and its use in combination with other religious expressions, see now Y. Wilfand, JSJ 40, 2009, 510-39, citing the sizeable bibliography on the subject.

Bibl.: Euting 681 no. 52 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 112 no. 7; id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 139 no. 7; J. Oehler, MGWJ 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295 no. 8; Klein, JPCI no. 126; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 82 no. 17 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 914.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2253. Funerary fragment with “shalom”, 3-6 c. CE

Fragment of marble, “incomplete, containing two feminine names with the word שלום and the beginning of another Hebrew word.” (Clermont-Ganneau)

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau’s brief description does not match any known stone otherwise unaccounted for.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 261-80 at 275 no. 7.

JJP

2254. Epitaph with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 3-6 c. CE

Right portion of a marble slab preserving the ends of three lines of Greek and one of Hebrew, incised in a fluid, stylized hand; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, *mu* with curvilinear line representing middle bars, lunate *sigma*. The word “shalom” is incised in much smaller letters and a different style in the bottom right-hand corner (from photo).

Meas.: h 22, w 13.5, d 2 cm (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: Jaffa necropolis.

Pres. loc.: Last seen in the Russian convent, Jaffa (Euting).

[--]ΜΙΝΗC

[--]ΤΡΟC

[--]Τ/ΓΙΝΑ

[--]+שלום

Translit.: šlwm q+[--]

... *Peace*.

Comm.: The word shalom seems to have been written by a different hand at a different time. The *qof* in l.4 was probably the first letter of the name of the deceased.



fig. 2254

Bibl.: Euting 681 no. 55 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 146 no. 9; Klein, JPCI no. 156; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 82 no. 18 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 959.

Photo: IAA, J. Kaplan Archive no. 6736.

JJP

2255. Mosaic with Greek inscription

Mosaic with a three-line inscription in Greek inside a medallion of white tesserae, surrounded by a row of black tesserae. Beneath the inscription there is a double ivy leaf. Square lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*.

Findspot: Found during a salvage excavation at the site of the Eden Hotel in Jaffa (near Pasteur and Yefer Street). The mosaic is situated ca. 11 m north of a burial cave.

ΕΥΨΥΧΙΤΩ
ΣΑΝΤΙΑΝΤΕΣ
ΟΙΩΔΕΤΑΥΤΑ

Εὐψυχ(ε)ίτω|σαν πάντες | οἱ ὧδε ταῦτα

*Have courage all (of you) who are here
(and see) these things.*

Comm.: The ταῦτα may have referred to the cemetery of which one burial cave was exposed near the mosaic. The complex is dated by the excavators to the 6-7 c. AD. For the grammatical form of εὐψυχ(ε)ίτωσαν see E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I2, 2nd ed. 1970, 8f.; Gignac II 361.

Bibl.: A. Dayan - Y. Levy, Yafo, HA-ESI 124, 2012 (e-version without pagination: http://www.ha-dashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=2033&mag_id=119 [viewed: 4 March 2014]) (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. Dayan - Y. Levy, HA-ESI 124, 2012.



fig. 2255

WE

C. Instrumentum domesticum

2256. Amulet with Greek inscription

Oval, made of copper, to be worn as a pendant; obv.: armed rider with nimbus, attacking a woman on the ground with his lance. Under the lying woman a lion, going to the right. The inscription runs around the border of the stone; rev.: in the upper part the inscription; below the inscription, a large eye, being pierced by three arrows, attacked from below by an ibis, a scorpion and a snake; attacked from above by two lions.

Meas.: h 5, w 3 cm.

Findspot: Bought in Jaffa.

Pres. loc.: Given to the Museum of Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem (Germer-Durand). Not found.

obv.: ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣΟΝΙΚΩΝΤΑΚΑΚΑ

rev.: ΙΑΩΘ

ΣΑΒΑΩΘ

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ



fig. 2256.1 (obv.)

obv.: εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά
 rev.: Ἰαωθ | Σαβαωθ | Μιχαήλ

obv.: *One God, who vanquishes the evil.*
 rev.: *Iaoth, Sabaoth, Michael.*

Comm.: The photograph in Germer-Durand is quite bad, but just good enough to show that none of the very similar bronze pendants published by Bonner 302f. nos. 298-303 is identical with this piece. The whole series is labeled as coming from Syria and Palestine (cf. Bonner 99; 211) and was popular from the 3 c. AD on well into Byzantine times. Bonner 211 on the group and its design: "Certain types (scil. of gems featuring a rider saint or Solomon) may be set apart on the basis of the reverse design that accompanies the rider of the obverse. The largest group uses for its reverse type the *πολυπαθῆς ὀφθαλμός*, as it is called by the author of the Testament of Solomon (scil. 18, 39). This design shows the evil eye pierced by various sharp weapons and attacked by several fierce or noxious animals." He continues citing a mosaic from Rome (by the way, even the Wikipedia-articles on the "evil eye" and "böser Blick" feature a mosaic from Antiochia that is a perfect parallel to the image on the present amulet); Bonner 302 no. 298 has the eye attacked by a lion, ibis or stork, scorpion, spotted dog or leopard; 303 nos. 299f. have the same design, the others are very similar. This raises the question if there are really two lions on this pendant or a lion and a leopard. The other problem with the design lies in the "three arrows" ("von drei Dolchen durchbohrt" Peterson 97) piercing the evil eye; much more usual is a trident (Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 302f. nos. 298-301; 303 no. 302 has "a dagger with rectangular guard (?), probably a misunderstanding of the trident in the pattern"); the three arrows on the present pendant are either another misunderstanding or Germer-Durand did not recognize the trident (but cf. the amulet with "trois poignards", B. Pitarakis, in: Feissel 32 no. 9).

obv.: Bonner 302 no. 298; 303 no. 302, belonging to the same series, have the same text. Iconographically, the rider is Solomon, and the words here have supplanted his name, cf. Cosentino 48.

rev.: cf. Bonner 212 on the series: "The larger specimens bear on the reverse, above the evil eye, the inscription *Ἰαω σαβαωθ Μιχαήλ βοηθί.*" – 1.1: on the spelling cf. Peterson 97f.; for examples of it on other gems: Michel 507. – 1. 2: "*Σαβαωθ* ist hier vielleicht Engelname wie in Cat. cod. astr. X S. 227, 13" Peterson 97. On other examples of the obv. formula with the names of angels, cf. Peterson 103ff., e. g. *Ἰαω, Σαβαω, or Ἰαω, Σαβαωθ, Αβραξας*. Peterson - Marksches, Heis Theos 552 nos. 5.1 and 5.2 quote two amulets from Gush Halav (Galilee) with *Ἰαω, Σαβαω, Μιχαήλ*; 552f. no. 5.3 (unknown



fig. 2256.2 (rev.)

origin) *Ιαω*, *Σαβαω*, *Μιχαήλ*, *Γαβριήλ*, *Ουριήλ*, *Χερουβίν*; 553 no. 5.4 (unknown origin): *Ιαω*, *Σαβαω*, *Μιχαήλ*, *Γαβριήλ*, *Ουριήλ* – all with the same obv. text.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 9, 1906, 129f. (ph.) (ed. pr.). – BE 1907, p. 91; Peterson 97f. no. 5; D. Feissel, in: *Trois donations byzantines au Cabinet des Médailles*, 2001, 32f. no 9; A. Cosentino, in: A. Mastrocinque ed., *Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica*, 2002, 41ff.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, EO 9, 1906, 129.

WA

Weights

2257. Hellenistic weight with the prow of a galley inscribed in Greek, 193/2 BCE

A rectangular lead weight covered with black patina. One side of the weight shows in its center a prow of a galley sailing left; an inscription in one line runs above the galley and another line is underneath. The reverse side is damaged but appears to have been blank. Meas.: h 4.7, w 3.8, th 0.9 cm; wt 132.7 g.

Findspot: Excavations in Jaffa by J. Kaplan; Area X, Basket 35.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa/ IAA exc. reg. no. 79/X/60/021. Autopsy: June 2012.

KP

(prow of a galley)

AT

(Ἔτους) κρ' | Ἀτ(--) or Ἀτ(--)

Year 120, (under the supervision of) At... or Hat...



fig. 2257.1

Comm.: Several Hellenistic weights decorated with a galley (or a prow of a galley) are known for the area of the Phoenician-Palestinian coast. On all these weights, there is a date above the galley: underwater survey at Atlit, CIIP II 2135; unknown provenance, A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 6, 2011, 35-59 at 47, B7; Acco-Ptolemais, IAA inv. no. 1971-987, unpublished; unknown provenance, R. Deutsch, *Archaeological Center. Auction 11. Ancient Coins and Antiquities*, 1993, no. 69. On the two last-mentioned weights there appear also abbreviated names under the galley. Given these examples, one may interpret the letters above the galley on our item as a date, and the letters below as representing the name of an official (agoranomos?) responsible for the weight's manufacture.



fig. 2257.2

The mass of the item would correspond to a quarter of the Seleucid mina (around 550 g). The date KP (120) counted from the Seleucid era of 312 BCE, gives 193/2 BCE. This is the earliest date known so far for the Palestinian area. The question is, though, whether the weight was of local manufacture. Known Hellenistic weights of Palestine have the date invariably introduced by the sign L (Kushnir-Stein 52). There is a possibility that the sign on the present item either got worn or happened to be off flan. But if it was not intended initially, the origin of the weight in a locality situated on the Phoenician-Syrian coast north of the River Eleutherus cannot be ruled out.

Bibl.: K. Raphael, in: O. Tsuf ed., *The Port Town of ancient Jaffa during the Persian to Byzantine Periods. Kaplan Excavations (1955-1981)* (forthcoming) (ed. pr).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer, courtesy of O. Tsuf.

AKS

2258. Hellenistic lead weight, 2 c. BCE

A square lead weight covered with black patina. One side of the weight has in its center a raised square platform, within which there is a raised small square frame with a Greek letter within the frame. The band around the frame has traces of lines, possibly remains of a zig-zag decoration. The reverse side is damaged but appears to be blank. Meas.: h 4.8, w 4.8, th 1.45 cm; wt 270.9 g.

Findspot: Excavations in Jaffa by J. Kaplan; Area X, Basket 35.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa/IAA exc. reg. no. 79/X/60/020. Autopsy: June 2012.

K



fig. 2258.1



fig. 2258.2

Comm.: This weight was found together with no. 2257, which suggests that the two were in use simultaneously and were thus manufactured in relative time-proximity. As no. 2257 dates to 193/2 BCE, the weight under discussion would, in all likelihood, belong also to the beginning of the 2 c. BCE. The mass of the weight (270.9 g) would suit well the suggested period, being equal to a half of the Seleucid mina of approximately 550 g.

The meaning of the *kappa* in the center remains enigmatic, as there are no known local parallels of Hellenistic weights with this kind of arrangement.

Bibl.: K. Raphael, in: O. Tsuf ed., The Port Town of ancient Jaffa during the Persian to Byzantine Periods. Kaplan Excavations (1955-1981) (forthcoming) (ed. pr).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer, courtesy of O. Tsuf.

AKS

2259. Three limestone molds for manufacturing lead weights, 105/6 CE

A limestone slab of uneven shape. One side of the slab is slightly convex, the opposite side is slightly concave. The convex side has two square depressions, one large (a) and one small (c); both depressions have the form of a square mold for manufacturing lead weights, with a rectangular handle added at the top. As the surface of this side is not strictly horizontal, the surfaces of the depressions are at an angle with each other, i.e. it would have been impossible to cover both with a single flat slab. The opposite, concave, side has a similar depression, of a medium size, but it is of a rectangular shape (b).

All borders of the depressions of the large and medium size are bevelled; the left and right lateral sides of the smallest depression are straight. The area around the medium depression is polished; the areas around the large and small depressions are also flattened but with less care.

There are inscriptions in all three depressions; the largest depression (a) has an inscription in five lines; the medium depression (b) has an inscription in six lines; the smallest depression (c) also has an inscription in six lines; lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega* throughout.

Meas.: slab: h 17-20, w 13-18 cm, th 5.1 cm; depressions: (a) h 8.2, w 6.5, th 5 cm, handle h 1.2, w 1.5 cm; (b) h 6.5, w 5.5, th 4 cm; handle h 0.9, w 1.5 cm; (c) h 4.5, w 4.2, th 5 cm, handle h 1.0, w 1.2 cm.

Findspot: Excavations in Old Jaffa by J. Kaplan in 1961; Area C, Stratum V.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IAA inv. no. 1995-152. Autopsy: June 2012.

- (a) ΛΘΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΝΕΡΟΥΑΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΑ
ΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ
ΙΟΥΔΟΥΤΩΖΜΙ



fig. 2259.1 (a)

(b) ΙΘΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
 ΝΕΡΟΥΑΤΡΑ[.]ΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΙ
 ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ
 ΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ
 ΙΟΥΔΟΥΤΩΖΜΙ

(c) ΙΘΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ
 ΤΟΡΟΣΝΕΡΟΥΑ
 ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ+++
 ++++++++
 ++++++++
 Δ[--]Λ

(a) ("Ετους) θ' Αὐτοκράτορος |
 Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ | Καίσαρος
 ἀγορα|νομοῦντος | Ἰούδου
 Γωζμι(--)

(b) ("Ετους) θ' Αὐτοκράτορος |
 Νέρουα Τρα[ι] <αν>οῦ |
 Καίσαρος {Ι} |
 ἀγορανο|μοῦντος |
 Ἰούδου Τωζμι(--)

(c) ("Ετους) θ' Αὐτοκρά|τορος Νέρουα |
 Τραιανοῦ [Καί|σαρος ἀγορανο|
 μοῦντος Ἰού]δ[ου --]Λ

(a), (b), (c) *Year 9 of Emperor Nerva
 Traianus Caesar, Iudas son of (?) Tozmi...
 or Gozmi... being agoranomos.*

Comm.: (b) l.1 ("Ετους) ιβ' SEG 31; (c) l.1
 ("Ετους) δ' ed. pr.; SEG 31.

The arrangements of the ed. pr. (Kaplan 1981) and of SEG 31, 1410 may be somewhat difficult to navigate. In Kaplan, there is a drawing of all three inscriptions on p. 414, with dipl. text under each. However, the text under the drawing on the right (medium-size depression) relates to the drawing on its left (large depression) while the text under the latter relates to the drawing on its right. SEG 31 gives the inscription in the smallest depression first, followed by the inscription in the large depression and then by that of the medium-size depression.

Many letters of inscription (a) (large depression) are executed rather carelessly and there are also some spurious lines; nevertheless, the reading does not present

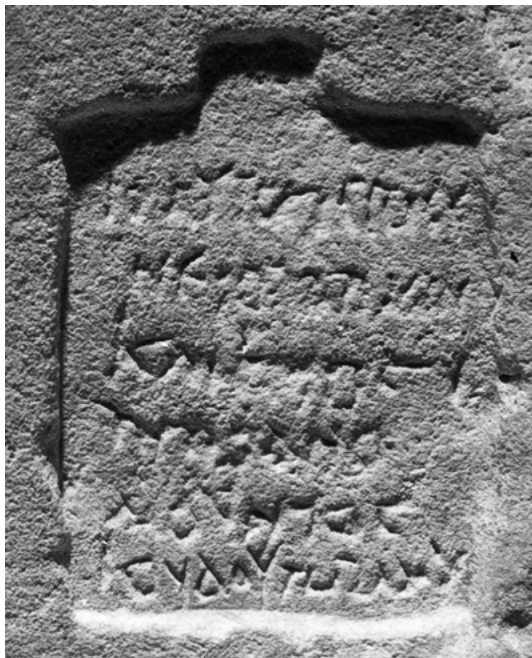


fig. 2259.2 (b)



fig. 2259.3 (c)

problems. The same is largely true for (b) (medium-size depression), although here some letters are incomplete and some are altogether missing. However, only the two first lines can be read on their own of the inscription (c) (smallest depression). Part of ll.3-5, as well as their overall meaning can only be reconstructed thanks to the two other inscriptions, while in l.6 only the signs at the beginning and the end form recognizable letters.

The patronymic of the agoranomos remains uncertain. Kaplan (ed. pr.) read the first three letters in inscription (a) as ΤΩΖ, although the stone shows the first letter as Γ; ΓΩΖ is followed by a small dot-like scratch and further by a letter in the form of *nu* (Ν) written retrograde and inclined to the left. If one understands the scratch as part of the left bar of *mu* (Μ) this would lead to the reading ΓΩΖΜ; the ed. pr., however, reconstructs also an *omicron* in between Ζ and Μ, although the dot-like scratch cannot be simultaneously a part of Μ and yet another letter. ΓΩΖΜ is followed by a vertical bar slightly inclined to the left. The medium-size inscription (b) shows ΤΩΖΜΙ at the end. Here, too, the ed. pr. inserts *omicron* in between Ζ and Μ, although this letter is nowhere in evidence. Nor is there ΟΥ at the end of the line, shown by ed. pr. in the dipl. text and in the corresponding drawing. Since the two largest inscriptions both show some spurious lines as well as incomplete letters, it is impossible to decide whether the patronymic began with Γ or Τ. The last line of the inscription (c) is, as has been said, largely illegible and is of little help.



fig. 2259.4 (a and c)



fig. 2259.5 (b)

All three inscriptions are incised in the positive, which would make them retrograde had any weights been cast in these depressions. There is no precedent for such retrograde inscriptions on known local weights; the most one meets on these weights are isolated retrograde letters (Z or N, or, rarely, P). Kaplan suggests that the depressions were not meant to be used for making actual weights and, indeed, the surface of the stone around the depressions shows no signs of these depressions having been used for casting. According to Kaplan, the person who incised the inscriptions made them in the positive on purpose, either to see whether they fit the available space, or in order to get a kind of squeeze for a mirror image. This explanation fails to convince, as it leaves the question open why rather carefully executed depressions, including handles, would have been made for the suggested purposes. The one obvious thing is that the inscriptions were incised by a very inexperienced hand. Given this, the best explanation appears to be that we have here a work by an apprentice who was given the slab in order to practice the craft of making molds for weights, or similar objects. He managed with the depressions but the more delicate job of incising small letters within a limited space proved much harder for him to master. The stone is likely to have simply been thrown away after this exercise.

All three inscriptions begin with the sign L (the lower bar is missing in [b]) followed by another one-letter sign. In some of his early preliminary communications, Kaplan dated all three inscriptions to Year 9 of Trajan, which means that he uniformly understood the letter following L as *theta* (Θ), with the numerical value of nine (IEJ 12, 1962, 149; BA 35,3, 1972, 92). However, he changed his mind later, not only by rejecting the idea of the same numerical value of the second sign in all three inscriptions, but also by suggesting that some of these numbers may have related to weight units.

As it happens, Kaplan's initial reading and interpretation were the correct ones. There are no known weights where inscriptions of this type are preceded by indication of weight units. The first two letters thus must have involved a date. Logic would suggest that this date must have been the same in all three inscriptions, as they mention the same agoranomos and, moreover, not only were they made on the same stone and by the same hand, but have the same bizarre feature of being written in the positive. *Theta* is clearly seen after L on (a) but lacks the middle stroke on (b) and (c). There is no *delta*, reconstructed by Kaplan on (c) (no. 3 in ed. pr.); what one sees on the stone is a small elongated parallelogram inclined to the left. The date in all three inscriptions can be thus securely read as L Θ (Year 9). Year 9 of Trajan equals 105/6 CE.

The Jewish name of the agoranomos, Iudas, invites the question of the administrative structure of Ioppe and the status of the Jews there after the First Jewish Revolt. The Jews of Ioppe took active part in the revolt and the city and its population suffered greatly at the hands of the Roman army. Coins of Ioppe from the 3 c. CE give the name of the city as *Flavia Ioppe* (BMC Palestine 44) which hints at some measures taken by the Romans after the revolt, but evidence on this period is otherwise scarce. According to S. Applebaum, it is likely that some

veterans would have been settled in Ioppe by the Flavians, but that Jews would have remained the majority of the population. However, as the Romans were unlikely to entrust the governance of Ioppe to the Jews so soon after the revolt, there are two possible explanations for the appearance of the name of a Jewish agoranomos. Applebaum suggests that either the governing body of Ioppe consisted of gentiles with an inclusion of “a handful of influential hellenized Jews”, or that there existed, side by side, both a Greek and a Jewish *politeuma*, with Iudah acting on behalf of the latter (143f.). The idea of a separate Jewish *politeuma* is doubted by S. Schwartz who views Ioppe as a city with mixed population “that retained some Jewish inhabitants” even after the First Jewish Revolt. According to Schwartz, Iudas “was one of the city elites, probably in fact a member of the *boule*, or city council” (130).

The molds are so far the only evidence for the governance of Ioppe in the period following the First Revolt. However, we have somewhat more for Tiberias, another Jewish city that was involved in the First Revolt, with the majority of Tiberias’ population joining the rebels. Although Tiberias finally capitulated to Vespasian without a battle, one may assume that it would have been also considered potentially troublesome by the Roman authorities and that the Romans would have treated Tiberias and Ioppe in a similar fashion after the revolt.

Two weights from Tiberias came lately to light, each bearing names of two *agoranomoi* (S. Qedar, INJ 9, 1986/7, 30-3 pl. 5; A. Kushnir-Stein, ZPE 141, 2002, 295ff. pls. VII-VIII). They date to two consecutive years of Agrippa II, Year 22 and Year 23 (70/71 and 71/2, or 81/2 and 82/3, depending on which era of Agrippa II was used). Given their similarity in both the external appearance and the formulae and distribution of the inscriptions, these weights must have been issued by the same authority and manufactured in the same place (Kushnir-Stein).

One of the weights has a Jewish name, Yeshua(?) son of Mathias, paired with a name that sounds Aramaic, Animus (or, less likely, Aianimus) son of Monimus. The origin of the person behind this Aramaic name is difficult to establish for certain. Exact parallels for either Animus or Aianimus are hard to come by; neither is found in Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnennamen*. However, the patronymic, Monimus, is relatively well attested. This name appears in the context of the Jewish catacombs in Rome (Noy, *JIWE* II no. 109). As against this, there are many examples of the name Μόνιμος from the areas stretching from the Golan to Hauran that were parts of Agrippa II’s kingdom at the time (P. Le Bas - W. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* III, 1870, nos. 2117, 2128, 2243, 2293, 2412c and 2544; M. Dunand, *Le musée de Soueïda*, 1934, no. 193; SEG 46, 2066; ILS 2562). The persons named Monimus in Le Bas - Waddington III nos. 2412c and 2544 were certainly gentiles; ILS 2562 concerns a soldier of Ituraean origin. The bearer of the Aramaic name on the weight under review could thus have been a gentile.

The second weight also carries two names, both of which have Roman components: *R[--] Rufus* and *Iulius [...bo][...]us*. Bearers of these names could have been of

any ethnic background, including the possibility of their having been discharged soldiers of local or foreign descent. In theory, both could have been of Jewish origin as well, but one cannot stretch this argument too far.

Inconclusive as this evidence from Tiberias appears to be, it provides an important hint. Even if only one of the four *agoranomoi* was not Jewish – of which there seems to be a fairly good chance – it would speak against the idea of a Jewish *politeuma* alongside a Greek one. This is because, as has been mentioned, the two weights must have been authorized by the same governing body. In other words, the governing elite of Tiberias in the period immediately following the First Revolt may have well been composed of people with a variety of ethnic backgrounds, Jews included. The same, then, could have been true also for Ioppe.

Bibl.: J. Kaplan, EI 15, 1981, 412-6 (Hebr.), 89* (E.S.) (ed. pr.) – SEG 31, 1410; S. Applebaum, SCI 8-9, 1985/88, 138-44; SEG 40, 1484; S. Schwartz, Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E., 2001, 130.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer (a); IAA (b); IAA (c); A. and N. Graicer (a and c).

AKS

2260. Lead weight with scratched delta, 2-7 c. CE?

A lead weight of a square shape. A Greek letter is scratched on one of the flat sides. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 3.1, w 3.3, th 0.9 cm; wt 100.4 g.

Findspot: Excavations in Jaffa by J. Kaplan; Area A, Locus 706, Basket 40.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa/IAA exc. reg. no. 79/A/72/054. Autopsy: June 2012.

Δ

δ'

Four (ounces?).



fig. 2260.1



fig. 2260.2

Comm.: The number 4 could mean either “four” or “a fourth”. As the scratch appears posterior to the manufacture of the weight itself, it is likely that, at a later point of time, the mass of the item was equated to a number of basic units current

at this later period. Since the weight's mass approximates that of four ounces, this may well have been the meaning of the sign. There is no evidence for the use of the Roman weight system (that involved division into ounces) in Palestine before the 2 c. CE. This use continued until the end of the Byzantine period.

Bibl.: K. Raphael, in: O. Tsuf ed., *The Port Town of ancient Jaffa during the Persian to Byzantine Periods*. Kaplan Excavations (1955-1981) (forthcoming) (ed. pr).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer, courtesy of O. Tsuf.

AKS

2261. Bronze weight of two *nomismata*, 5-7 c. CE

A small bronze weight of a square shape. On one of the flat sides there is a Greek letter incised in dots. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 1.5, w 1.4, th 0.4 cm; wt 8.2 g.

Findspot: Excavations in Jaffa by J. Kaplan; Area A, Sq. J-101, Basket 546.

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa/IAA exc. reg. no. 79/A/72/053. Autopsy: June 2012.

B

β' (νομίσματα)

Two (*nomismata*).



fig. 2261.1



fig. 2261.2

Comm.: Bronze weights inscribed in Greek appear in the Palestinian area in the Byzantine period. Inscriptions on these weights usually indicate the basic weight unit and the number of such units. However, small weights often carry only the number, as in the present case. The weight (mass) of the present item comes closest to the mass of two *nomismata*. For the dating, see no. 2363 (Ascalon).

Bibl.: K. Raphael, in: O. Tsuf ed., *The Port Town of ancient Jaffa during the Persian to Byzantine Periods*. Kaplan Excavations (1955-1981) (forthcoming) (ed. pr).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer, courtesy of O. Tsuf.

AKS

2262. Bread stamp with Greek inscription

“A pyramidal bread or cheese stamp of stone, marked ‘Ariston’ was also found”, Kaplan 1962.

Findspot: Excavations in Old Jaffa by J. Kaplan in 1962.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ

Ἀρίστον

Ariston.

Comm.: *Omicron* for *omega*, cf. Gignac I 275ff.; or one may assume an abbreviated name, Ariston(ymus) or the like.

Bibl.: J. Kaplan, IEJ 12, 1962, 150 (ed. pr.). – Id., JQR 54, 1963, 113f.; id., Archaeology 14, 1964, 276; Fischer - Isaac - Roll, Roads II 190.

WA

V. Tel Yonah

2263. Partially reconstructed amphora with a Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription, 6 c. CE

Portion of a Late Roman Gazan amphora (type 5/6) comprising four sherds stuck together and bearing a Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription on its upper part.
Meas.: Size of jar: h 33, w 30 cm; inscription: 23.5 cm; letters 0.5-1.6 cm.

Findspot: Tel Yonah.

Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, inv. no. MHP 4773.

רא[?]דדירא רם תשחבעתא ויקארא

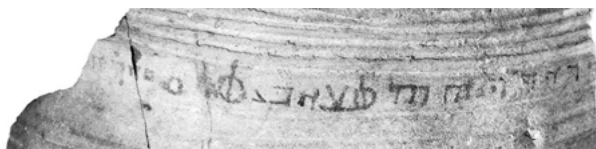


fig. 2263.1 (detail)

רא[חמ?]דדירא רם תשחבעתא ויקארא

Translit.: [ʔħm]r' ddyr' rm tšhb't'
wyq'r'

*Wine(?) of the monastery of Ram,
glory and honor.*

Comm.: The first editor assumed that the first part of the first word had been effaced and that it had originally read *ħamrā*, meaning “wine”. This is appealing in that it could refer to the contents of the amphora, but it is of course only a supposition.

The ed. pr. took the second word to consist of the prefix *d-* “of”, and the personal name *Tadys*, i.e. Thaddeus, but there is no hint of an initial *tav* in the second word and no space



fig. 2263.2

for one. The first letter of the proposed personal name is clearly *dalet*, since, like the prefixed *d-*, it bears a dot that is meant to distinguish it from the identically shaped letter *resh* (see first word). The second letter is unclear, but is quite small, perhaps a *yod* or a *vav*. The final part of the word is either *he-* or *resh-*. The only obvious word one can make of this is *dayrā* “monastery”, otherwise a name of a person or place may be intended, which would allow for more possibilities (e.g. *Dōrā*).

The third word was left unread in the ed. pr. The natural reading would be *r-m* (note the line coming out of the top left of the second letter). One could take this to be the name of a monastery (though one would have expected *dalet* before the name, i.e. *dyr’ d-x* “monastery of x”), and it is tempting to connect it with the place of Ram just north of Jerusalem, where there certainly were wine-producing monasteries at this time. Otherwise one could posit a scribal error and adjust the reading. Sebastian Brock in a personal communication suggested either emending to *d-men* “which is from”, assuming that the *nun* has been omitted, or *d-m*, where *mem* is an abbreviation for “modii”, which is a Roman dry measure. Both suggestions would also mean assuming that the dot of the *dalet* had been omitted.

The fourth word, according to the ed. pr., is a misspelling of *teshbūhtā* “glory”. There is a roughly contemporary example of a correct spelling of this word (J. Milik, RB 69, 1953, 530-3), but the first editor is right that there are frequent misspellings in Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions, especially in words containing gutturals. If Brock’s suggestion of *d-men*, “which is from”, were however correct, one would expect a place name to follow. There is no evidence for a name in Palestine with this form, though it could be the name of a vineyard or small village rather than a major settlement.

The fifth word was read as *w-yq’r’*, “and honor”, which seems plausible, assuming the first *alef* was added as a mater lectionis. If the reading “glory and honor” is correct, it is likely that this text records a religious offering and makes the reading “monastery of” more likely.

The script is plausibly of the 6 c. CE, and this fits with the fact that the amphora is of Late Roman 5-6 c. CE type.

Bibl.: M. Bar-Asher, *Palestinian Syriac Studies. Source-Texts, Traditions and Grammatical Problems*, 1977, no. 143 (ed. pr.). – Beyer, *Aramäische Texte* 403; C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen* 1, 1991, 12; R. Hoyland, in: M. Macdonald ed., *The Development of Arabic as a Written Language*, 2010, 29-46 at 37 no. 10; M. Bar-Asher, *Leshonot Rishonim*, 2012, 327 (Hebr.) (first published in: *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 5, 1995, 209-21).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

VI. Bet Hanan

2264. Mosaic with Greek inscription

Part of a room was found, paved with a white, poorly preserved mosaic; the inscription is in the north-eastern corner of the room and has a border of two rows of larger, white tesserae. The letters are made of pink tesserae.

Meas.: h 52, w 94; inscription h 10, w 28 cm.

Findspot: On a hill, west of Bet Hanan, 8 km north-east of Yavneh (Iamnia), 2.5 km north-east of Khirbet el-Furn; cf. Dauphin. Remains of agricultural installations and implements were found in the immediate vicinity; “mosaic pavement, possibly of a private house” (Di Segni).

Pres. loc.: IAA, no inv. no.

[..]ΣΘΕΟΣΘΒ

[..]ΘΩΝΤΩΚΥΡΩ (palm branch)

PHΓΙΝΩ (christogram) ΕΠΙ

ΑΣΛΑΕΚΤΙΣΘΗ

[εἶ]ς θεὸς ὁ β[ι]θῶν τῷ κύρῳ |
Ῥηγίνῳ. ἐπὶ | ΑΣΛΑ ἐκτίσθη

*The One God helps the lord
Reginus. (This house/room)
was built under ... (Aslas?).*

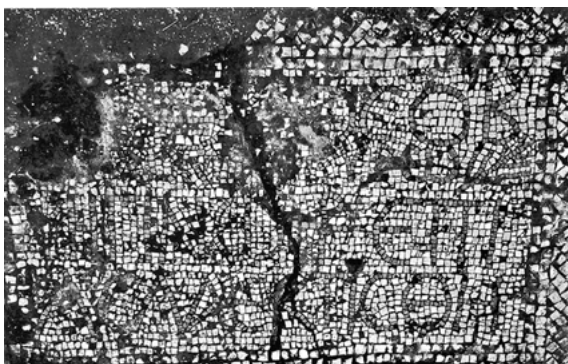


fig. 2264.1

Comm.: l.2: κύρῳ, i.e. κυρ(ί)ω Avi-Yonah; cf. the use of κυρά; l.3f.: “perhaps we should assume a longer inscription mutilated and then framed anew in its present state” Avi-Yonah, who wishes to read under these circumstances: ἐπι[σκόπω, ἔτους τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ... βασιλεί]ας λα’ (understanding the 31st year of Justinian, i.e. 558 AD); Ἀσλᾶ (?) Mouterde apud SEG, who compares Ἀσλαμος in Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 27, cf. Di Segni; Ἀσ<κ>λᾶ Cumont apud SEG, who could have referred to IG II² 2199, 148: Ἀσλᾶς Νεικίου.

Date: not later than the 5 c. (Di Segni on paleographical grounds). This is one of the indisputable

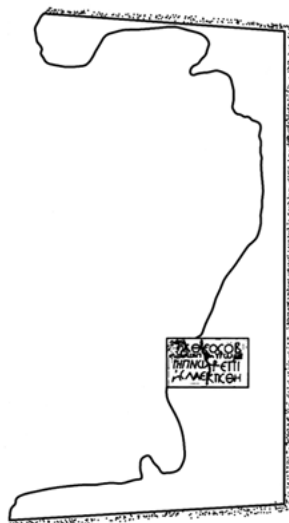


fig. 2264.2

Christian examples of the εἰς θεός-formula – which are much more common than Samaritan or Jewish use; cf. CIIP II 1177 (comm.). “Reginos could have been a builder or an entrepreneur of the complex discussed here, while Aslamos was a higher-rank official in whose time the complex was built” (Fischer et al. 24). – Private estate, owner and steward respectively (Di Segni apud Fischer et al.); Tal on wine-presses with Christian inscriptions. SEG 7, 1144 (Sahwet el-Blât): Ἀλεβος καὶ Ἀσλαθος.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 50 no. 336 pl. XIV,3 (repr. in: id., *Art in Ancient Palestine*, 1981, 352 no. 336 pl. 44) (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 278; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 102 no. 23; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 21ff. figs. 15-16.; O. Tal, SBF 59, 2009, 326f. – Cf. C. Dauphin, *La Palestine Byzantine*, 1998, 833 no. 349.

Photo: IAA; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 23 fig. 15 (dr.).

WA

VII. Iamnia

Introduction

Three sites need to be mentioned here: first, the Iron Age site of Meṣad Ḥashavyahu, predecessor of Iamnia-on-the-Sea, second, the major site of Iamnia/Yavneh, and, third, the coastal site of Iamnia-on-the-Sea (Yavneh-Yam/Minat Rubin).

Meṣad Ḥashavyahu

This was a fortress built by one of the Judaeen kings, perhaps Josiah, by order of the Egyptians in the last third of the seventh century BC and abandoned a century later.¹ It lies about 1.7 km south of Iamnia-on-the-Sea and was excavated in the 1960s. The ancient name of the site is not known. The discovery on the site of quantities of East Greek pottery has led the excavator to suggest that it was occupied by settlers of Greek origin, probably mercenaries. Several Hebrew ostraca were discovered there.

Iamnia

Iamnia (Ἰάμνεα), Yavneh (יבנה, 2 Chron 26,6 and Talmudic material).

In the following discussion it will not always be possible to separate treatment of Iamnia and of Iamnia-on-the-Sea. Iamnia lies about 7.5 km east of Iamnia-on-the-Sea and was a non-Jewish town in the Hellenistic period. It was quite important as a Seleucid base against the Jews, for it is mentioned three times as headquarters or base.² Jaffa and the Port of Iamnia were the target of an attack by Judah the Maccabee in 163.³ In Jaffa this was an act of revenge for the killing of Jews residing in the city by its citizens. Judah set fire to the harbour and ships, and killed anybody he caught outside the walls. Upon being informed that the citizens of Iamnia also intended to kill their Jews, he punished them in similar fashion in a preemptive strike. The gentile character of Iamnia is emphasized in 2 Macc, where “amu-

1 M. Fischer ed., Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam and their Neighborhood, 2005, chapter 2: articles by N. Na'aman, A. Fantalkin and J. Naveh, 69-110 (Hebr.), English summaries on xi-xiii; bibliographies 79-82, 99-106, 110. J. Naveh, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 585f., s.v. Ḥashavyahu, Meṣad.

2 In 163: 1 Macc 5,18-19, 55-62; Jos. AJ 12,350-2; again in 148: 1 Macc 10,69; finally in 139-138: 1 Macc 15,40. Cf. Isaac, Near East 8-12.

3 2 Macc 12,3-9.

lets of the idols from Iamnia” are mentioned as typical idolatrous cult-objects.⁴ A dedication from Delos shows that these idols were related to a Phoenician cult: “To Heracles and Hauronas, the gods who dwell in Iamnia Zenodorus, Patron, Diodotus, Jamniatai, on behalf of themselves ... a thank-offering...”⁵ Heracles is the Hellenistic variant of the Phoenician Melqart. Hauron presumably was a local deity.

Iamnia is listed among the towns (poleis) (re-)founded under the rule of Alexander Jannaeus and mentioned among those detached from Judaea by Pompey. It was resettled, rather than rebuilt, as often assumed, by Gabinus.⁶ After Herod's death his sister Salome received the towns of Iamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis in the Jordan Valley. Salome left it to Livia. After her death these places became imperial property, as shown by the presence of a procurator (ἐπίτροπος).⁷

It is not quite clear whether the town had city-status in any period. In one passage Josephus notes that, like Jaffa, “it administered a territory of its own”,⁸ which implies city-status, but elsewhere he speaks of “Iamnia and its toparchy”.⁹ In Judaea proper, the term “toparchy” represents an administrative district not headed by a city but, in the absence of a city, by a village.¹⁰ Possibly Josephus' statement that Iamnia administered a territory of its own is merely a somewhat loose expression indicating that it was the main settlement of a toparchy. Philo, cited below, calls it a polis. Yet Strabo designates Iamnia as a village. He observes that “the forest (i.e. the coastal plain) was so well supplied with men that it could muster forty thousand men from the neighbouring village Iamneia and the settlements all around.”¹¹ In fact, apart from the one passage in Josephus' work, cited above, there is no reference in the available sources to Iamnia as a polis. The figure of forty thousand armed men, mentioned by Philo, which may well be unreliable, is very high and is

4 2 Macc 12,40-45; cf. C. Habicht, 2. Makkabäerbuch. Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 1, 1976, 265; I. Lévy, Recherches esséniennes et pythagoriciennes, 1965, 65-9.

5 P. Roussel - M. Launey, Inscriptions de Délos 6, 1937 no. 2308; see also no. 2309. Cf. P. Bruneau, Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et l'époque impériale, 1970, 475 no. 3.

6 Alexander Jannaeus: Jos. AJ 13,395; Pompey: AJ 14,75; BJ 1,156; Gabinus: BJ 1,166. For the nature of Gabinus' activities, see Isaac, Limits 336-40.

7 Received by Salome: Jos. AJ 17,189, 321; BJ 2,98; left to Livia: BJ 2,167; AJ 18,31; presence of a procurator: AJ 18,158; Philo, Legatio ad Gaium 200-203, ed., trans. and comm. E. Smallwood, Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium, 1961. Cf. Schürer 2, 92 n. 25 and see below n. 15 and no. 2268.

8 Jos. BJ 3,56: Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόπη τῶν περιόικων ἀφηγοῦνται.

9 Jos. AJ 18,30: Ἰουλίᾳ μὲν Ἰάμνειάν τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν πᾶσαν, cf. BJ 2,167-168: Σαλώμῃ γὰρ τελευτώσα Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναικὶ τὴν τε αὐτῆς τοπαρχίαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Φασαηλίδι φοινικῶνας κατέλιπεν.

10 For the meaning of the administrative term “toparchy”, see Isaac, Near East 165-8, 177.

11 Strab. 16,2,28 (759): τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Κάρμηλος ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὁ δρυμός καὶ δὴ καὶ εὐάνδρησεν οὗτος ὁ τόπος, ὥστ' ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ἰαμνείας καὶ τῶν κατοικιῶν τῶν κύκλῳ τέτταρας μυριάδας ὀπλίζεσθαι.

similar to the highest number of soldiers ever mustered by one of the Hasmonaean brothers in their struggle against the Seleucids.¹² We may note as well that Philo of Byblos (first-second centuries AD), cited by Stephanus Byzantius, defines the situation of Jaffa, indubitably a significant town in relationship to Iamnia: “Jope is a city of Phoenicia near Iamnia, according to Philo, but according to Dionysius it belongs to Palaestina.”¹³

Josephus records a conflict in the reign of Tiberius between the future king Agrippa I and Herennius Capito, the procurator at Iamnia.¹⁴ For the present volume it is relevant that Agrippa intended to set sail from Anthedon, rather than Iamnia-on-the-Sea or Jaffa. From the story it is clear also that Capito had the authority to send soldiers to Anthedon in order to prevent Agrippa’s departure, even though Anthedon was south of Ascalon and Iamnia north of it.¹⁵

Capito is mentioned again by Philo as hostile to the Jews in the reign of Gaius in 39-40.¹⁶ The issue was religious strife between the Jews and non-Jews in Iamnia, an episode in which Capito incited the non-Jews: “... the following incident gave him (Herennius Capito) a starting-point for achieving his purpose (namely, to neutralize the influence of the future king Agrippa I and his relatives and friends). Iamnia, one of the largest cities in Judaea, has a mixed population, the majority being Jews and the rest gentiles who have wormed their way in from neighbouring countries. These settlers cause trouble and annoyance to those who may be described as the natives of the place by continually violating someone or other of the Jews’ traditions.”¹⁷ Philo emphasizes the great number of inhabitants of Iamnia

12 Cf. 1 Macc 12,41 (Jonathan against Tryphon).

13 Stephanus Byzantius, s.v.: Ἰόπη πόλις Φοινίκης πλησίον Ἰαμνίας ὡς Φίλων, ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος Παλαιστίνης. Cf. M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 2, 1980, 143f. no. 327, with commentary; cf. Isaac, *Near East* 10f. Stern notes in his comments 144 that the Phoenician patriotism of Philo of Byblos finds expression in the inclusion of Jaffa in Phoenicia. Philo of Byblos was a chauvinist, undoubtedly, but there is sufficient evidence of Phoenician connections with both Jaffa and Iamnia to justify Philo’s claim.

14 Jos. AJ 18,158f., 163.

15 Philo Leg. 199 calls Herennius Capito “φόρων ἐκλογεὺς τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας”, but Josephus gives his title as “ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας ἐπίτροπος”. The latter would make him procurator of an imperial domain and that is surely right. Philo’s remark that the man disliked the population of Judaea and enriched himself while there by unlawful means is, of course, plausible. See AE 1941, 105 for Herennius Capito as Procurator Iuliae Augustae, Procurator Ti. Caesaris Aug. and as Procurator C. Caesaris Aug. Germanici.

16 Smallwood (n. 7) 262: “The disturbances at Jamnia probably occurred in the winter of 39-40 ..., if Capito’s letter about them reached Gaius by March or earlier.”

17 Philo Leg. 200-201, transl. Smallwood: τὴν Ἰάμνειαν – πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πολυάνθρωπος – [ταύτην] μιγάδες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ πλείους μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἕτεροι δὲ τινες ἀλλόφυλοι παρεισφθαρέντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων, οἱ τοῖς τρόπων τινὰ αὐθιγενέσιν ὄντες μέτοικοι κακὰ καὶ πράγματα παρέχουσιν, αἱεὶ τι παραλύντες τῶν πατρίων Ἰουδαίους. Cf. W. Eck, *Die römischen Repräsentanten in Judaea*. Provo-

and the mixed character of the population. It is clear that he reverses the relationship between non-Jews and Jews in calling the former foreign settlers and the latter the natives of the place. Philo borrows the Athenian term *metoikoi* to describe the gentiles resident in what he regards as a Jewish town, which was, however, originally a non-Jewish settlement. The result of the affair, having been reported to Gaius by Capito, was the emperor's demand to place a statue of his in the Temple in Jerusalem.

During the First Jewish Revolt, Vespasian twice left a garrison to guard Iamnia,¹⁸ presumably because of the large number of Jews living there by that time.

In the subsequent period there is no indication either that Yavneh/Iamnia had city status. In this connection: there apparently was no local mint, which, wherever it is attested, usually furnishes proof of city status.

After the First Revolt and until the Bar Kokhba war, i.e. during a period of a little over half a century, Yavneh served as the centre for the Jewish leadership and the Sanhedrin.¹⁹ It was the location of the central court (Beit-Din), headed first by Rabban Yohanan ben Zakai and next by Rabban Gamaliel. Thus Yavneh was the first successor to Jerusalem as an alternative location where important halakhic issues were decided. As such it served as the model for later Talmudic centers elsewhere, the first being Ushah in the Galilee, where the centre was established after the failure of the Bar Kokhba war. The crucial role Yavneh plays in the later Jewish tradition stands in remarkable contrast to the absence of evidence for an active Jewish presence there in the Roman period, following the Bar Kokhba war, and in the Later Roman and Byzantine periods.

Pliny the Elder distinguishes between Iamnia and "Iamnia in the interior".²⁰ Ptolemy the Geographer (second century) also mentions the port of Iamnia and the town Iamnia separately.²¹ These are the two only sources to make this distinction.

Eusebius mentions Iamnia as "now a *polichne*", which Jerome translates as "*oppidum*", i.e. larger than a village, but no city.²²

kateure oder Vertreter der römischen Macht?, in: M. Popović ed., *The Jewish Revolt against Rome*, 2011, 45ff., where Philo's prejudiced attitude is discussed.

18 Jos. BJ 4,130, 444.

19 S. Cohen, *HUCA* 55, 1984, 27-53 (= id., *The significance of Yavneh and other Essays in Jewish Hellenism*, 2010, 44-70); D. Goodblatt, *Iudaea between the Revolts. Trends in Research Scholarship*, in: A. Oppenheimer ed., *Jüdische Geschichte in Hellenistisch-Römischer Zeit*, 1999, 101-18; Y. Shahar, *Talmudic Yavne*, in: Fischer (n. 1) 113-38 (Hebr.; xiii-xiv: English abstract).

20 Plin. NH 5,13,68: *Iamneae duae, altera intus*.

21 Ptolemy 5,15,12: 'Ιόπη ... 'Ιαμνιτῶν λιμὴν ... Ἀζώτος ... Ἀσκαλῶν; 5,15,30: 'Ραφία ... Γάζα ... 'Ιάμνια ... Λύδδα; the former at 65° 30' 32", the latter at 65° 40' 32".

22 Eus. On. 106,20-21: πόλις Ἰουδα. εἰς ἔτι νῦν πολίχνη Παλαιστίνης Ἰαμνεῖα μεταξύ Διοσπόλεως καὶ Ἀζώτου. See also 22,9; 50,16; 72,4, where the name is spelled as Ἰαμνία.

The bishops of Iamnia participated in several church council meetings from the fourth century onward: at Nicaea (325), Chalcedon (451) and Jerusalem (518 and 536).²³

In 491 Peter the Iberian died in Iamnia where he had been taken from Azotus (Ashdod), according to the Syriac Life of Peter the Iberian: “he (Elijah, the tribune, a member of the household of the Empress Eudocia), transferred him to what is called the fortress of the city of Iamnia (Maḥoza de-Yamnīn), which is near the sea and in a peaceful place and very fitting for the saint’s infirmity. This he did as one who had freedom [of speech] and a relationship to the imperial procurators, and authority over this lodging [place], because it was [part] of the imperial property and once had been a dwelling place of Empress Eudocia. For since she was frequently weighed down by bodily disease, the physicians advised her to seek such a place in which, with the change of air she would receive a condition of regained strength, [and] for this reason she built this place. Since all the inhabitants of this village were Samaritans, she built in it a large temple in the name of and because of the deposition [of the relics] of Stephen, the head of the martyrs and of the apostle Thomas and of many [other] holy martyrs. ... For her own use she had constructed it [as] a modest lodging [place], to which the Christ-loving tribune Elijah brought the blessed one.”²⁴

While he stayed there Peter worked “many wonders and healings and [acts of] casting out demons by his hands, not only on believers and Christians but also on Jews and Samaritans, and especially on the inhabitants of the village and of the city of Iamnia and its surroundings.”²⁵ After Peter’s death the body was taken to his old monastery at Maiuma of Gaza.²⁶ This text allows of several conclusions: Iamnia-on-the-Sea was the site of a villa of Eudocia, who built a Church of St. Stephen there. Furthermore, in the late fifth century Iamnia still was part of an imperial domain, more than four centuries after Josephus describes it as such.²⁷ Finally, the area was inhabited at the time by a mixed population of large numbers of Samaritans, Jews and Christians.

A fragmentary representation of Iamnia appears in the late sixth century on the Madaba Map with the inscription Ἰαβνηλ ἡ καὶ Ἰάμνια (Iabneel also named Iamnia). The representation shows a town without walls containing three eccle-

23 M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. 3, 1740 (reprint 1958), 587–90; E. Schwartz ed., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum I–IV*, 1924–1940, 2,1,2: 144 [340], l. 9; 3: 189, l. 9; 3: 79, ll.5–6.

24 The Life of Peter the Iberian 166, cited from C. Horn - R. Phenix Jr (ed. and transl.), John Rufus, *The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*, 2008, 241, 243.

25 The Life 170, transl. Horn - Phenix (n. 24) 247f.

26 The Life 183.

27 This has been misunderstood by several scholars cited by M. Fischer - I. Taxel, *Tel Aviv* 34, 2007, 223.

siastical buildings with red roofs. The central one has steps leading to the front entrance.

Iamnia is not mentioned by Hierocles, Synecdemus (sixth century), but it appears on the list of Georgius Cyprius (seventh century).²⁸

Iamnia did not issue coinage. There are three weights. Two are small standard bronze from the Byzantine period (fifth to seventh centuries AD). They are from excavations by M. Fischer (below, no. 2272). The third is of lead, with two “epho-roi”, also fifth to seventh centuries (no. 2271). The provenance from Iamnia of this weight is not certain.

The archaeological evidence confirms or reinforces some of this information. Tel Yavneh itself was occupied in the Iron Age, the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods.²⁹ For the Roman period its remains include part of a marble statue and fragments of ossuaries, the latter being evidence of Jewish burial, and inscription no. 2268, below (perhaps not from an ossuary). Like numerous other sites, in the Byzantine period it expanded more than in any other. Marble remains undoubtedly derive from the churches depicted on the Madaba Map.

Iamnia-on-the-Sea

The site is about the same distance from Jaffa and Azotus (Ashdod), 20 km in both directions. It is near modern Kibbutz Palmachim and has the advantage of a small anchorage and easy communications inland.

An important inscription discovered on the site is no. 2267, below. The inscription represents a fragment of a petition from the Sidonians in the [Port of Iamnia] to Antiochus Eupator and the king's reply. The petitioners claimed and received special favours from the King because of their loyalty. This is a significant piece of evidence, because it indicates the presence in Palestine of Hellenized people who called themselves Sidonians.³⁰

The site has been under excavation in the 1990s. It was inhabited in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages and throughout the period relevant for the present volume.³¹ Remains of buildings from the Persian period were discovered with features typical of Phoenician building technique. Pottery imported from Greece from the sixth to the fourth century was discovered in substantial quantities. In the Hellenistic period, represented by the inscription mentioned above, quantities of fine pottery attest to a fairly high level of prosperity. Besides fishing, the purple industry was a source of income, as elsewhere in Phoenician settlements along the coast. The

28 Georgius Cyprius 1003 (ed. Honigmann, p. 67).

29 Fischer - Taxel (n. 27) 204-84.

30 See Isaac, *Near East* 13-8.

31 M. Fischer, *AW* 34, 2003, 241-52; id., *The Archaeology and History of Yavneh-Yam*, in: id. (n. 1) 173-208 (Hebr., English summary: xv-xvi).

purple industry is attested by the discovery of murex shells on the site. The Roman period is represented, and so is, at a more substantial scale, the Byzantine period. Unidentifiable remains of substantial buildings may be connected with the situation described in the life of Peter the Iberian.

Select Bibliography: S. Cohen, The significance of Yavneh, *HUCA* 55, 1984, 27-53 (= id. The significance of Yavneh and other Essays in Jewish Hellenism, 2010, 44-70); M. Fischer, Yavne-Yam (Israel), *AW* 34, 2003, 241-52; id. ed., Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam and their Neighborhood, 2005 (Hebr.); id. - I. Taxel, Ancient Yavneh its History and Archaeology, *Tel Aviv* 34, 2007, 204-84; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, Rural Settlement in the Vicinity of Yavneh in the Byzantine Period, *BASOR* 350, 2008, 7-35; D. Goodblatt, Judaea between the Revolts. Trends in Research Scholarship, in: A. Oppenheimer ed., *Jüdische Geschichte in Hellenistisch-Römischer Zeit*, 1999, 101-18; B. Isaac, *IEJ* 41, 1991, 132-44 = id., *Near East* 3-18; postscript 19f.

BI

Inscriptions

A. Res sacrae

2265. Marble plate with Samaritan Aramaic and Samaritan Hebrew inscription, late Byzantine/early Arab period

A large, white marble plate, with badly preserved 20 lines of uneven spacing, with about 11-15 incised letters in each line, and word dividers in the form of 1 or 2 dots. A horizontal line runs below l.2, separating the two upper lines from the rest of the text. Meas.: h 62, w 56, d 6 cm; width of margins: ca. 10 cm; letters (average) 1-2 cm.

Findspot: Yavneh (Iamnia).

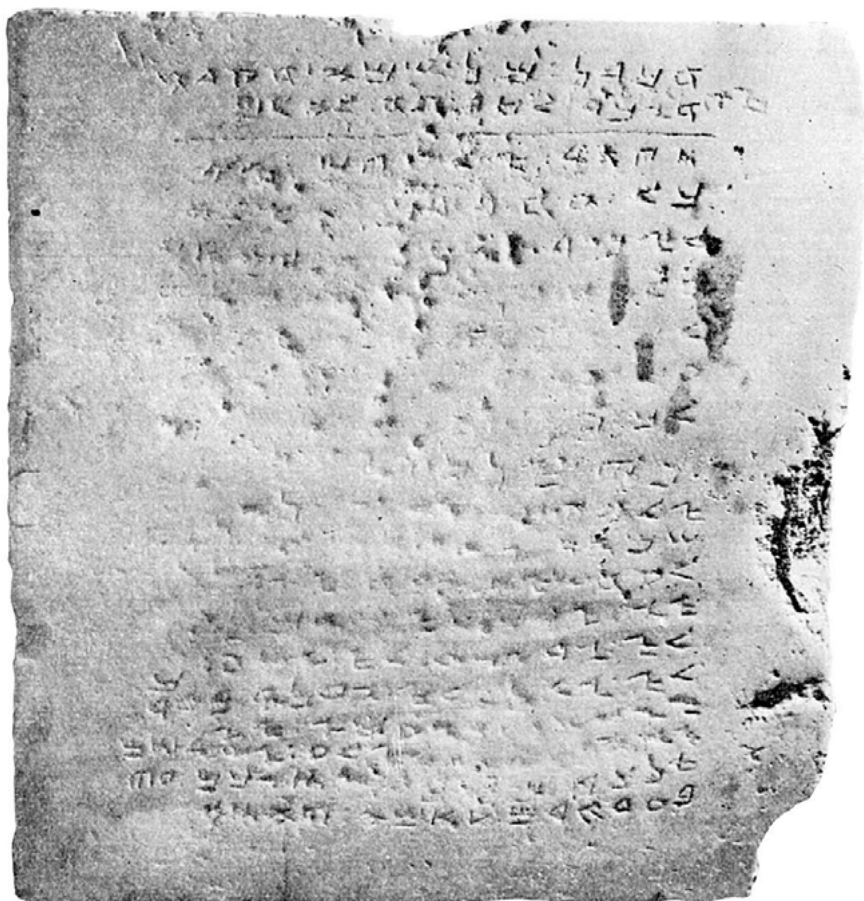


fig. 2265

דכרן מן שמה דקרח. דתכר לטב עד לעלם	דכרן מן שמה דקרח דתכר לטב עד לעלם
(Separating line)	
וידר: אלהים: את. כל עדבר[.]. האלה.	וידר אלהים את כל עדבר[ים] האלה
5 לאמה[.] נכי יהוה. אלה[--]. ל[--]. על פ[--]. לך פ[--]ה.	5 לאמר [א]נכי יהוה אלה[יך] לא יהיה ל[ך] אלהים אחרים על פ[ני] לא תעשה לך פ[סל] כל תמונה
10 כי אנכי י[...]. אלהיך: ל[.]ג[.] שמוה א[--]. לקדשאו כבד את. את. א[...]. ואת. אמך.	10 כי אנכי י[הוה] אלהיך [א]ל [ק]נ[ה] שמור א[ת] יום השבת לקדשאו כבד את את א[ב]יך ואת אמך
15 לא: תרצ[.]. לא תנעף. לא: תגנ[.]. לא תענה. בער[.]. לא. א[--]הקמת: את. הא[--]אלע. אשר ום אנכי מ[...]. אתכם. הי	15 לא תרצ[ח] לא תנעף לא תגנ[ב] לא תענה בער[ך] לא [תחמד ו]הקמת את הא[בנים]האלע אשר ום אנכי מ[צוה] אתכם הי
20 בערגרם קומה. יהוה.	20 בערגרם קומה יהוה
Translit.: dkrn mn šmh dqrh	<i>Praise be to God who read (the Ten com- mandments to Moses). Be (His Name) praised forever. And God said all these words, saying: I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have none other gods before me. Thou shalt not make thee any image or any likeness. For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God. Keep the Sabbath day to sanctify it. Honor thy father and thy mother. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not com- mit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear (false witness) against thy neighbor. Thou shalt not desire (thy neighbor's wife). And thou shalt set up(?) these stones(?) which I command you today on Mt. Gerizim. Let the Lord arise.</i>
dtkr l'tb 'd l'lm wydr 'lhym 't kl 'dbr[ym] h'lh 5 l'mr [']nky yhwh 'lh[yk l' yhyh] l[k 'lhym 'hrym] 'l p[ny l' t'sh] lk p[sl kl tmwn]h 10 ky 'nky y[hwh] 'lhyk [']l [q]n[h] šmwr '[t ywm hšbt] lqdš'w kbd 't 't '[byk] w't 'mk 15 l' trš[h] l' tn'p l' tgn[b] l' t'nh b'r[k] l' [tḥmd w]hqmt 't h'[bnym h]'l' 'šr wm 'nky m[šwh] 'tkm hy 20 b'rgm qwmh yhwh	

Comm.: Y. Kaplan, the first editor, claimed that he acquired this inscription in 1943 from an Arab residing in the village. The script was performed by an unskilled engraver, certain letters appearing in variant forms. The text is very badly preserved, and the central part is almost entirely effaced. According to the publisher, this inscription resembles certain Samaritan synagogue inscriptions known from Nablus and from Gaza. The first 2 lines contain the opening benediction and are followed by 18 lines containing parts of the Samaritan version of the Ten Commandments, as well as the beginning of one biblical verse which appears at the end of the text. According to Ben-Haim, the first lines are a common version of the blessing introducing the reading in the Torah. The text contains a number of peculiar spellings, such as *dqrh* (l.1 *het* instead of *he* [for *alef*] “who read”), *dtkr* (l.2 perhaps for *ytdkr* “will be remembered”), *dbr[ym]* (l.4 instead of *hdb[ym]* “the words”), *tn’p* (l.15 instead of *tn’p*), *b’rgrm* (l.20 instead of *bhr grzym*), *[-h]’l’* (l.18 instead of *h’lh* [cf. l.4]), *b’r[k]* (l.16 misspelling for *br’k*). The letters *yod* and *mem* of the word *hywm* (end of l.19) were added above the line.

Bibl.: J. Kaplan, BIES 13, 1946/47, 165f. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – I. Ben-Zvi, BIES 13, 1946/47, 166ff. (Hebr.); id., BIES 13, 1946/47, 671ff. (Hebr.); id., *The Book of the Samaritans*. Revised edition, 1970, 186-9 (Hebr.); Z. Ben-Haim, BIES 14, 1947/48, 49f. (Hebr.); J. Strugnell, RB 74, 1967, 555-80 at 556, 558f.; Saller, Catalogue 84; Syria/BES 1975, 106; Y. Safrai, *Cathedra* 4, 1977, 84-112 (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 2, 671ff.; Chiat, *Handbook* 172f.; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 7-35 at 17f.

Photo: J. Kaplan, BIES 13, 1947 pl. 3-3.

AY

2266. Samaritan Mezuzah, Byzantine–early Islamic period

Fragment of marble slab incised with Samaritan letters.

Meas.: h 11, w 8 cm.

Findspot: Tel Yavneh (Iamnia), 70-100 m south of the destroyed mosque.

Pres. loc.: Private collection.

[--]
 יכ[--]
 תרצח[--]
 גנב[--]
 [--]



fig. 2266

[--] | אשר יהוה אלהיך | [נתן לך לא] תרצח | [לא תנאף לא ת]גנב | [--]

Translit.: [--] | 'šr yhw h 'lh]yk | [ntn lk l'] tršḥ | [l' tn'p l' t]gnb | [--]

... which God your Lord gave you. Do not murder. Do not commit adultery. Do not steal. ...

Comm.: The text contains part of the Ten Commandments, from the end of the Fourth Commandment concerning Shabbat observance to the Seventh forbidding theft. It is impossible to determine whether the engraver had the Exodus or Deuteronomy version, or a harmonizing Samaritan version, in mind. The version in Deuteronomy (6,9) closes with the command to put “these words” on the doors of all houses (*mezuzoth*). The Samaritans inscribed the Ten Commandments on the *mezuzah*, the doorpost, and it had an apotropaic function.

Bibl.: E. Eshel - H. Eshel, Tarbiz 74, 2005, 313-6 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 7-35 at 17f.

Photo: Y. Lugasi.

HM

B. Royal document

2267. Greek letter of Antiochus V Eupator and petition of Iamnians to Antiochus, June/July 163 BC

Local limestone; see Isaac 125 on the lettering, which “reveals features not found in traditional hands of the Hellenistic period ... Note the θ , the high ω , the tiny *omicrons* and the legless Y ... hands of Hellenistic inscriptions of Syria and Palestine ... foreshadow imperial styles.” Since the inscription is precisely dated, it is an important document in Kloppenborg’s overview of the late Hellenistic-early Roman letter forms in Palestine. Guidelines are used, and the letters seem not to stand on, but to hang from them.

Meas.: h 23, w 34, d ca. 16 cm; letters 1 cm; interval between lines 0.5 cm.

Findspot: Yavneh-Yam (Iamnia Paralios), at the southern edge of the excavation site (cf. the map in Kasher 8).

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1987-1361. Autopsy: 21 March 2012 (WE).



fig. 2267

[--]ΑΛΜΕΝ[--] *vacat*
 [--]ΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΝΕΣΣ[...Ι]ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΠΑΡΑ[--]
 [--]ΩΝΙΩΝ ΕΔΟΘΗΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΕΧΩΡΙΣΜΕ[--]
 [--]ΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΕ ΔΗΛΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΣ ΙΙ[--]
 [--]ΩΣΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝΤ[
 [--] *vacat 26-7 letters* ΘΜΡΛΩΙ[--]
 [--]ΙΑΝΤΙΟΧΩΙ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΙ ΥΠΟ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΑΡΑ[--]
 [--]ΞΙΝΙΣΙ ΔΩΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΕΙΣΧΗΜ[--]
 [--]Ι ΠΑΠΠΙΩΝ ΕΝΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΗΝ ΧΡΕ[--]
 [--]ΞΙ ΠΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΑΟΚΝΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΠΙ[--]
 [--]ΕΡΑΣΟΥ ΠΡΟΑΓΟΝΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΙΓ[--]
 [--]ΔΕΚΑΤ[.] ΤΩΝ ΓΕΝΗΜ[
 [--]ΙΑ ΤΩΝ Δ[
 [--]ΝΤΗΣ Δ[
 [--]ΟΥ+
 [--]

[-- τὰ ἐπεστ]αλμέν[α --] *vacat* | [βασιλεὺς Ἄν]τίοχος Νεσσ[...ι] χαίρειν. παρὰ [τῶν
 ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἰαμνείας] | [λιμένι Σιδ]ωνίων ἐδόθη τὸ κατακεχωρισμέ[νον ὑπό μνημα·
 ἐπει] | (4) [δὴ --]ΑΙ οἱ δεδηλωμένοι εἰσὶν ἀτελεῖς ΙΙ[--]-- ὅπ[ως] καὶ οὗτοι τῶν αὐτῶν
 φιλανθρώπων τ[υχάνων]σιν· ἔρρωσο | --] *vacat 26-7 letters* θμρ' Λωί[ου --] | βασιλεῖ

Ἀντιόχῳ Εὐπάτορι ὑπόμνημα παρὰ [τῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἰαμ](8)νείας λιμ[ένι Σιδωνίων·
πολλὰς χρεῖας παρειαρχμ[ένων --] τῷ]ι πάππῳ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ναυτικὴν χρε[ίαν
--] τοῖς] ἐπιτασσομένοις ἀόκνως αὐτοὺς ΕΠΙ[--] τὸν πατ]έρα σου προάγον εἰς τοὺς
κατ' Αἴγ[υπτον τόπους | (12) -- τὴν] δεκάτ[ην] τῶν γενημ[άτων --] IATΩΝΔ[--]
+NTHΣΔ[--] OY+[--]

... the written orders. – King Antiochus to Ness..., greetings. The enclosed petition was submitted by the Sidonians in the port of Iamnia. Since ... the referred to are immune ... so that these (persons) will also enjoy the same privileges. Farewell. Loos ..., 149 (= June/July 163 BC). – Petition to King Antiochus Eupator from the Sidonians in the port of Iamnia. Since ... rendered many services to (your) grandfather, promptly obeying all instructions regarding naval service ... your father leading forward into Egypt ... the tithe of the produces (of the fruit of the earth) ...

Comm.: 1.1: [--]AΛME[--] Isaac, [--]AΛMEI[--] lapis; [--τὰ ἐπεστ]αλμέ[να --] Kasher; [-- σύνταξον οὖν συντελεῖν κατὰ τὰ ἐπεστ]αλμέν[α --] vel sim. Gauthier (BE); 1.2: Νέσσῳ Isaac, Kasher; there are only traces of the second sigma, and the lacuna is rather large for a single omega; Νέσσ[ον]ι might therefore be a better fit than Νέσσ[ω]ι; [-- Ἰαμνίας] Isaac, [-- Ἰαμνείας] Gauthier (BE); 1.2f.: παρὰ [τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰαμνίας λιμ[ένι --] Kasher; 1.4: [-- καὶ οἱ δεδηλωμένοι] Isaac, [-- Ἰαμνίτ]αι οἱ δεδηλωμένοι Gauthier (BE); ἀτελεῖς π[ροβάτων --] Kasher; ἀτελεῖς II[--] perhaps pi, Eck; 1.4f.: [-- ἴδε οὖν ὅπως] or [-- προνοήθητι ὅπως] e.g. Isaac, [-- φρόντισον ὅπως] Gauthier (BE); [-- ὅπως] Eck; 1.5: [ἀπολαύονται. ἔρρωσο] Isaac, rather [τυγχάνωσιν --] or [μετέχωσιν --] Gauthier (BE); [τυγχάνωσιν --] Eck; 1.7f.: [-- Ἰαμ[νίας] Isaac, [-- Ἰαμ[νείας] Gauthier (BE); 1.8ff.: παρειαρχμ[ένων τῶν προ]γόνων τῷ]ι πάππῳ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ναυτικὴν χρε[ίαν, πειθομένων | πᾶσι τοῖς] Habicht apud Isaac, IEJ; 1.10: ἐπ[ήνεσε --] Isaac, ἐπι[--] Gauthier (BE); 1.11: τοὺς καταιγ[--] Isaac; τοὺς κατ' Αἴγ[υπτον τόπους --] Habicht apud Isaac, IEJ; 1.12: [--]ΔΕΧΑΤ[--] ΤΩΝΤΕΝ[--] Isaac, δεκάτ[ην] Kasher; [--τὴν] δεκάτ[ην] τῶν γενημ[άτων or τῆς] δεκάτ[ης] Gauthier (BE).

The stone held at least three documents; only the middle one (11.2-6) is completely preserved. In accordance with other documents, we can expect the following order of events: the Sidonians sent a ὑπόμνημα to Antiochus V, 1.7ff.; the king decided – positively – on the matter and wrote accordingly to the official in question (1.2ff.); this official, a certain Ness... conveyed the instructions of the king to his subordinates (1.1). As so often, the letter to the official is kept quite short (cf. comm. on 1.3), and the motivation for the king's decision is to be found in the ὑπόμνημα of the Sidonians: they pointed at their merits in regard to earlier Seleucid kings, mentioning both Antiochus III and Antiochus IV, but – naturally – no earlier kings; furthermore, they could name a parallel for the desired benefits. Isaac considered a connection with 2 Macc 8f.; 12,3ff., but concluded that there can be no proof in regard to this.

That Sidonians in Iamnia are the subject of the letter is inferred by the findspot (and Isaac, IEJ 126 n. 7 states that there is no remotely suitable place name ending in -ην on the eastern Mediterranean shore). We know of other Sidonian settlements in Jaffa, Shechem and Marisa (OGIS 593: Ἀπολλοφάνης Σεσμαίου, ἄρχας τῶν ἐν Μαρίσῃ Σιδωνίων; Dittenberger ad loc. quotes Fouilles de Delphes III 1, 435: Ἦλιο[δῶρωι Δ]ιονυσίου Σιδωνίωι ἐγ Βαρυτέου). The settlement in Marisa, at least, is evidently older than Seleucid rule in these parts. Jos. AJ 12,258ff. preserves a correspondence between Sidonians in Shechem and Antiochus IV. The Sidonians are recognized as a separate group in Iamnia, with special privileges, hence an own, if limited, legal status; see Bickerman on the Josephus dossier.

The king's letter is securely dated, Loos 149, Seleucid era, i.e. June/July 163 BC.

1.1: Kasher compares Welles no. 5 l.12f. (Milet; Seleucus I): τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα δὲ Πολιάνθῃ; apart from that see Welles no. 37 (Eriza, Caria; a Seleucid official): ἐπακολουθῶν οὖν τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις; IK 65, 277 (Laodicea in Media; a Seleucid official): κατακολουθεῖτε οὖν τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις; IK 28,1, 150, l.73f. (Iasos): ἐπιδε[ί]ξι[α]ν[τες] τὰ ἐπεσ[ταλμένα] ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποτὶ τὰ]ν πόλιν.

1.2: on the form of the ethnic, Gauthier (BE) compares Macc and Inscriptions de Délos nos. 2308f.; he comments: "les Sidoniens de la port de Jamnia' ... lesquels pouvaient sans doute prétendre être aussi des Ἰαμνῖται, tout en étant distingués des Ἰαμνῖται de la ville de l'intérieur."

1.3: τὸ κατακεχωρισμέ[νον] ὑπόμνημα, cf. Jos. AJ 12,262; Welles no. 70 l.2f. (King Antiochus to Baitokaike); R. Sher, Roman Documents from the Greek East, 1969, no. 35 l.6. See Welles 285: "The interpretation of κατακεχωρισμένος as 'inclosed' is on the analogy of the use of the verb, for example in 37,6: κατακεχώρισται τὸ ἀντίγραφον. The verb might also refer to the 'entry' of the minute in the royal journal." On ὑπόμνημα alone, see Capdetrey 338f.: "Les hypomnémata émanaient en effet souvent de communautés locales réclamant au roi une intervention face à une situation jugée abusive ... Il suffisait ... au roi de mentionner son accord avec la requête, sans même en reprendre les termes, pour donner une légitimité aux revendications de l'hypomnéma et pour le transformer en ordre royal adressé aux subordonnés. La validation des hypomnémata reposait ainsi toujours sur une relation triangulaire qui faisait intervenir les trois éléments qui constituaient le royaume: des communautés locales, l'autorité royale et ... les agents royaux chargés d'appliquer les décisions de cette autorité."

1.4f.: for the formulation cf. the honorary decree from Cyrene, SEG 26, 1817: τυγχάνωντι τῶν αὐτῶν φιλανθρωπῶν. The Sidonians referred to a parallel treatment of another group and the king accepted this example.

1.5: on φιλάνθρωπα, benefactions, see e.g. Welles 373.

1.8f.: we have no real idea about the campaigns that resulted in Antiochus' III occupation of Coele Syria, hence we do not know how the Sidonians of Iamnia could have helped him in nautical matters (of course, the Phoenicians are famous sailors); important is the mention that they did so ἀόκνως (Inscripfen von Perga-

mon no. 160, B 35ff.: κατὰ ταῦτὰ δὲ στεφανῶσαι καὶ Ἄτταλον, ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Εὐμένους πάντα συνέπραξεν ἀόκνως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως).

I.11: Antiochus IV invaded Egypt in 170 and 168 BC, but Gauthier (BE) points out that the neuter *προάγον* is difficult to understand.

I.12: On *γενήματα*, see Herrmann 73; 84f.; the *δεκάτη* was one of the most important taxes for the Seleucid king (we know instances of this tax from several communities, inter alia Jerusalem and Judaea, Jos. AJ 13,48ff.); it was paid by communities of different status, thereby being one of the unifying treatments of Seleucid subordinates, perhaps originating in Persian times. “La dekatè constituait ainsi un symbole de l’appropriation du sol par l’autorité royale”, Capdetrey 413.

Bibl.: B. Isaac, IEJ 41, 1991, 132-6 fig. 1 (ph.); id., in: M. Fischer - B. Dashti eds., Yavneh-Yam and its Surroundings, 1991, 33-40 (ph. and dr.) (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – SEG 41, 1556; A. Kasher, Cathedra 63, 1992, 3-7 (ph. and dr.) (Hebr.). – Cf. C. Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period, 1934; P. Herrmann, MDAI(I) 15, 1965, 71ff.; E. Bickerman, Studies in Jewish and Christian History II, 1980, 105ff.; BE 1992, 552; E. Meyers, Biblical Archaeologist 55, 1992, 84ff.; R. Milman Baron, SCI 13, 1994, 160f. no. 34; A. Berlin, Biblical Archaeologist 60, 1997, 15 (ph.); J. Grainger, A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer, 1997; J. Pastor, Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine, 1997, 58; S. Wolff, AJA 102, 1998, 787, 790 fig. 25 (dr.); J. Kloppenborg Verbin, JJS 51, 2000, 271ff.; Millard, Pergament und Papyrus 103; M. Fischer, AW 34, 2003, 245, 247 fig. 11 (ph.); SEG 53, 1845; M. Fischer, in: id. ed., Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam and Their Neighbourhood, 2005, 187f. (ph.) (Hebr.); O. Tal, The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine, 2006, 3f. (ph. and dr.) (Hebr.); L. Capdetrey, Le pouvoir séleucide, 2007, inter alia 234, 338, 407, 413, 431; D. Edwards, in: T. Rajak et al. eds., Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers, 2007, 286f.; M. Fischer, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 2074f. (ph.).

Photo: WE.

WA

C. Funerary inscription

2268. Latin funerary inscription for Iulia Grata, wife of Ti. Iulius Mellon, freedman of the emperor Tiberius and procurator

Fragment of a rectangular limestone slab with a molded surface. Holes with metal remains on top, bottom and on both right and left corners, probably intended for attaching the slab to the grave.

Meas.: h 32.5, w 84, d 9.5 cm; letters 5.5-4.7 cm.

Findspot: In an Arab well-house in an “orange-grove in the vicinity of Yibna (ancient Iamnia or Yavneh)” (Avi-Yonah 84).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1943-21. Autopsy: 11 June 2006; 13 March 2010; 19 March 2012.

IVLIA·GRATA
 TI·IVLII·AVG·L·
 MELLONTIS·PROC·



fig. 2268

Julia Grata | Ti(beri) Iulii Aug(usti) l(iberti) | Mellontis proc(uratoris) (uxor)

(Here lies) *Julia Grata*, (wife) of *Tiberius Iulius Mellon*, imperial freedman, (who was) *procurator*.

Comm.: l.3: proc(urator) Taxel.

Julia Grata, who shares the *nomen gentile* with the man mentioned here in the genitive case, could either be a freeborn woman or a manumitted slave of Tiberius Iulius Mellon. Despite the absence of the word for wife, *uxor*, she is most likely to have been the latter's wife, since *uxor* is often omitted in inscriptions; on the other hand, had she been a daughter, as Avi-Yonah and others suggested, the word for daughter, *filia*, would surely have appeared. Tiberius Iulius Mellon was a freedman procurator of the emperor Tiberius (14-37 AD) as his name Tiberius Iulius shows. Julia Grata, however, is unlikely to have been an imperial freedwoman, or the fact would have been mentioned.

Iulius Mellon was *procurator* of the palm groves near Iamnia, formerly the property of Herod's sister, Salome, who had left it in her will to Livia, Augustus' wife (PIR² S 108). After Livia's death in 29 AD, the groves became part of the imperial *patrimonium*, and Mellon, Tiberius' freedman, is likely to have replaced Livia's own freedman in the administration of the groves. As the one in charge of the imperial patrimony in Iamnia only, Mellon was subordinate to Gaius Herennius Capito, the equestrian patrimonial *procurator* for the whole of Judaea, without interruption, for Livia, Tiberius and Caligula, AE 1941, 105; cf. PIR² H 103.

It remains unclear to what type of funerary monument the slab belonged: a sarcophagus, as suggested by Avi-Yonah, does not fit some of the external features of the slab, especially the holes on top and bottom.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 12, 1946, 84f. no. 1 pl. 25,1 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – AE 1948, 141; W. Eck, in: A. Oppenheimer ed., Jüdische Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, 1999, 252; I. Taxel, in: M. Fischer ed., Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam and Their Neighborhood, 2005, 148 (Hebr.); M. Fischer - I. Taxel, Tel Aviv 34, 2007, 204-29 fig. 11 (ph.; the translation is not correct); Eck, Rom und Judäa 43.

Photo: WE.

WE/HMC

D. Instrumentum domesticum

Amulets

2269. A Greek magical amulet

Brown-yellow stone; inscription on the obv.; the letters are surrounded by the ouroboros-snake.

Meas.: h 1.3, w 1.7, d 0.15 cm.

Findspot: Found in a burial kochim cave near Yavneh-Yam.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim; IAA inv. no. 1966-339. Autopsy: 21 March 2012 (WE).

ABPX
ΣΑΧΧΛ
MIP (?)



fig. 2269

Comm.: On the ouroboros-snake, which is extremely common on magical gems, cf. Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 250, who assigns no special meaning to it; Lancellotti argues for a wide plethora of meanings in Late Antiquity. – l.1: there is a horizontal stroke between *alpha* and *beta*; perhaps even some scratches below the stroke; l.1f.: the *chi* in l.1 and the *lambdas* in l.2 are possibly imperfect *alphas*; l.3: the letters look like MIP; R. Daniel read HHP and comments (oral communication): “just possibly a variant spelling of *ουηρ*, a frequently occurring magical word that comes from Egyptian and means ‘great’, see Brashear 3595”; but the last letter seems to be a *psi* (?); ΗΙΨ? The stone cutter obviously started with a variant of the Abrasax name (ΑΒΡΑΣΑΧ), continuing with ΧΑΜΙΡ. – Michel 489 presents some similar voces, e.g. ΑΒΡΑΒΛΑΙΝ, ΑΒΡΑΒΑΛ, ΑΒΡΑΙΑΧΗ, ΑΒΡΑΜΜΑΧΠΙΕΡ. “The sequence *αχχα* is occasionally found in magical words, cf., e.g., PGM II 180 *σαρβοενδοβαίαχχα*, IV 1491 *αχχαριτωνη* and Suppl. Mag. I 42a 48” (R. Daniel): *αχχωρ*, *αχχωρ*, *αχχαχ* πτουμι, *αχχω* κτλ.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Cf. W. Brashear, ANRW II 18, 1995, 3380ff.; M. Lancellotti, in: A. Mastrocinque ed., *Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica* 2002, 71ff.

Photo: WE.

2270. A Greek pendant

Pendant, made from lead, possibly cast. To judge from the photographs, it was found folded; the letters on side (b) are mirror-inverted.

Findspot: Yavneh-Yam (Iamnia Paralios).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2011-317.

side (a): ΦΦΑΗΛ

side (b): IPBA



fig. 2270.1

fig. 2270.2



fig. 2270.3



fig. 2270.4



fig. 2270.5

Comm.: - $\phi\alpha\eta\lambda$ can be part of an angel's name, not only in Raphael; R. Daniel points out that Raphael is sometimes spelled Ἀρφαηλ , but that this does not accord with the traces (oral communication).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WA

Weights

2271. Byzantine lead weight mentioning two ephoroi with the same name, 5-7 c. CE

A lead weight of a circular shape. Its upper part, to which most probably a loop had been attached, is broken off. One side of the weight has raised borders and an inscription in five lines. Above the inscription are three crosses. All lines of the inscription, including the crosses, are separated by horizontal strokes. The first letters of ll.1 are missing due to the breaking off of the upper part of the weight. ll.3-4 are damaged by a hole. The reverse side shows two thick concentric circles, within which there is an eight-pointed star. Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. ll.1-2 *alpha* has a diagonal middle bar, extending from the lower end of the left leg to the middle of the right leg; l.5 ΛI in ligature; at the beginning and the end of the line vertical bar flanked by dots.

Meas.: \varnothing 9.8, th 0.75 cm (rim); wt 217 g.

Findspot: Allegedly the area of Kibbutz Palmachim.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, inv. no. 5836; IAA inv. nos. 1987-1396 and 1989-5109. Autopsy: 1995.

(cross) (cross) (cross)

[...]ΚΩΜΑ
ΖΟΝΤΟΣΚΑΙ
ΚΩΜΑΖΟΝ
ΤΟΣΕΦΟΡΩΝ
ΛΙΑ



fig. 2271.1

[Ἐπὶ] Κωμά|ζοντος καὶ | Κωμάζον|τος ἐφόρων | λί(τρα) α΄

Under Comazon and Comazon, ephoroi. One litra.

Comm.: The weight comes from the former collection of A. Sadeh, a member of Kibbutz Palmachim; the kibbutz is situated in the vicinity of the ancient port of Iamnia. Although the majority of items in this collection were from the kibbutz surroundings, it contained also not a few objects from elsewhere. Provenance of the weight from the vicinity of the port is thus fairly probable, but cannot be considered certain (cf. introduction to nos. 2274-2278).



fig. 2271.2

There are few alternatives to the reconstruction of the missing part of l.1 as ἐπὶ (Laniado - Dashti). Ἐπὶ followed by names of two ephoroi is found on another local Byzantine weight (Archaeological Center ed., Auction 40, II. The Arnold Spaer Collection of Hellenistic and Roman Lead Weights and Byzantine and Crusader Lead Bullae, 2007 no. 390, unknown provenance). It appears that some time in the 4 c. CE mentions of agoranomos had ceased on Palestinian weights and been replaced by that of episkopos. Crosses are absent from all local weights known so far that mention episkopos or episkopoi (B. Lifshitz, RB 77, 1970, 80 no. 19 pl. VIIIb, allegedly from the Negev; no. 2645 this vol.; IAA inv. no. 2000-2143, unpublished; episkopoi: priv. coll.; unpublished); that would imply that they are earlier than weights mentioning ephoroi, as both known weights of this group do show crosses. When the replacement of episkopoi by ephoroi took place in the area of Palestine is yet to be determined. At any event, the appearance of the crosses would give 5 c. CE as the terminus ab quo for the present item (G. Brands, AA 1998, 485f). Laniado - Dashti date the weight tentatively to 450-550 CE. This time range should probably be expanded to include also the last century of Byzantine rule over Palestine.

Bibl.: M. Fischer - B. Dashti eds., Yavneh-Yam and its Neighborhood, 1991, 27f. (Hebr.) (ph. and dipl. text) (ed. pr.). – A. Laniado - B. Dashti, REByz 51, 1993, 229-35 (corrected text and interpretation); SEG 43, 1057; BE 1994, 653.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; IAA.

**2272. Two Byzantine bronze weights inscribed in Greek
from excavations in Yavneh-Yam, 5-7 c. CE**

(a) A bronze weight of a square shape. One of the flat sides shows a long cross inside a decorated arch (two column aedicule?); the cross is flanked by two engraved letters. The letters and the cross still preserve their original silver inlay. The reverse side is blank.

(b) A bronze weight of a square shape. One of the flat sides has a one line inscription, incised in dots. The reverse side is blank. The margins of the inscribed side and the surface of the reverse are damaged. *No* in ligature.

Meas.: (a) h 2.3, w 2.4, th 0.6 cm; wt 26 g; (b) h 2.3, w 2.3, th 0.5 cm; wt 21.3 g.

Findspot: Yavneh-Yam excavations, Area B, Locus 587, Basket 5273 (a); Area B, Locus 632, Basket 5402 (b).

Pres. loc.: Exhibition of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University (a and b). Autopsy: November 2003.

(a) Γ (cross) Α

(b) Ν Ο Ϛ

(a) (Οὐνκία) (μία)

(b) Νο(μίσματα) (ἑξ)

(a) *One ounce.*

(b) *Six nomismata.*



fig. 2272.1 (a)



fig. 2272.2 (b)

Comm.: The two weights were found in 1997, in the excavations at Yavneh-Yam by M. Fischer.

For similar weights and their dating see nos. 2363-2365 (Ascalon); CIIP II 1745, 1746 (Caesarea).

Bibl.: Unpublished (b); M. Fischer, in: id. ed., *Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam and their Neighborhood*, 2005, 198f. fig. 39 (Hebr.) (a) (ed. pr.).

Photo: M. Fischer.

AKS

2273. Latin bronze signaculum of the actor Onesimus

The signaculum consists of a thin rectangular bronze plate, with rounded corners, cast together with a circular handle. The inscribed part is framed. Interpuncts between the second, third and fourth letters, respectively, in the second line. Mirror writing.

Meas.: h (the handle included) 2.1 cm; field for the inscription: h 2.25, w 4.8 cm; wt 53 g; letters 0.5-0.6 cm.

Findspot: Found in Moshe Fischer's excavations in Yavneh-Yam in 1999 inside the early-islamic castle at the harbor (minet rubin - Area C).

Pres. loc.: Excavation site.

ONESIMI
N·B(?)R·ACT

Onesimi | N(--) Br(--) act(oris)



fig. 2273.1

(Seal) of Onesimus, agent/administrator of N(--) Br(--).



fig. 2273.2 (mirrored)



fig. 2273.3

Comm.: Onesimus, the owner of the seal, was probably a slave, employed as an agent/administrator (*actor*). It is unclear whether he was the *actor* of a Roman citizen, in which case the N(--) Br(--) would stand for a nomen gentile and cognomen, or of a boat *n(avis) Br(--)*. *N(avicularius)*, ship-master, would also be an appropriate reading, although the abbreviation with a single *n* is so far unattested. Another Onesimus *actor* on a seal in Italy: CIL 5, 8116,39 = 11, 6712,302; but the name of the patron is L. N. V.

Bibl.: P. Eich - W. Eck, ZPE 171, 2009, 253ff. (ed. pr.).

Photo: P. Shrago, courtesy of Tel Aviv Univ. Inst. Arch.

WE

Sling bullets

2274.-2278. Group of sling bullets in Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim

A group of sling bullets made of lead, all deposited at present in the Miriam House Museum in Kibbutz Palmachim. They were not found in situ. However,

most of this material was donated to the Museum by Aharon Sadeh, a former member of the Kibbutz (d. in 1988), who was born in Kibbutz en Shemer, located in the hinterland of Dora/Dor, and who had collected many antique objects. (Thanks are due to M. Fischer for this information.) Thus the sling bullets may well have come from the area of Dora/Dor where most of the other known sling bullets come from. For sling bullets with inscriptions see CIIP II 2092, 2137. On sling bullets in general, see recently P. Weiß - N. Draskowski, *Chiron* 40, 2010, 123-53 (with further literature in n. 1), who point out (p. 150ff.) the limited conclusions one can draw from the inscriptions on these objects for the purpose of historical interpretation.

2274. Lead sling bullet of the Seleucid pretender Tryphon, 142-138 BC

Sling bullet made of lead. As the first editor points out, the sling bullet is of the same type as CIIP II 2092b from Crocodilopolis whose surface is better preserved than that of the present item, thereby confirming the reading offered here. While one side (fig. 2) of the bullet is blank, the other side (fig. 1) shows on its left-hand side a tall narrow object whose upper part is tapering towards the top and bent to the right. The object is followed by the letters BA. Underneath there is a monogram formed of the letters T, Y and P. The diagonal strokes of the *upsilon* are attached to the top of the *tau*, and the loop of the *rho* is attached to the vertical hasta of the *tau*, on the right-hand side.

Meas.: w 3.45, ø 1.8 cm; wt 34.5 g.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2274-2278.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5143.

BA
TPY



fig. 2274.1



fig. 2274.2



fig. 2274.3
(= CIIP II 2092b)

βα(σιλέως) | Τρύ(φωνος)

King Tryphon's (missile).

Comm.: Schlesinger read the monogram on both the item CIIP II 2092b and the present one, as ΤΥΡ and explained it as referring to the city of Tyrus. However, P. Weiß (oral communication) convincingly interprets the inscription as referring to king Tryphon, the Seleucid pretender (142–138 BC) who was fighting against Antiochos VII in Palestine and besieged in Dora/Dor (see also the commentary to CIIP II 2137a). The reading of CIIP II 2092b should accordingly be corrected to βα(σιλέως) Τρύ(φωνος). The object preceding BA was regarded by Schlesinger as an inverted cornucopia. P. Weiß interprets it as a horn as symbol for the king Tryphon. The same object is depicted on nos. 2276 and 2277 – in these cases separated from the inscription on the other side of the bullet.

Bibl.: D. Schlesinger, in: M. Fischer - B. Dashti eds., *Yavneh-Yam and its Surroundings*, 1991, 66 no. 14 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; D. Schlesinger, *Qadmoniot* 17, 1984, 89 fig. b.

WE/DK

2275. Lead sling bullet with Greek inscription

Sling bullet made of lead with a thunderbolt (similar to no. 2278) on one side and a Greek inscription on the other.

Meas.: w 3.7, ø 1.62 cm; wt 30.1 g.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2274–2278.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5143.



fig. 2275.1



fig. 2275.2

See below.

Comm.: The first editor read ΔΕΞΑΙ = δέξαι = “take this”! However, this reading cannot be verified with the photo, in which no letter can be read with certainty.

Bibl.: D. Schlesinger, in: M. Fischer - B. Dashti eds., *Yavneh-Yam and its Surroundings*, 1991, 66 no. 21 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE/DK

2276. Lead sling bullet with Greek inscription

Sling bullet made of lead, with a Greek inscription on one side. The other side shows two objects not easily identifiable: on the left-hand side there is a tall narrow object tapering towards its top which bends towards the right. The first editor identified it as an inverted cornucopia, taking the other object, on the right-hand side, to be an amphora. However, the first object – which appears also on no. 2277, as well as alongside the inscriptions in nos. 2274 and CIIP II 2092b – could easily be identified as a horn, a symbol of king Tryphon (kind information by P. Weiß).
Meas.: w 3.45, ø 1.85 cm; wt 30.1 g.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2274-2278.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5143.

ΓΕΥΣΑΙ

γεῦσαι

Taste it!



fig. 2276.1



fig. 2276.2

Comm.: The word γεῦσαι – in combination with the “horn” and a second object on the other side – also occurs on the sling bullet no. 2277. Other sling bullets with the word γεῦσαι were found in Dora/Dor and Crocodilopolis (CIIP II 2092c, 2137b), as well as in Tulul adh-Dhahab, east of the Jordan River (kind information by P. Weiß).

Bibl.: D. Schlesinger, in: M. Fischer - B. Dashti eds., *Yavneh-Yam and its Surroundings*, 1991, 66 no. 20 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

2277. Lead sling bullet with Greek inscription

Sling bullet made of lead with a Greek inscription on one side. The other side shows two objects not easily identifiable: on the left-hand side there is a tall narrow object tapering towards its top, which bends towards the right. The same object is also depicted on one side of no. 2276, and appears on the same side as the inscription in nos. 2274 and CIIP II 2092b. The object was interpreted by the first editor as an inverted cornucopia, but it could also be identified as the horn of king Tryphon

(an interpretation suggested by P. Weiß, see nos. 2274, 2276). The second object, to the right-hand side of the cornucopia/horn, looks different from that identified by Schlesinger in the case of no. 2276 as an amphora. Its meaning here is unclear. Meas.: w 3.61, Ø 1.8 cm; wt 36.3 g.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2274-2278.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5143.

ΓΕΥΣΑΙ

γεῦσαι

Taste it!



fig. 2277.1



fig. 2277.2

Comm.: Schlesinger read the inscription as ΣΕΥΣΑΙ, to mean “fly!” or “hurry!”, which implies the use of two different forms of *sigma* – four-barred and lunate – in one and the same word, which is not very likely. Furthermore, though the left hasta of the first letter is not strictly vertical but slightly angular, as in the upper part of a four-barred *sigma*, no corresponding lower hastae are visible. On the other hand γεῦσαι in combination with a “horn”, with a second object on the right-hand side, occurs also on the sling bullet no. 2276, where ΓΕΥΣΑΙ is clearly to be read; cf. also CIIP II 2092c and 2137.

Bibl.: D. Schlesinger, in: M. Fischer - B. Dashti eds., Yavneh-Yam and its Surroundings, 1991, 65 no. 12 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE/DK

2278. Lead sling bullet with Greek inscription

Sling bullet made of lead, with a winged thunderbolt on one side and a Greek inscription on the other.

Meas.: w 4, Ø 2 cm; wt 49.6 g.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2274-2278.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5143.



fig. 2278.1



fig. 2278.2

ΕΨΗΞ (?) or ΣΦΗΞ (?)

ἐψήξ (?) or σφήξ (?)

Strike! (?) or *wasp* (?).

Comm.: The first editor of the sling bullet took ἐψήξ(...) to be the perfect imperative of ψήχω, namely = strike! But the reading is far from certain: the Ψ could also be read as a Φ. A very similar sequence of letters seems to be written on a sling bullet found in Crocodilopolis, CIIP II 2092a, which reads: ΣΦΚΞ, interpreted there as a version of σφήξ = a wasp. But the state of preservation does not allow for certainty in either case.

Bibl.: D. Schlesinger, in: M. Fischer - B. Dashti eds., Yavneh-Yam and its Surroundings, 1991, 65 no. 2 (Hebr.) (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

Graffito and Dipinto

2279. Greek graffito on storage jar, 4-6 c. CE

Eight letters incised after firing (?) on the shoulder of a storage jar. Lunate *sigma*, extended cross bar of *theta*.

Meas.: letters ca. 0.7-1 cm.

Findspot: Kh. ed-Dabbeh (area of Iamnia Paralios).

AΘΑΝΑΣΙ[Σ?]

Ἀθανάσι[ς]

Athanasios.

Α Θ Α Ν Α Σ Ι Σ

fig. 2279.2



fig. 2279.1

Comm.: Probably the name of the owner of the jar. Athanasius is a known variation on Athanasius (LGPN vol. 3a, s.v.).

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 162f. (ed. pr.). – Id., PEQ 6, 1874, 276 no. 19.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 162; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 163.

AE

2280. Dipinto on a Gaza-Ashkelon type amphora

A large “I”-shaped red dipinto on the body of a complete Gaza-Ashkelon type amphora (see no. 2431 for type).

Meas.: letters 15.5 cm.

Findspot: Yavneh-Yam.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Kibbutz Palmachim.

Autopsy: 21 March 2012.



fig. 2280

Comm.: Possibly an underlined Γ or T or a sideways H that may represent a number or initial; otherwise the mark is unrecognizable.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

AE

E. Varia

2281. Lead bar with letters

Lead bar, upper surface is smooth, the back is rough.

Meas.: h 46, w 16, d 2 cm; letters 2.6-5.5 cm.

Findspot: Found in the vicinity of Kibbutz Palmachim.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5187.

A | N



fig. 2281.1



fig. 2281.2

Comm.: The meaning of the Greek or Latin letters remains unclear.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

F. Fragments

2282. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Slab of red limestone, broken on all sides.

Meas.: h 17, w 20, d 5.3 cm; letters 2.2-2.3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5104.

[--]+Ε/ΣΑΙΣ[--]
 [--]+ΟΦΕΙΛΟΜ[--]
 [--]ΩΣΕΛΕΙΣΟΝ[--]
 [--]ΜΥΡΑΦΕΡΩΝ[--]
 [--]ΙΤΠΙΑΡ[--]
 [--]ΝΟΝ[--]



fig. 2282

Comm.: l.1: end of line? A following letter should have left traces.

l.2: ὀφειλόμ[ενον τρισάγιον?? --]; l.3: [--]ως ἐλείσον; l.4: end of line? μύρα φέρων?? l.5: it cannot be ruled out that this is the end of a line; ΙΤΠΙΑΡ?

It is uncertain whether this is a Christian, perhaps even a liturgical text: especially l.3 could be understood in this way. – l.4: end of a pentameter?

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

2283. Marble fragment with Greek letters

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides; the back is rough.

Meas.: h 7.2, w 7.5, d 3 cm; letters 3.3 cm.

Findspot: Palmachim area.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5106.

[--]++[--]
 [--]ΕΙΣΟ[--]
 [--]++[--]



[--]++[--|--] εἶσο[δον? --|--]++[--]

fig. 2283.1

... entrance(?) ...

Comm.: The few letters may belong to a formula, most common in Late Antique Palestine, like: Κύριος φυλάξη τὴν εἴσοδόν σου καὶ τὴν ἔξοδόν σου or Εἰρήνη ἢ εἴσοδός σου | καὶ ἢ ἔξοδός σου; cf. CIIP II 1338.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.



fig. 2283.2

WE

2284. Marble fragment with Greek letters

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides; the back is smooth.

Meas.: h 4.7, w 6.3, d 2.2 cm; letters 2.5 cm.

Findspot: Palmachim area.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5105.

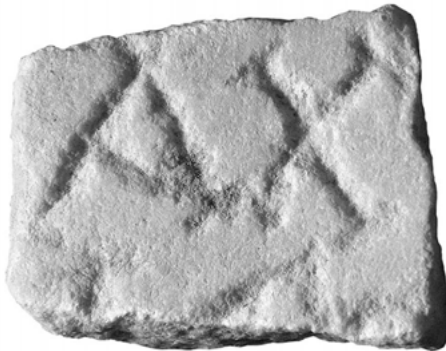


fig. 2284.1



fig. 2284.2

[--]AX[--]

[--]+++[--]

Comm.: In l.2 perhaps IAO.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

2285. Marble fragment with undeciphered letters, Late Roman(?)

Fragment of grayish marble with two or three rows of unidentified letters.
Meas.: h 12, w 7, d 2.8 cm; letters 2.5-2.7 cm.

Findspot: Yavneh-Yam (Iamnia Paralios) excavations, according to information in Kibbutz Palmachim Museum.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5107.



fig. 2285.1



fig. 2285.2

Comm.: More than one script may be represented on this small fragment.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

EDD

2286. Marble fragment with undeciphered letters, Late Roman(?)

Marble fragment of what appears to be an element from a building – perhaps a column or pedestal – with three letters in an unidentified script.
Meas.: h 7, w 12.5, d 15 cm; letters 1.5-1.7 cm.

Findspot: Yavneh-Yam (Iamnia Paralios) excavations, according to information in Kibbutz Palmachim Museum.

Pres. loc.: Miriam House Museum, Kibbutz Palmachim, IAA inv. no. 1989-5108.

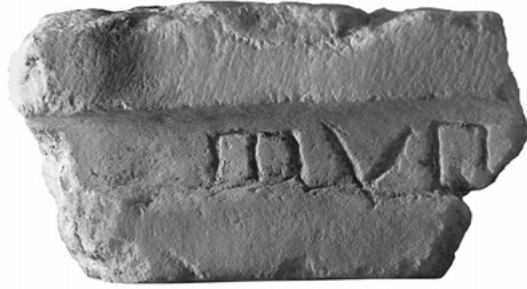


fig. 2286.1



fig. 2286.2 (on top)



fig. 2286.3

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; IAA.

EDD

VIII. Kh. ed-Duheisha

2287. Fragments of a Greek inscription

Two fragments broken on all sides.

Findspot: Kh. ed-Duheisha (Kh. el-‘Ajjuri), near the railway station.

- (a) [--]E[--]
 [--]OE[--]
- (b) [--]ΣII[--]
 [--]BAB[--]



fig. 2287.1 (a)



fig. 2287.2 (b)

Comm.: “Reliquias litterarum perpaucarum incertas non transcripsimus.” SEG;
(b) l.2: last letter *rho*?

Bibl.: J. Kaplan, BIES 21, 1957, 202 pl. 19,3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 20, 470.

Photo: J. Kaplan, BIES 21, 1957 pl. 19,3.

IX. H. Ḥabra

2288. Fragment with Aramaic inscription, 5-6 c. CE

A fragment of a marble column with the remains of three engraved lines of Hebrew letters of the square style.

Findspot: H. Ḥabra.

[--]כירין ל[.]
 [--]+++חנ+ בר
 יעק[--]
 [--]



fig. 2288.1

[ד]כירין ל[טב --] | בר חנ+++-- בר | יעק[ב? --?]

Translit.: [d]kyryn l[ṭb --] | br ḥn+++[-- br] | y'q[b? --?]

Remembered for good be ... son of Hn... (son of?) Yaakov(?) ...

Comm.: Unknown number of lines missing on the bottom.

This inscription is very fragmentary, but its remains resemble the synagogue inscriptions from the Late Roman period. It seems to commemorate the donation to the local synagogue (probably of a column, compare no. 2289). The letters are engraved in the Hebrew square style of about the 5 or 6 c. CE (see Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic*, p. 4 [Hebr.]). The very clear form of the letters enables the identification of most of them. However, the second



fig. 2288.2

and third letters in l.3 are damaged and their reading is uncertain. The formula *dkyryn lḥb* ("remembered for good") appears in many dedicatory inscriptions (e.g., Naveh, no. 15 etc.). Two fragmentary personal names appear in ll.2 and 3; the first begins with *het* and probably *nun* (unless it is *zayin*), followed by another letter which could hardly be a final *nun* (cf. the top of final *nun* in l.1). The publishers offered the alternative names *Hnn* and *Hnnyh*, but both seem doubtful. The second name, the beginning of which appears in l.3, begins with *yod* and is followed by two letters the bottom of which is missing. The reading and restoration of this name by the publishers seem wrong, the second letter probably being *ayin* rather than *tsadi*; the third can hardly be a *het* (cf. the letter *het* in l.2), and one could perhaps restore it as *qof*, which may yield the beginning of the name *Y'qb* (Yaakov). Since the names of more than one person are expected in view of the plural verb *dkyryn*, a *vav*-consecutive should have appeared before the second name. The lack of such a *vav* before the name in l.3 indicates that it is also a patronym. The rest of the inscription is missing.

Bibl.: M. Fischer – I. Taxel – D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 7-35 at 12f. (ed. pr.).

Photo: Fischer - Taxel - Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 12 no. 6 (ph. and dr.).

AY

2289. Aramaic dedication on column fragment, 5-6 c. CE

A fragment of a marble(?) column with the remains of three lines of a probably four-line inscription in elegant Hebrew script.

Meas.: h 16, w 15, d 11 cm (presumed diameter of column ca. 48 cm).

Findspot: H. Habra.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem,

inv. no. I-10596.

[--]
[--] ון דובן [--]
[--] ה בש [--]
[?--] תה [--]



fig. 2289

[?--]תה+[--]בש+ה[עמוד | הדין | שמע]ון דזבן בר |

Translit.: [dkyr lṭb -- br | šm'wn dzbn [hdyn | 'mwd]h bš+[--]th[--?]

Remembered for good be ... son of? Shim'on, who bought (this) column in/for ...

Comm.: This inscription commemorates the donation of a column to a synagogue. According to the information given to M. Schwabe, the first editor, it may have been found during the digging of a well in the village. The letters are engraved in an elegant script of about the 5 or 6 c. CE, generally resembling the script of certain contemporary amulets (see J. Naveh - Sh. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, 1985, e.g., no. 3 pl. 3). The very clear form of the letters enables the identification of most of them, and supports the reading and reconstruction of a four-line text proposed by J. Naveh.

Scant remains of a letter from the first line can be seen at the break, above the letter *bet* in l.2. The final *nun* in l.2 indicates that this is the end of a word, probably a personal name. Naveh suggested the reconstruction [šm'wn (Shim'on), which would have been the patronymic of the donor, whose name has not survived in l.1. The final *nun* of *dzbn* ("who bought") is reconstructed on the basis of the appearance of this word in a synagogue inscription from Beit Guvrin (Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic*, no. 71). The space before *bet* in l.3 indicates the beginning of a new word, the reconstruction of which depends on the identification of the remains of the letter following *shin*. The scant remains of this letter – only the right stroke has survived – cannot be of the letter *nun* (as suggested by M. Schwabe and by R. Reich). It could have been *mem* or *ayin* or *qof*, but any reconstruction of this word would be speculative. The letter after *tav* in l.4 is a clear *he* (rather than *qof* suggested by M. Schwabe and by R. Reich) and, given the following space, it seems to be the end of the word. One would expect the word *brkth* ("blessing"), but the remains of the letter preceding *tav* near the break look more like another *tav* than a *kaf* (but reconstructing the word 'ntth ["his wife"] here, although not impossible, involves too much uncertainty).

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, BIES 11, 1943/45, 31ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Saller, *Catalogue* 57 no. 73; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 1, 149f.; R. Reich, *Atiqot* 14 (Engl. Ser.), 1980, 96ff.; Chiat, *Handbook* 171f.; J. Naveh, *EI* 20, 1989, 302-10 no. 9 (Hebr.); Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 406f.; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, *BASOR* 350, 2008, 7-35 at 8ff.

Photo: IAA.

2290. Tomb of Abram with Hebrew and Greek inscriptions, 5-6 c. CE

Semi-circular cream-colored marble plaque, smoothed front and back, with four-line inscription, first line in Hebrew letters and the next three in Greek; bottom edge broken but all margins of inscription preserved; bird figures in the right and left bottom corners. Greek letters stylized, some with serifs, of uniform size and in straight ruled rows; *alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended right leg; square *epsilon*; round lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* with stem. Meas.: h 16, w 39.5, d 2.8 cm; Hebrew letters 2 cm; Greek letters 2.5 cm.

Findspot: H. Habra.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41674. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

++++שְׁלוֹם עַל יִשְׁרָאֵל
ΑΒΡΑΜΥΙΟΥΤΟΥ
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥΡΩΒ
ΗΛΦΑΡΒΕΘΙΤΙΣ



fig. 2290.1

++++שְׁלוֹם עַל יִשְׁרָאֵל | Αβραμ υἱοῦ τοῦ | μακαρίου Ῥωβ|ήλ, Φαρβεθίτις

Translit.: šlwm 'l yšrwn l++++

Peace on Yeshurun ... (Tomb) of Abram son of the blessed Robel, of Pharbaithos.

Comm.: The Hebrew in the top line is only partly legible, the reading of the last four letters is especially unclear; the ed. pr. and subsequent editions rendered לעולם *l'wlm*, “eternally”, but this is un-

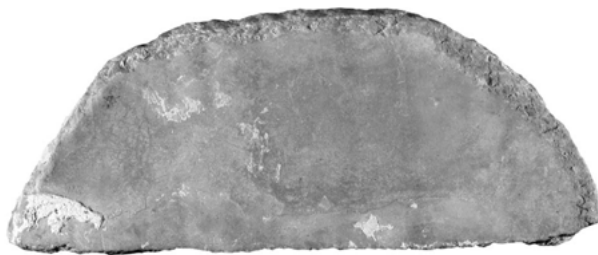


fig. 2290.2

certain. The greeting seems to be a variant of the common formula שְׁלוֹם עַל יִשְׁרָאֵל, *šlwm 'l ysr'l*, “Peace on Israel”; Klein read *ysr'l* instead of Yeshurun, but the letters, although shakily executed, seem to be as rendered. Ῥωβήλ is biblical Reuven; Josephus renders the name Ῥουβήλος; see Cohen 121ff. and comm. to no. 2462 (Gaza); his epithet “blessed” indicates that he is also deceased; the same term is used in no. 2291, probably from the same area. Φάρβαιθος was a nome-capital

in Egypt, see JIGRE, p. 243. Dating is difficult; paleographically the Greek letters seem late (Vincent), and the epithet *μακάριος* points in the same direction, but SEG placed the inscription in the 1 c. CE.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 11, 1902, 426-41 at 436f. (ed. pr.). – Klein, JPCI no. 163; SEG 8, 145; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 40 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 1175; Robert, Hellenica XI/XII, 414-39 at 422f.; Saller, Catalogue 57 no. 73; H. Cavallin, Life After Death I, 1974, 166f. no. 4.12.1; N. Cohen, JSJ 7, 1976, 97-128 at 99 n. 7, 124; I. Skupinska-Løveset, The Ustinov Collection, 1976, no. 204; Chiat, Handbook 171f.; JIGRE 152; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 380; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 7-35 at 19.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2291. Tomb of Cyrus Megalus with Greek inscription, 5-6 c. CE

Square marble slab, edges chipped but all margins preserved. Five-line Greek inscription, with guidelines above and below each line; letters in ll.1-2 and 5 spaced more generously than those in ll.3-4; l.5, containing 3 letters, centered. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar extending below the line and hyper-extended right leg; round *epsilon* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* with and without stem (ed. pr. and ph.). Meas.: h 32, w 30, d 4 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: H. Hābra (ed. pr.).

ΚΥΡΩΜΕ
ΓΑΛΟΥΥΙ
ΟΥΤΟΥΜΑΚΑ
ΡΙΟΥΙΩΑΝΑ
ΝΟΥ



fig. 2291

Κύρω Με|γάλου υί|οῦ τοῦ μακα|ρίου Ἰωανά|νου

(Tomb) of Cyrus Megalus (Megas?) son of the blessed Ioananus.

Comm.: The person from whom J. Kaplan procured this inscription claimed that it came from an Arab village on the Rehovot-Gadera road, but Kaplan for reasons of

his own presumed it came from H. Ḥabra, near Yavneh (Iamnia); Lifshitz thought that the inscription “sans doute” came from the necropolis at Iamnia. Schwabe concluded from the shape of the stone that it was fixed into the wall above a tomb in a cave. The inscription can tentatively be dated to the 5-6 c. CE on the basis of paleography.

Κύρω = Κύρου, on ου>ω, cf. Gignac I 208f. Cyrus here can be understood as either an informal title or a personal name.

Μεγάλου can be the genitive of either Μεγάλος or Μέγας, see no. 2221 comm. Ἰωανάνος is the biblical name Yehoḥanan, compare LXX Ἰωανάν + varr. (Hatch - Redpath, Suppl. 91). His epithet μακάριος indicates that he was already deceased, cf. in this vol. nos. 2460 and 2290, the latter from H. Ḥabra. Lifshitz identified this inscription as Jewish on the basis of the father's name, but this is not decisive.

Bibl.: J. Kaplan, BIES 11, 1935, 25 (Hebr.); M. Schwabe, *ibid.*, 26-30 (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – B. Lifshitz, RB 70, 1963, 255-65 at 262ff. no. 8; BE 1964, 509; SEG 20, 469; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 381; B. Zissu, BAIAS 25, 2007, 9-17 at 14; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 7-35 at 19.

Photo: B. Lifshitz, RB 70, 1963 pl. XIIIb.

X. el-Mughar

2292. Greek funerary inscription written between 516 and 526

Small marble slab, the left-hand side is lost.

Meas.: h 22, w 27 cm.

Findspot: Probably from el-Mughar, not found in situ.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1227.

[--]KXMHNOC
[--]EOYK
[--]ANHOΣ
[--]ΔNOY
[--]ΔΟΥΝΗΤΗΣ



fig. 2292.1

[ἔτους -]κχ' μηνὸς | [--]εου κ' | [--]ανηρος | [--]δνου | [- Ἀσκα]λουνήτης

*In the year 620 (or any number up to 629) on the 20th day of the month ...eus
...aneus son of ...dnus, citizen of Ascalon.*

Comm.: 1.2: [Ἵπερβερετ]έου Clermont-Ganneau (ARP), Dussaud; 1.5 [Ἀσκα]-
λ<ω>ν<ι>της Di Segni apud Fischer -
Taxel - Amit.

The inscription seems to be a funerary text for a citizen of Ascalon whose name and patronym were mentioned. Since it is not clear whether or not a number is missing before the KX, any

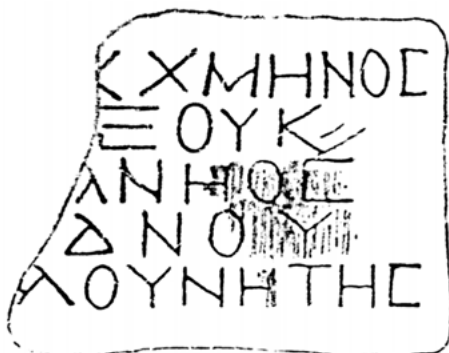


fig. 2292.2

year between 620 und 629 is possible. The name of the month remains unknown. The normal word for a citizen of Ascalon is Ἀσκαλωνίτης or Ἀσκαλωνεῖτης.

Bibl.: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 427 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 6, 1874, 275 no. 17 (only mentioned); id., AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 172 no. 24 (dr.); id., ARP II 193; Dussaud, Louvre 72 no. 88; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 68f. no. 4; Bagatti, Judaea 175; C. Dauphin, La Palestine Byzantine, 1998, 859 no. 4 pl. 10; M. Fischer - I. Taxel - D. Amit, BASOR 350, 2008, 18ff. (with reference to the unpublished Diss. of L. Di Segni [= DGI no. 134]).

Photo: RMN Th. Ollivier, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre, Paris; Ch. Clermont Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 172 (dr.).

WE

XI. Cariathmaus

2293. Phoenician dedication, ca. 3 c. BCE

An inscription engraved in three columns on the large side of a hard and polished limestone offering table. The first column contains 4 lines, the second 2 lines, and the third 3 lines.

Meas.: table: h 7, w 116, d 98 cm; inscription: h 5-6, w ca. 107 cm (Delavault – Le-maire).

Findspot: Cariathmaus (Nebi Yunis).



fig. 2293.1

Col. I

[.]צב מלך

אש נדר ויתן הערכת אש עבדא בן עבדאס לאדננס לאשמן שמאדני בן עבדאס ושמע בן שמע
ושלם בן בדא ועבדמלך בן עבדאשמן
תטא ובעלית בן יסף ועבדתוין בן בעלית ובעלצלח בן עבדאשמן עבדאמן בן עבדאבסת
ומריחי ויתנבעל בן עבדא ושלם בן עבדאשמן גראמן בן במא עבדצפן

(reading text)

[נ]צב מלך

אש נדר ויתן הערכת אש עבדא בן עבדאס לאדננס לאשמן שמאדני בן עבדאס ושמע בן שמע
ושלם בן בדא ועבדמלך בן עבדאשמן
תטא ובעלית בן יסף ועבדתוין בן בעלית ובעלצלח בן עבדאשמן עבדאמן בן עבדאבסת
ומריחי ויתנבעל בן עבדא ושלם בן עבדאשמן גראמן בן במא עבדצפן

Translit.:

[n]šb mlk

š ndr wytn h rkt š 'bd' bn 'bd's l' dnnm l' šmn šm' dny bn 'bd's wšm'
bn šm' wšlm bn bd' w' bdmk bn 'bd' šmn
tṭ' wb' lytn bn ysp w' bdtwyn bn b' lytn wb' lšlḥ bn 'bd' šmn 'bd' mn bn
'bd' bst

wmryḥy wytnb' l' bn 'bd' wšlm bn 'bd' šmn gr' mn bn bn' 'bdšpn

Stele "Mlk".

(This is) which (he?/they?) vowed and donated – this(?) 'rkt (= the financial contribution?) – (namely,) 'bd' son of 'bd's, to their master, to 'šmn. Šm' dny son of 'bd's, and Šm' son of Šm', and Šlm son of Bd', and 'bdmlk son of 'bd' šmn,

Tṭ, and B'lytn son of Ysp, and 'bdtwyn son of B'lytn, and B'lšlh son of 'bd'šmn, 'bd'mn son of 'bd'bst and Mryḥy, and Ytnb'l son of 'bd', and Šlm son of 'bd'šmn, Gr'mn son of Bm' 'bdšpn

Col. II

(reading text)

עבדיצ[--]אסיתן בן
בן עבדאשמן ועבדא בן

עבדיצ[ו]אסיתן בן
{בן} עבדאשמן ועבדא בן

Translit.: 'bdyṣ[n w] sytn bn {bn} 'bd'šmn w'bd' bn

'bdyṣn and 'sytn son of {son of} 'bd'šmn, and 'bd' son of

Col. III

(reading text)

אשמן[--]בדי בן
עבדי בן הגר ועבדאס בן הגר
שלמי בן מריחי ועבדאסר

אשמן[--וע]בדי בן
{עבדי בן} הגר ועבדאס בן הגר
שלמי בן מריחי ועבדאסר

Translit.: 'šmn [-- w']bdy bn {'bdy bn} hgr w'bd's bn hgr šlmy bn mryḥy w'bd'sr

'šmn ... and 'bdy son of {'bdy son of} Hgr, and 'bd's son of Hgr, Šlmy son of Mryḥy, and 'bd'sr.

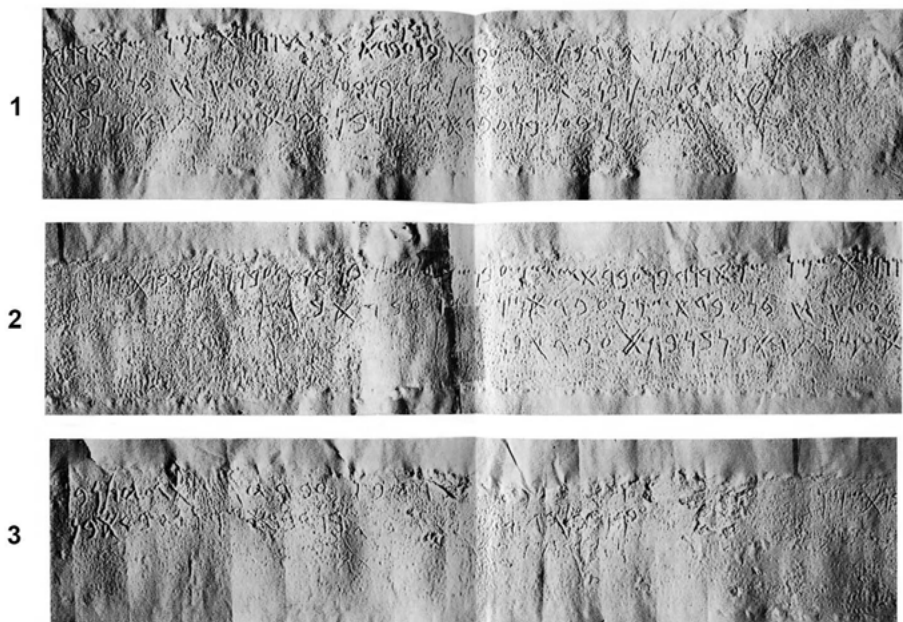


fig. 2293.2 (Squeeze)

Comm.: This seems to be a dedicatory inscription. According to its publishers, this long inscription was found on a site near the Lachish River estuary (Tal 65). According to Lidzbarski 1898, 131, this may be a fake. The inscription lists names of people who contributed and donated what may have been an offering table and dedicated it to their God *šmn*. Most of the names are theophoric names and some are hypocoristic names. The theophoric names are as follows: *ʾsytn* (“Isis gave?”), *Bʾlytn* and *Ytnbʾl* (“Baʾal gave”), *Bʾlšlh* (“Baʾal prospers”? [cf. Phoenician ostrakon from Bat Yam, no. 2171]), *Grʾmn* (perhaps “Sojourner of *šmn*”? [cf. Donner – Röllig, KAI 68,3]), *Mryhy* (“my Master lives?”), *ʾbd šmn* and perhaps also *ʾbdʾmn* (“the slave/servant of *šmn*”), *ʾbdʾs* (“the slave/servant of Isis?”), *ʾbdʾsr* (“the slave/servant of Osiris?”), *ʾbdmlk* (“the slave/servant of [my?] King”), *ʾbdʾbst* (“the slave/servant of *ʾbst*” [Abast?/Bst?]), *ʾbdšpn* (“the slave/servant of *špn*” [Tsafon]), *ʾbdyš[n--]* (“the slave/servant of ?”), *šmʾdny* (“my Lord heard?”); *ʾbdtwyn* (“the slave/servant of ?”). The hypocoristic names are as follows: *Bmʾ* (?), *Ttʾ* (?), *Hgr* (cf. biblical feminine name Hagar), *Ysp* (cf. biblical Yosef), *ʾbdʾ* and perhaps *bdʾ* (“the slave/servant of {DN}”), *ʾbdy* (“My slave/servant”), *šmʾ* (“{DN} heard”), *šlm* and *šlmy* (“{DN} is peace/paid?”).

Bibl.: M. Lagrange, RB 1, 1892, 275-9 (ed. pr.). – M. Lidzbarski, Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik, 1898, 131f.; id., Ephemeris I 285ff.; B. Delavault - A. Lemaire, RB 83, 1976, 573ff.; O. Tal, The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine, 2006, 65 (Hebr.).

Photo: M.-J. Lagrange, RB 1, 1892, 277 (dr.); B. Delavault - A. Lemaire, RB 83, 1976 pl. 44 (squeeze).

AY

2294. Aramaic ostrakon, second half of 4 c. BCE

An ostrakon with 2 lines written in black ink on its convex side.

Meas.: h 3.5, w 4.1 cm.

Findspot: Cariathmaus (Nebi Yunis).

Pres. loc.: IAA, inv. no. 1960-62.

בעלצר/ד ת+[-]

כ 4/דש 1 ?

Translit.: bʾlšr/d t+[-]

k 4/dš 1 ?

bʾlšr/d (gave?/received?) ..., k(ors),

4 (or: a door, l).

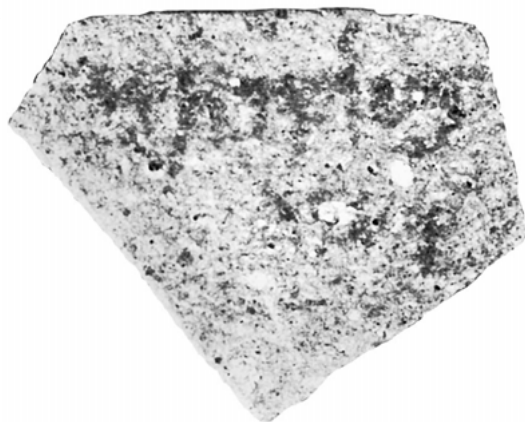


fig. 2294.1

Comm.: This text is contemporary with the texts appearing in the large corpus of Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea, and is probably a record of a delivery by a person whose name begins with the Phoenician divine name Ba'al. The reading of this text is uncertain. In l.1, the name *B'lšr/d* and the following *tav* seem clear, the latter possibly beginning a new word maybe designating a commodity. The letters after *tav* are unclear. The name is either *B'lšr* or *B'lšd*, the latter explained by Cross as Ba'lišid,

("Ba'al is [the God] Šid"), a name appearing in Neo-Punic ("cf. the names *bdšd*, *bnšd*, *ytnšd*, *šdytn*, *mlkšd*, *'bdšd*, etc." [Cross 186 n. 7]). Alternatively, the name is *B'lšr*, a possible variant of *B'lnšr* ("Ba'al is guarding"; cf. the variants *Qwššr* and *Qwšnšr* in ISAP 569, 1542). If the reading of Cross *tql* in l.1 is correct (the reading is uncertain), it could perhaps have been a verb ("he weighed") rather than the name of the weight. However, one would expect the designation of a commodity before the capacity measure probably appearing in l.2. In l.2, a measure or a commodity appears, the first letter being either *kaf* or *dalet*. Following this letter are perhaps 4 numeric units or the letter *šin* followed by one numeric unit. If the first reading is correct, the letter *kaf*, standing for "kors", would have referred to an unfamiliar commodity appearing in l.1 (beginning with *tav*, perhaps *tbn* [straw]). If the second reading is correct, the word may be *dš* ("a door"), followed by one numeric unit (cf. *dš 1* in ISAP 1636). The reading *dšn'* ("the gift") offered by Cross is not convincing in this context. This text requires further investigation.

Bibl.: F. Cross, IEJ 14, 1964, 185f. pl. 41 (ed. pr.).

Photo: F. Cross, IEJ 14, 1964, 185 pl. 41 (ph. and dr.).



fig. 2294.2

AY

XII. Azotus

Introduction

There are two places to be considered under this heading, first the inland city, about 5 km from the sea, which was the major site of Ashdod (Tel Ashdod, Isdud) in earlier periods, and, secondly, the site now called Ashdod-Yam, to the N.-W. on the coast. The latter was more important in the Byzantine period and the location of a citadel, built in the Umayyad Period and, apparently, used until the Crusader Period.¹ Not all of the sources make a clear distinction between the two sites. Those which do so are late (when the coastal settlement was more important): Hierocles (reign of Justinian) and the Madaba Map are two instances.² However, Strabo, writing in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, is aware of only one place with that name which he describes as situated between Iamnia and Ascalon, about two hundred stadia (ca. 35 km) from both.³ Pliny, later in the first century AD, mentions Iamnia inland and Iamnia-on-the-Sea, but only one Azotus.⁴ Presumably he was unaware of the coastal site. The same is true for Acts, which mentions a visit by the Apostle Philip,⁵ and for Ptolemy in the second century.⁶ Josephus also mentions only one Azotus; but in one passage it appears to be a coastal town, together with other coastal cities, as distinct from interior towns such as Marisa and Scythopolis.⁷ On the other hand, he refers to it twice as an inland town in contrast to cities on the seashore, such as Jaffa and Straton's Tower.⁸ The conclusion must be that he

-
- 1 For Ashdod in the interior, see the next note; for the citadel on the coast: J. Kaplan, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 102f.; D. Nachlieli, NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1575f.
 - 2 Hierocles, Synecdemos, 718,1 and 2 (ed. Parthey, p. 43; ed. Honigmann, p. 41): Ἀζωτος παράλιος and Ἀζωτος μεσόγειος. The Madaba Map: Ἀζωτος παράλιος and Ἀσδωτ[-]. The former appears to be the bigger place.
 - 3 Strab. 16,2,29 (758).
 - 4 Plin. NH 5,68: *Regio per oram Samaria; oppidum Ascalo liberum, Azotus, Iamneae duae, altera intus*. He only knows of one Gaza as well.
 - 5 Acts 8,40: Philip is said to have travelled from Jerusalem to Gaza and thence to Caesarea.
 - 6 Ptol. 5,15 mentions Azotus in a list: *Apollonia, Ioppe, Iamniton limen, Azotus, Ascalon, Anthedon, Gazaion limen*. He distinguishes between both Iamnia and Gaza on the sea and in the interior, but knows of only one city Azotus.
 - 7 Jos. AJ 13,395: ... πρὸς θαλάσση μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον Ἀπολλωνίαν Ἰόππην Ἰάμνειαν Ἀζωτον Γάζαν Ἀνθηδόνα Ῥάφειαν Ῥινοκόρουρα, ...
 - 8 Jos. AJ 14,75-6: ... Μάρισαν καὶ Ἀζωτον καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον; BJ 1,156: ... καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατέσκαψαν, Ἴππον Σκυθόπολιν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Μάρισαν Ἀζωτόν τε καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παραλίους Γάζαν Ἰόππην Δῶρα καὶ τὴν πάλαι μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον καλουμένην, ...

ignores Ashdod-Yam. A territory of Azotus is mentioned in sources of the second century BC.⁹

Azotus (Ashdod) was a major city in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages and as such it is mentioned in documents discovered at Ugarit, in Egypt and in Assyrian sources.¹⁰ It subsequently became one of a number of ancient Philistine cities, called the Pentapolis and known from the Old Testament (Jo 11,22; 13,3; cf. 15,47; 2 Chr 26,6 and more).¹¹ This site has been identified without doubt with the village of Isdud and has been excavated extensively. It includes the fortified MB and LB town, the Philistine (Iron Age) city and the town of the Persian period. The Philistine city was conquered by the Assyrians in the reign of Sargon 711 (Is 20,1-6). An Assyrian-style palace reflects the results of the conquest in this period.¹²

Herodotus mentions the city in a significant passage: "Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-four years, during twenty-nine of which he pressed the siege of Azotus without intermission, till finally he took the place. Azotus is a great town in Syria. Of all the cities that we know, none ever stood so long a siege."¹³ Psammetichus (Psamtik) I ruled from 664 to 610. Whatever the truth concerning the length of the siege, this is clear evidence of the fact that in the middle of the seventh century it was a key port and an essential base for operations against Judaea.

Azotus is mentioned once in connection with the events in 312 BC as a place reached by Demetrius (Diod. 19,85). The importance of the town in the second century at the latest is still reflected by Strabo's impression: "Some writers divide Syria as a whole into Coele-Syrians and Syrians and Phoenicians, and say that four other tribes are mixed up with these, namely Judaeans, Idumaeans, Gazeans, and Azotians, and that they are partly farmers, as the Syrians and Coele-Syrians, and partly merchants as the Phoenicians."¹⁴

9 1 Macc 14,34; 16,10. Cf. Aristas 117: τὴν Ἀζωτίων χώραν. There is no information about a city territory from later periods, Roman or Late Roman.

10 Assyrian texts concerning the wars of Sargon II (721-705) distinguish between Ashdod and Asdudimmu: J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. 1969, 286.

11 See M. Dotan, *NEAEHL* 1, 1993, 93-102 with bibliography on 102, and E. Kogan-Zehavi, *NEAEHL* 5, 2008, 1573ff., bibliography on 1574f.

12 For these excavations: M. Dothan et al., *Ashdod 1-5*, 1967-1993.

13 Herodotus 2,157: Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα Ἀζωτον τῆς Συρίας μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς ὃ ἐξείλε. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἀζωτος ἀπασέων πολιῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. Cf. D. Asheri et al., *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*, 2007, 357f., where it is noted that the length of this siege is incredible.

14 Strab. 16,2,2 (749) (M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1, 1974 no. 111): ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν Συρίαν ὅλην εἰς τε Κοιλοσύρους [καὶ Σύρους] καὶ Φοίνικας διελόντες τούτοις ἀναμεμίχθαι φασὶ τέτταρα ἔθνη, Ἰουδαίους Ἰδουμαίους Γαζαίους Ἀζωτίους, γεωργικοὺς μὲν, ὡς τοὺς Σύρους καὶ Κοιλοσύρους, ἐμπορικοὺς δέ, ὡς τοὺς Φοίνικας.

The next stage in which the city is mentioned is the period of the Maccabean rising: “Judas marched to Azotus, the land of the aliens, destroyed their altars, burnt the images of their gods, carried off the spoil from their towns and returned to Judaea.”¹⁵ Subsequently Jonathan is said to have “burned down the city and the villages in the vicinity and plundered them; he set fire to the temple of Dagon with those who had fled there.”¹⁶ During the reign of Alexander Jannaeus it was under Jewish control¹⁷ and it is listed as one of the cities detached from Jewish territory by Pompey or, rather, as one of the cities “he restored to its inhabitants”¹⁸ or “liberated from the rule [of the Jews].”¹⁹ It is next listed among the cities which Gabinius re-settled.²⁰ Herod, apparently, controlled it from 30 BC onward, like other cities on the coast. After his death Salome, Herod’s sister, received the towns of Iamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis, to which Augustus added the royal palace of Ascalon.²¹ Salome left Iamnia to Livia.²² Azotus may have been left to Livia as well, but it is not mentioned specifically. If this was the case, then, like Iamnia, it may have become imperial property after her death.²³ During the first Jewish revolt, Vespasian reduced Azotus and left a garrison there as he did at Iamnia,²⁴ presumably because of the large number of Jews living there at that time.

It is not clear whether Azotus had city status and, if it had, when it did. As noted above, it may have been part of an imperial domain in the first century AD. Later it became a bishopric. It minted coins only in the Persian period.²⁵ There are two weights from the Hellenistic period. One weight is somewhat enigmatic (below, no. 2299), the other mentions an agoranomos (no. 2298), but appears to be undated. Both look as if they belong to the second century BC, according to A. Kushnir-Stein. There is also an undated weight mentioning Herod with his titles (no. 2300).

BI

15 1 Macc 5,68: καὶ ἐξέκλινεν Ἰούδας εἰς Ἀζωτον γῆν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ καθεῖλεν τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν κατέκαυσεν πυρὶ καὶ ἐσκύλευσεν τὰ σκῦλα τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς γῆν Ἰούδα.

16 1 Macc 10,83f.; cf. 1 Macc 11,4; Jos. AJ 13,99-100.

17 Jos. AJ 13,395, above, n. 7.

18 Jos. AJ 14,75: τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν; BJ 1,156.

19 Jos. BJ 1,156: ἡλευθέρωσεν δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. Cf. above, n. 8.

20 Jos. AJ 14,88; BJ 1,66.

21 See Jos. AJ 17,321; BJ 2,98.

22 Jos. BJ 2,167; AJ 18,31.

23 See the introduction to Iamnia.

24 Jos. BJ 4,130.

25 H. Gitler - O. Tal, *The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, 2006, 76-95.

Inscriptions

A. Res sacrae

2295. Bilingual chancel screen from synagogue, with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, 4-6 c. CE

Several pieces of a marble slab glued together, containing the remains of a framed panel, within which is depicted a wreath surrounding a lighted seven-branched round menorah on tripod base, flanked by lulav and shofar. Above the upper frame of the panel is a partial Greek inscription, at the end of which is the word *shalom* in Hebrew characters. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended right leg; round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg; *kappa* with two short arms; four Greek letters at end of preserved inscription appear larger and more widely spaced (ed. pr. and ph.).

Meas.: w 82 cm; letters 2-3.5 cm (Roth-Gerson).

Findspot: Ashdod.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 42230.



fig. 2295.1

[--]ΝΙΣΘΙΕΙΣΑ[.]ΑΘΟΝΚΕΗΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ שְׁלוֹמַי

[--μ]νισθῆ εἰς ἁ[γ]αθὸν καὶ ἡ(ς) εὐλογία. שְׁלוֹמַי

Translit.: šlwm

*May ... be remembered for good
and for a blessing. Peace.*

Comm.: This much-discussed object is said to have originated from Ashdod and has been generally assumed to have belonged to a chancel screen, on which see comm. to no. 2321, the chancel screen from Ascalon.

The name or names of the donor(s) may be all that is missing from the left side of the in-



fig. 2295.2

scription. When first published, the current upper lefthand piece of the fragment was missing, so that editors restored: [εἴη ἐπ' Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἀγ]αθὸν καὶ ἡ εὐλογία, tolerating a false accusative in the last word or isolating the *nu*, or ἡ εὐλογία (ἀμήν)ν (Dalman apud Klein [JPCI]). Subsequently, when the missing piece was joined to the stone during preparations for an exhibition, most scholars have followed Avi-Yonah in reading: [Κύριε, μ]νίσθι εἰς ἀγαθόν κτλ., with imperative (for μνήσθητι). But it is difficult to believe that the dedication did not commemorate the donor(s), thus μνισθῆ (μνησθῆ) as aorist passive subjunctive seems better (Lifshitz, Roth-Gerson). The iotacism in μνισθῆ is unexceptional.

The H between KE and ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ is problematic. Lifshitz suggested καὶ ἡ(ς) εὐλογία, adopted here with some hesitation, since the author inscribed εἰς just two words previously. There appears to be a small chisel mark on the top of the right hasta of the *eta*, thus indicating an abbreviation; if so, the inscriber might have felt he was running out of room. Alternatively, Avi-Yonah suggested isolating the H as a mistake; and Hüttenmeister - Reeg proposed κα(ι) ε<ις> εὐλογία, whereby H was mistakenly chiseled for ΙΣ.

Bibl.: H. Kohl - C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, 1916, 160 fig. 291; Dalman apud Klein, JPCI 85 no. 15; K. Gallig, ZDPV 50, 1927, 298-319 at 310 (edd. prr.). - E. Sukenik, JPOS 15, 1935, 151-7 at 151; id., *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara)*, 1935, 61f.; SEG 8, 146; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 8 (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, BIES 1-2, 1945/46, 19 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 961; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* 1, 218 no. 26 fig. 571; M. Avi-Yonah, *Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund* 3, 1960, 69; RB 68, 1961, 464-71 at 468; BE 1963, 289; B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 79, 1963, 90-7 at 93f. no. IV; BE 1964, 510; SEG 20, 473; Lifshitz, *Donateurs* 54f. no. 69; A. Negev, EI 8, 1967, 193-210 at 199 (Hebr.); T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, 1969, 34 no. 102; M. Dothan, *Atiqot* 9/10, 1971, 191; Saller, *Catalogue* 21 no. 13; H. Cavallin, *Life After Death I*, 1974, 166f. no. 4.12.1; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 1, 19ff.; H. Shanks, *Judaism in Stone*, 1979, 115; Chiat, *Handbook* 176; Keel - Küchler 48 fig. 34; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 18ff. no. 1; G. Foerster, in: *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, 1989, 1809-20 at 1816 fig. 9; J. Branham, *Art Bulletin* 74,3, 1992, 375-94 at 379; L. Habas, in: L. Levine - Z. Weiss eds., *From Dura to Sepphoris*, 2000, 111-30 at 120f.; Milson, *Art and Architecture* 306.

Photo: Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 19 fig. 2; M. Teigen, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2296. Altar with Greek (?) letter

Small altar, made out of gypsum; roughly circular, with a basis and a raised band at the top; above the band a rounded depression. A palm branch and a twig (?) are on the side, above the single letter *mu*. It remains unclear whether there were more letters on the other sides of the altar, now lost.

Meas.: h 8, w (basis) 5, d 5 cm; letters 1 cm.

Findspot: Found during the 1963/5 excavations in Ashdod, Area A, Stratum 4 and 3.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1963-852. Autopsy: 14 March 2012 (WE).

M



fig. 2296.1



fig. 2296.2



fig. 2296.3



fig. 2296.4

Comm.: Dothan thought of an abbreviation for the god M(arnas), who was venerated at Gaza. – Another gypsum altar, also decorated with branches but much less elaborate, was discovered in the vicinity of this one (Dothan, pl. 22,8).

Bibl.: M. Dothan, *Atiqot* 9/10, 1990, 66, 68 (dr.) pl. 22,7 (ed. pr.).

Photo: WE.



fig. 2296.5

WA

2297. Mosaic with Greek inscription, 529 AD

Mosaic panel, the inscription in a circle made by seven rows of tesserae, including two rows of red tesserae; the lines of the inscription are separated by a row of pink tesserae; 1.1 between hederae; the last letter, epsilon, in l. 4 is written above the my; the zeta in l. 7, indicating the indiction, is mirror-inverted; below l.7 a cross between two hederae.

Meas.: mosaic panel 1.3x5 m; frame of the inscription 1.24x1.29 m; Ø of the circle 1.15 m (external), 1.1 m (internal); letters 6-9 cm.

Findspot: Kibbutz Hazor, ca. 100 m east of Tel Ashdod; the nature of the building could not be ascertained, but the excavator Sh. Gudovitch believed the mosaic to have “adorned the entrance to the monastery or church”.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1995-132.

(hedera) (cross) ΧΜΓ (cross) (hedera)
ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟΦΙΛ[ΑΒ
ΒΑ[.]ΜΑΝΠΡΕΣΒ[Κ]
ΗΓΟ[.]ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΕΚΘΕΜΕ
ΗΛΗΝΟΣΣΥΝΤΩΜΟΝΑΣΤ[
ΕΓΡΑΦΗΜΗΝΙΔΕΣΙΩ
ΚΙΝΑΖΕΤΟΥΣΛΤ

(hedera) (cross) (hedera)



fig. 2297

XMF | ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) ἀβ|βᾶ [..]MAN πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ | ἡγο[υμ(ένου)]
ἐγένετο ἐκ θεμε(λίων) | ἡ ληνὸς σὺν τῷ μοναστ(ηρίῳ). | ἐγράφη μηνὶ Δεσίῳ | κ',
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ', ἔτους λτ'

XMF. Under the most god-loving father ..., priest and prior, the fountain was built from its foundations together with the monastery. (The inscription) was written on the 20th of the month of Daisios, indiction 6, in the year 330.

Comm.: 1.2f.: ἀβ|βᾶ [Ἰω]άν[νου] Tzaferis; [..]MAN Di Segni; she suggests [Γερ]μάν(ου); 1.4: ἡγο[υμ(ένου)] Tzaferis, the necessity of the abbreviation was seen by Di Segni; 1.7: Tzaferis prints no initial *kappa* – and it is not visible on his photograph; is his *gamma* more probable? γ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι', ἔτους λτ' Tzaferis, corr. Di Segni.

1.1: on XMF cf. no. 2351.

1.2f.: either one or two individuals.

1.5: ἡ ληνὸς σὺν τῷ μοναστ(ηρίῳ) presents a difficulty. The editors understood “winepress”, and whereas it is, perhaps, possible to believe that the building of a room for the processing of grapes is commemorated by this mosaic, it is difficult to understand “the winepress was built together with the monastery” (wine was certainly an economic factor in the running of the monastery – as in the running of many other monasteries [Hirschfeld 106ff., 204f.]); therefore it is perhaps better to understand ληνός as “anything shaped like a tub or trough” (LSJ s.v.), hence perhaps “fountain”, cf. SEG 27, 145 (Opous): τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὴν λῆνον (on λανοί, ληνοί as graves, see Ferrua 205; SEG 38, 556 [Dyrrhachion]; 44, 554; 56, 810 [Thessalonike] – but again, the meaning “grave” is quite improbable, at least in the singular).

1.7: Tzaferis believes this to be the era of Eleutheropolis (rightly dismissing other eras), and Di Segni follows him in this (the eras of Ashdod or of Ascalon lead to dates in the 3 c. AD); since she uses a date a bit more precise for the beginning of the era of Eleutheropolis, she arrives at June 9th, 529 (calendar of Eleutheropolis) or at July 14th, 529 (calendar of Ascalon); at the moment, it seems infeasible to decide between these possibilities. She accepts the use of the calendar of Eleutheropolis and draws some conclusions regarding the monastery, being built in the diocese of Azotus, and the bishop of Ascalon – hinting at a monophysitic monastery distancing itself from a catholic bishop.

Bibl.: V. Tzaferis, Atiqot 51, 2006, 3ff. (ph.) (Hebr.) 233*f. (E.S.); L. Di Segni, Atiqot 58, 2008, 31-6* fig.1 (ph.) (edd. prr.). – SEG 56, 1890. – Cf. A. Ferrua, Note e giunte alle iscrizioni cristiane antiche della Sicilia, 1989; Y. Hirschfeld, The Judaean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period, 1992; S. Gudovitch, Atiqot 51, 2006, 1f. (ph.) (Hebr.) 233* (E.S.); BE 2008, 566.

Photo: IAA.

B. Instrumentum domesticum

Weights

2298. Hellenistic lead weight of agoranomos Aristarchos, 2 c. BCE

A square lead weight without a handle or loop. One side has raised borders, bevelled on their inner part; this bevelled part is decorated by a pattern of double semi-circles. There is an inscription in six lines within the field; the inscription is very worn, especially in its center and the lower part. The reverse has been reported blank. Small *omicron*; four-bar *sigma*; *alpha* has broken middle bar. Meas.: h 4.7, w 4.7 cm; wt 63.77 g.

Findspot: Found in the excavations at Ashdod by M. Dothan, Area A, Stratum 3b.
Pres. loc.: Appears to have been misplaced in the storeroom of the IAA by 1993; present whereabouts unknown.

ΑΓΟΡΑ
ΝΟΜΟΥΝ
ΤΟΣ Α
ΠΙ.]ΤΑΡ
Χ[.]ΤΟ
[--]

Ἀγορα|νομοῦν|τος Ἀρι[σ]τάρ[χ]ου το|[ῶ] --]

Aristarchus son of ..., being agoranomos.

Comm.: The weight was first published in 1971 in the archaeological report on the excavations in Ashdod by M. Dothan. According to the editors of the report, the inscription begins with ΑΓΟΡΑ|ΝΟΜΟΥΝ|Τ(ΟΣ), followed by “a number of letters that cannot be read” (Dothan 68). A few years later, B. Lifshitz came up with the reading of the entire text as: Ἀγορα|νομοῦν|το[ς] Ὀμ[β]ρου[ξ]-τ(ους) ἀρ’ (or αο’) | μητρο|πολη(τείας). This reading has been reproduced without alterations in a number of subsequent pub-



fig. 2298.1



fig. 2298.2

lications (SEG 26, 1666; BE 1976, 43). Lifshitz assigned the weight to Caesarea, which acquired the status of metropolis under Severus Alexander (222-235 CE); this, in turn, resulted in dating the item to the end of the third or beginning of the 4 c. CE. Attribution to Laodiceia in Syria was suggested by L. Robert (BE 1976, 43).

The weight is currently unavailable for examination, having apparently been misplaced in the storeroom of the IAA. However, its photograph and, especially, the drawing of the inscribed side that the excavators provided (Dothan, pl. XXV, 5 and fig. 30, 7) would argue for a reappraisal of Lifshitz' reading and dating. The drawing from the report is reproduced here. The first firm conclusion that can be made from it is that the weight belongs to the Hellenistic period. The four-bar *sigma* and the decoration of semicircles are familiar features on local weights of this period. Neither has been attested so far for the Roman period (A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 6, 2011, 35-59 at 54, 56).

According to the drawing, ll.3-5 have ΤΟΣΑ|ΠΙ[.]ΤΑΡ|Χ[.]ΤΟ, which can be read naturally as giving the name of the agoranomos as Aristarchos. As against this, one may have hard time in trying to reconcile the surviving letters with το[ς] Ὡμ[β]ρ[ου] ἔ[τ]τ(ους) ἀρ' (or αο') | μητρο suggested by Lifshitz. In order to conform to Lifshitz' text, one has to read the final Α of l.3 as Μ, then to read the first letter of l.4 (Ρ) as Β (with no justification from either the drawing or the photograph), then to reconstruct the following *iota* (Ι) as Ρ (again without justification) and then to insert three more letters (ΟΥΕ) for which there is not enough space. The reading of l.5 as μητρο involves ignoring the first letter, *chi* (Χ), given by the drawing and visible also on the photograph, as well as turning ΤΟ at the end of the line into ΤΡΟ. The text given by Lifshitz thus appears too forced to be true. Reading ll.1-5 in a way suggested by the drawing, i.e. Ἀγορα|νομοῦν|τος Ἀρι[σ]τάρ[χ]ου would be a more appealing alternative.

The meaning of the letters ΤΟ at the end of l.5 and of the entire l.6 is difficult to determine from either the drawing or the photograph. L. Di Segni (DGI) suggested reading them as a date [ἔ]τ(ους) | ἡρ' ("year 178"). Counting from the Seleucid era (312 BCE), she arrived at 135/4 BCE (DGI 478). However, the placement of the date at the end of the inscription, as well as the use of the word ἔτους (instead of the sign Ι), would be highly unusual for the period in question. What we do have in this period, is the use of the article τοῦ before a patronymic (Kushnir-Stein 53f.). The reconstruction of the end of the inscription as a patronymic introduced by τοῦ thus appears to be a more likely, although possibly not definitive, solution.

Bibl.: M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 1971, 67f., 71f. pl. XXV, 5, 7 fig. 30, 6-7 (ed. pr.). – B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6, 1973/4, 33 no. 1; DGI 477f. no. 138*A.

Photo: M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 1971, pl. XXV no. 5; fig. 30 no. 7 (dr.).

2299. Lead weight from excavations in Ashdod with enigmatic inscription, 2 c. BCE

A lead weight of an almost square shape without a handle or loop. The inscribed side has a slightly concave appearance; it has raised borders and a schematic design of an altar, crowned by a crescent moon, centered at the base of the field. There is an inscription in two lines, one above the altar, and one on both sides of it. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 5, w 4.4 cm; wt 60 g (after cleaning).

Findspot: Excavations in Ashdod by M. Dothan, Area A, Stratum 3.

Pres. loc.: IAA, no inv. no. available. Autopsy: 1993.

ΠΕΘ/Ρ
ΛΑ

ΠΕΘ/Ρ | ΛΑ

Comm.: The weight was found in the excavations of Ashdod by M. Dothan. Its measurements and a drawing were published in the report of the first season of the excavations, but there was no photograph. The overall appearance of the weight would best suit the Hellenistic period.

The inscription is in a relatively good state of preservation, with four out of its five letters certain. The first letter of l.1 looks like *pi* (Π) with the right vertical bar slightly shorter than the left one; the second letter is *xi* (Ξ) composed of three straight horizontal strokes; the third letter looks like a small *omicron* without its lower part (it could possibly have been an upper part of a *rho*). The two letters of l.2 are *lambda* (Λ) on the left and *alpha* (Α) with a broken middle bar on the right.

The meaning of the inscription is obscure. If l.1 is assumed to have been intended as a date (with its third letter reconstructed as P), then the letters of l.2 could possibly indicate the place of manufacture. However, this would exclude a Palestinian origin for the weight, since the absence of the introductory sign L before the date would be unprecedented for the area in the Hellenistic period (A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 6, 2011, 52).

Bibl.: M. Dothan - D. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, 1967, 26 fig. 9,7 (ed. pr.).

Photo: M. Dothan - D. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, 1967, 59 fig. 9,7 (dr.).



fig. 2299

**2300. Lead weight from excavations in Ashdod
mentioning Herod the Great , 30-4 BCE**

A square lead weight with a handle at its top. One side has raised borders and a square inner frame in relief, within which there is an inscription in five lines. The inscription is very worn and further damaged in several places by blows to the surface; lunate *sigma*. The reverse side is decorated with an anchor in a wreath. Meas.: h 6.45, w 6.5 cm; wt 290 g.

Findspot: Excavations in Ashdod by M. Dothan, Area A, Stratum 3b.

Pres. loc.: Art Museum, Ashdod, IAA inv. no.

1963-2231. Autopsy: 1993.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[.]Ο
ΝΤ[.]ΣΗΡΩ
ΔΟΥΕΥΣΕ
ΒΟΥΣΚΑΙΦ
ΙΛΟΚΑΙΣ



fig. 2300.1

Βασιλε[ύ]ο|ντ[ο]ς Ἡρώ|δου Εὐσε|βοῦς καὶ Φ|ιλοκαίσ(αρος)

In the time of King Herod, Pious and Friend of Caesar.



fig. 2300.2



fig. 2300.3

Comm.: The weight was first published in 1971 in the archaeological report on the excavations in Ashdod by M. Dothan. The editors of the report considered its inscription illegible because of its worn condition (Dothan 68); however, they provided a photograph and a drawing of the letters they could discern (Dothan, pl. XXV,7 and fig. 30,6). Shortly afterwards, B. Lifshitz (ed. pr.) suggested a decipherment of the entire text as: Ἀγορανό[μ]ο[υ]ντος Ἡρώδου ἑ[τ]οῦ | β' Οὐσησπαση[αν(οῦ)] Καί(αρος). This reading has been reproduced in a number of subsequent publications (SEG 26, 1665; BE 1976, 43). However, the text suggested by Lifshitz does not match with either the photograph or the drawing provided by the excavation report. Examination of the weight revealed that the drawing of the report shows most of the inscription faithfully, but is still in need of several important corrections of detail. A corrected drawing is given here. The reading of it as Βασιλε[ύ]ο[υ]ντος Ἡρώδου Εὐσε[β]οῦς καὶ Φιλόκαισ(αρος) appears to be the only one possible.

Two Roman client rulers named Ἡρώδης had the title of king - Herod the Great (37-4 BCE) and his grandson, Herod of Chalcis (41-48 CE). The provenance of the weight implies that the king mentioned on it is Herod the Great. The titles Εὐσεβής and Φιλόκαισαρ were borne by a number of Eastern client kings, among them some descendants of Herod (OGIS 419; SEG 7, 216; ILS 8957); the possession of them by Herod the Great is not, however, firmly attested. The inscription on a limestone weight from Jerusalem (CIIP I 1, 666) indicates Herod's first title by the abbreviation EY, which was completed by its first publisher as Εὐ(εργέτου). The present weight, which gives Herod's first title in full, argues for completing the title on its stone counterpart as Εὐ(σεβοῦς).

Ashdod was under the rule of Herod the Great from ca. 30 BCE until the king's death in 4 BCE. Since the title Φιλόκαισαρ cannot be earlier than 30 BCE, the weight is to be assigned to the period between 30 and 4 BCE. There is no sure way of telling whether it was manufactured in Ashdod itself.

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 6, 1973/4, 34 no. 2; A. Kushnir-Stein, *ZPE* 105, 1995, 81-4 (corrected reading) (edd. pr.). – M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 1971, 68, 72 pl. XXV,7 fig. 30,6; SEG 45, 1933.

Photo: IAA; AKS (dr.).

AKS

Graffiti and dipinto

2301. Greek graffito on fine ware, 4 c. BCE

Two letters incised after firing on the broken base of a black-glazed bowl with rosettes in its center.

Meas.: letters 0.8-0.9 cm.

Findspot: Ashdod, Area M, unstratified.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1969-1918. Autopsy: 20 May 2012.

ΔΗ[--]

Of De...

Comm.: This inscription is probably an owner's mark inscribed at the base of his/her fine table ware, as known from numerous examples (see CIIP I 656-7; II 1785-6). There are 194 different names beginning with this sequence in the LGPN; not surprisingly the most popular one, with 2570 instances, is Δημήτριος. Pleket (SEG) suggested: Δη(μόσιον), perhaps hinting that this may be a public owner's mark, similar to the group of 5-4 c. BCE bowls marked *delta-epsilon* in ligature, found together in the Athenian agora (M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, Fa1-Fa26).



fig. 2301

Bibl.: J. Porath, *Atiqot* 15, 1982, 45 (ed. pr.). – SEG 32, 1494.

Photo: IAA.

AE

2302. Graffito on jug in Jewish script, 4-3 c. BCE

Several marks incised before firing on a “fragment of the upper part of a jug made of well levigated pinkish clay” (Dothan).

Meas.: letters ca. 0.8 cm.

Findspot: Ashdod, Area A, Strata 4-3.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1963-2480; non vidi.



fig. 2302.1



fig. 2302.2

Comm.: “Four incised signs, starting from the right with a horizontal dash, followed by two parallel, slightly slanting lines and a sign formed of a vertical line with an almost spherical form attached to the centre of its right side. The first three strokes may represent the number twelve. The fourth sign is undecipherable. Alternatively, if the inscription is read the other way up, the first sign could be a Hebrew letter such as *bet* or *resh*” (Dothan 69).

Bibl.: M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 1971, 69 fig. 30,20 pl. XXVI,6 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA; Dothan, fig. 30,20 (dr.).

EDD

2303. Greek graffito on the base of a Hellenistic “fish bowl”, early 2 c. BCE

Three or four letters above an X, all incised after firing on the base of a black-glazed Hellenistic “fish plate” type bowl.

Meas.: letters l.1: ca. 2 cm; l.2: ca. 4 cm.

Findspot: Ashdod, Area K, Stratum 2, Locus 6012.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1963-1997.

Autopsy: 20 May 2012.

++ME

X

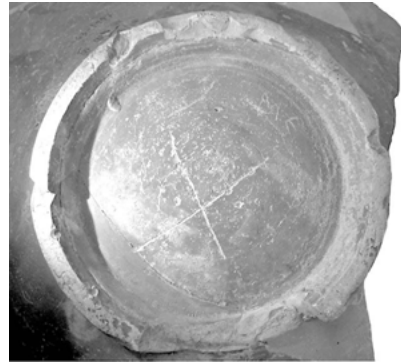


fig. 2303.1

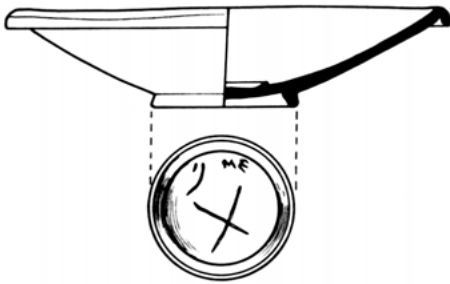


fig. 2303.2

Comm.: Owner's mark showing a combination of an “x-mark” and writing.

Bibl.: M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 1971, 174 fig. 98,10 pl. LXXXVII,10 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AE; Dothan 174 fig. 98,10 (dr.); IAA.



fig. 2303.3

AE

2304. Greek graffiti on the bases of Eastern Terra Sigillata bowls, 2-1 c. BCE

Two inscriptions, each with two letters, incised on the base of two identical Eastern Terra Sigillata bowls.

Meas.: letters: 1.1 cm (a); 0.8 cm (b).

Findspot: Ashdod, Area A, Stratum 3, Locus 2.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1962-660. Autopsy: 20 May 2012 (only inscription [a] was found).

(a) ZH

(b) ZH

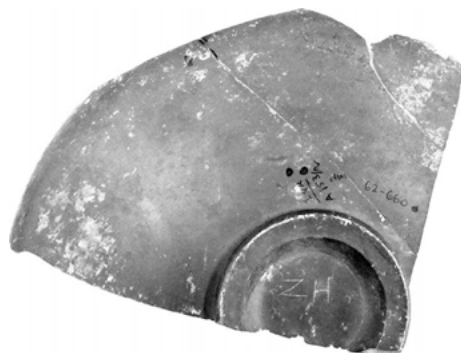


fig. 2304.1 (a)

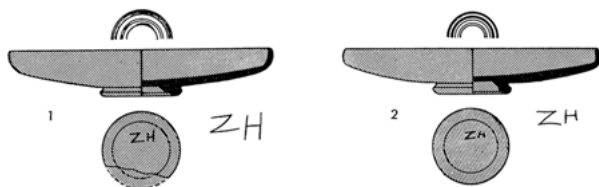


fig. 2304.2 (a[=1] and b[=2])

Comm.: Dothan suggested that other than being names, these inscriptions may be magical incantations or convivial exhortations such as Ζή(σῆς) – “long live”. In this case the inscriptions may be read as the imperative of ζῆ – “live!” Nevertheless, convivial inscriptions are usually done by the potter and not added onto the ware after firing (M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, 53). The inscriptions are most likely abbreviations of a name, meaning both bowls had the same owner – this being quite probable, as both were found in the same locus.

Bibl.: M. Dothan - J. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, 1967, 24, 52f., fig. 6,1-2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AE; M. Dothan - J. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, fig. 6,1-2 (dr.).

2305. Greek graffiti on the bases of Eastern Terra Sigillata bowls, 2-1 c. BCE

Five Eastern Terra Sigillata bowls on whose bases and lower sides letters were incised after firing.

Meas.: letters: 1 cm (a); 2.2 cm (b); 2.5 cm (c); 2 cm (d); 1.5 cm (e).

Findspot: Ashdod, Area A, Stratum 2; Loci: F6 (a); H5 (b); 21 (c); 22 (d); 15 (e).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. nos. 1962-655 and 1962-656. Autopsy: 20 May 2012 (inscription [a] not found).

(a) KOIN

(b) K

(c) X

(d) A

(e) M

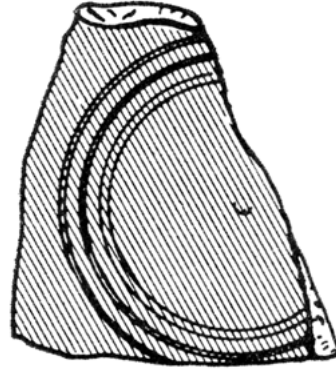


fig. 2305.1 (a)



fig. 2305.2 (b)

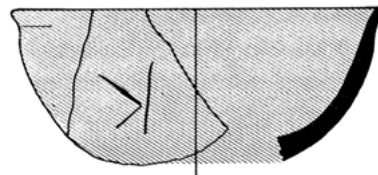


fig. 2305.3 (b)



fig. 2305.4 (c)

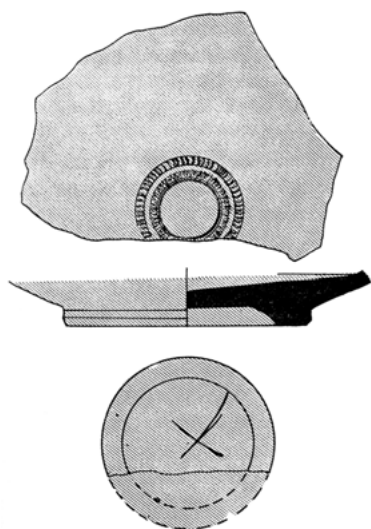


fig. 2305.5 (c)

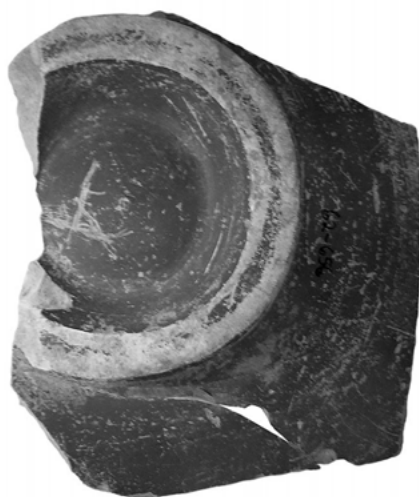


fig. 2305.6 (d)

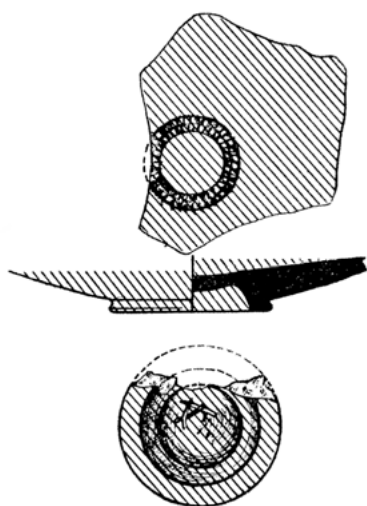


fig. 2305.7 (d)



fig. 2305.8 (e)

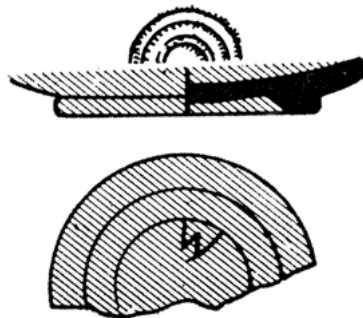


fig. 2305.9 (e)

Comm.: All these owners' marks were found in the same area in close-by loci, and are written on Eastern Terra Sigillata bowls, hence they are all gathered into one entry. Inscription (a), though probably a private owner's mark (LGNP offers 15 different names), may also be a public one, and read as *κοιν(όν)* – "public" (see M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, 51). The rest of the marks (b-e) may represent names or simply fixed markings, hence (c) is probably just an "x-mark" and not even a letter.

Bibl.: M. Dothan - J. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, 1967, 29f. 60f. figs. 10.9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16 (ed. pr.).

Photo: M. Dothan - J. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, figs. 10.14 (a), 10.9 (b), 10.15 (c), 10.16 (d), 10.11 (e) (dr.); AE.

AE

2306. Greek graffito on a jug, Hellenistic period

Three letters incised after firing on the shoulder of a jug.

Findspot: Ashdod, Area A, Strata 4-3.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, non vidi.

ΗΔΟ[--]

Comm.: As suggested by Dothan this may be a name such as *Ἡδο[νικός]* or *Ἡδό[νιος]*, or others. One cannot rule out that this may be a convivial exhortation such as the optative *ἦδοιο* – "May



fig. 2306

you enjoy!” If the inscription was incised before firing, the latter interpretation is even more plausible (for convivial inscriptions on pottery see M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, 52). According to the excavator, the ware of the vessel is typical of the Hellenistic period.

Bibl.: M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 1971, 69 pl. XXVI,5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Dothan pl. XXVI,5.

AE

2307. Greek graffito on a storage jar, Hellenistic period

Five letters inscribed after firing below the ribbed handle of a Hellenistic period storage jar. Lunate *sigma*.

Findspot: Ashdod, Area B, unstratified.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1963-2094. Non vidi.

NIKIA[.]

Νικία[ς]

(*belonging to?*) *Nicias*.



fig. 2307.2

Comm.: Names in the nominative may also be owners' marks (see M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, 26; CIIP II 1785).

Bibl.: M. Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 1971, 84 fig. 36,12 pl. XXXII,9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA; Dothan 89 fig. 36,12 (dr.).



fig. 2307.1

AE

2308. Dipinto on jar, 3 c. CE or later

Two incised lines, the first illegible and the second looking like Hebrew letters, above the shoulder of a storage jar. The neck of the jar has been pierced, the body is ribbed.

Findspot: Ashdod, Area A, Stratum 1, Locus 6.



fig. 2308.1

(?) ט ח ++ ו ה +

Translit.: + h w ++ ה ת (?)

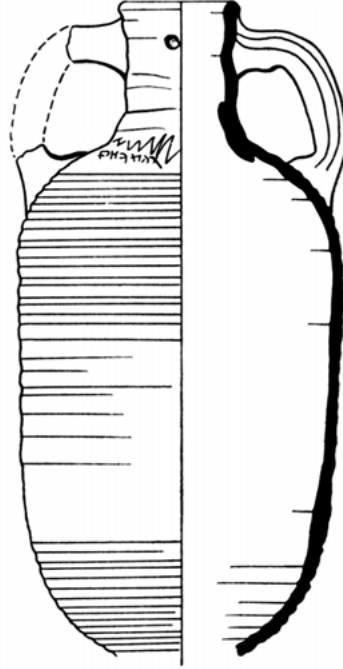


fig. 2308.2

Comm.: It is very tentatively proposed here that the second line represents a section of the Hebrew alphabet, with the second, third and last two letters deciphered as suggested. The first line is a meaningless scribble. The Stratum dates approximately to the 3-4 c. CE, but the type of amphora can be dated no more precisely than the 3-7 c. CE.

Bibl.: M. Dothan - D. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, 1967, 34, 68f. fig. 14,2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: M. Dothan - D. Freedman, *Ashdod I*, 1967 fig. 14,2 (dr.).

JJP/HM

2309. Latin graffito on crater

Remains of four letters incised before firing on the side of a crater.

Meas.: sherd: h ca. 8, w ca. 17 cm; letters ca. 0.8-1.7 cm.

Findspot: Ashdod, Area D, Locus 1133, Strata 3-4.
Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1963-1989.

LUM+

L(ucius) Um[mius?]

Lucius Ummidius (the potter?). (?)



fig. 2309.1

Comm.: Dothan read an I after the M (LUMI).

As seeing that the inscription was incised before firing it probably mentions the potter, or the owner of the workshop. The vessel is imported from the west (origin unknown). No parallels of a known stamp or workshop were found, hence it seems that the potter wrote his name on his own initiative.

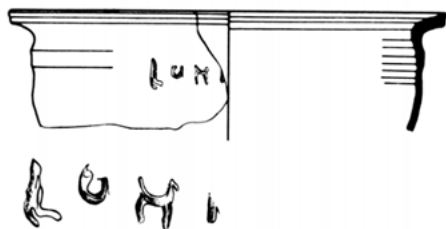


fig. 2309.2

Bibl.: M. Dothan, Ashdod II-III, 1971, 118 fig. 61,9 pl. LIV,9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA; Dothan 118 fig. 61,9 (dr.).

AE

C. Varia

2310. Tabula with Greek inscription

Fragment of marble; Germer-Durand thought it likely that the cross marked the middle of the plaque and that two further rectangular troughs are missing.

Meas.: troughs 12x3 cm.

Findspot: "Esdoud maritime" (Germer-Durand).

Pres. loc.: In Germer-Durand's times part of the collection of Baron Ustinov in Jaffa.

(a) ΑΥΞΙΤΩΟΚΟΜΗΣΔΙ[--]

(b) ΑΒΓΔ[.]

(c) ΕΠΙΜΕΛΤΙΑΔΟΥ[--]

ΤΩΝΕΥΦ[--]

ΑΥΞΙΤΩΟΚΟΜΗΣΔΙ



(a) αὐξίτω ὁ κόμης ΔΙ[--]

(b) Α Β Γ Δ [Ε Ζ]

fig. 2310.1 (a)

(c) ἐπὶ Μελτιάδου [--] τῶν ΕΥΦ[--]

(a) *The comes Di... has to advance!*

(b) A B C D E F

(c) *Under Meltiades ... of the ...*

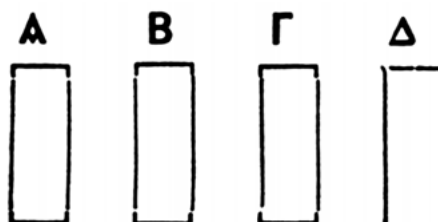


fig. 2310.2 (b)

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΤΙΑΔΟΥ
ΤΩΝΕΥΦ

fig. 2310.3 (c)

Comm.: (a) δι'[ιδίων] Germer-Durand, Δι[ο--] Clermont-Ganneau; (c) [καὶ --] τῶν εὐφ[ημοτάτων] Germer-Durand.

The first problem posed by this piece is the function of the troughs: “On pourrait penser soit à une tabula lusoria, soit à un sekoma ou étalon des mesures” (Clermont-Ganneau 208) – but, as he himself is ready to see, both possibilities have their own problems.

(a): the acclamation was identified by Clermont-Ganneau, who thought it to be mainly used in Syria, but cf. nos. 2334 and 2395 from Ascalon; Diomedes reminds us of the dux Palaestinae in the year 528 (PLRE III Diomedes 1). (c) l.1: Clermont-Ganneau reckons that there is sufficient space for a name of five or six letters; l.2: Clermont-Ganneau supposes this to be the beginning of the filiation of two brothers, because an epithet εὐφημότατος is unheard of. εὐφημος and εὐφημεῖν were used in acclamations.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1901/2, 73-6 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7, 1905, 208-12. – Cf. id., CRAI 1906, 116.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, EO 5, 1901/2, 74 (dr.).

D. Fragments**2311. Fragment with Samaritan inscription**

A Fragment of a marble slab, with one letter carved on the upper stripe of its right upper corner, near its left break.

Findspot: Discovered during a survey M. Boshery conducted between the ruins of the village Isdud and Tel Ashdod, “near the hill opposite the ancient acropolis” (Chiat).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1967-172.

[--]ʾ

Translit.: y[--]

Comm.: The fragment bears only one letter *yod* (in the Samaritan script), which seems to be the beginning of a one-line monumental inscription as indicated by its location above a rectangular depression in the stone. According to Dothan, “the inscription is probably a quotation from Exodus 15,18, according to the Samaritan version.”



fig. 2311

Bibl.: M. Dothan, Ashdod II-III, 1971, 191 pl.

XCV,3 (ed. pr.). – HA 22-23, 1967, 27 (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister – Reeg, Synagogen 2, 553; Chiat, Handbook 177.

Photo: IAA.

AY

2312. Fragment of a Greek inscription

“This building stands on the shore, only a few feet above the water. In the outer wall near the north-west corner, near the base, is a stone, on which are ... letters” (Conder - Kitchener).

Findspot: “Mīnet el Kūlah - This ruin forms the port of Ashdod” (Conder - Kitchener 426).

[--]ΕΔΟΜ[--]

Comm.: Even though a reference to the biblical Edom may seem tempting, it is exceedingly improbable. A form of δίδωμι or of a compound?

Bibl.: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 2 Samaria 427 (ed. pr.).

WA

XIII. Asor

2313.-2316. Church with mosaic floors (Kh. Banaya)

“Church with nave, two aisles, narthex and a hall on the northern side. The eastern part is destroyed” (Ovadiah, MPI); on the church, cf. Ovadiah, Corpus 71f. no. 61; Avi-Yonah - Cohen - Ovadiah 1993. The nave has a mosaic with two Greek inscriptions, no. 2313 (near the main entrance) and no. 2314 (near the east end). The floor of the northern hall is divided into five mosaic panels. The second panel from the west bears an inscription in a rectangular frame (no. 2315); an octagon occupies the middle of the first panel from the west (no. 2316).

2313. Mosaic with Greek inscription, ca. 512 AD

Round medallion, flanked by two birds holding a garland that continues below the medallion. The published photos show a lacuna in the middle of the medallion, but the Ovadias (MPI) published a text without an indication of any missing letters (they have no photo); evidently, the published photos indicate lacunae in the middle of each following line; it seems therefore that the loss occurred after the initial publication (neither Meimaris' nor Di Segni's [DGI] supplements differ from the text printed in MPI).

Meas.: Ø (medallion) roughly 95 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2313-2316.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1957-1203.

(cross)

(cross) ΧΥΧΑΡΙΤΙ

ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗΤΟΠΑΝ

ΕΡΓΟΝΤΗΣΨΗΦΩΣΕΩΣ

ΤΗΔΑΙΣΙΟΥΤΟΥΕΙΧ

ΕΤΟΥΣΙΝΔΕΚΣ

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΕΓΛΩΝΟΣ

ΚΑΙΜΑΞΙΜΩΝΟΣ

ΤΩΝΔΟΥΛΩΝ

(cross) ΣΟΥ (cross)



fig. 2313

X(ριστο)ῦ χάριτι | ἐτελιώθη τὸ πᾶν | ἔργον τῆς ψηφώσεως | τῇ Δαισίῳ <ι'> τοῦ εἰχ' |
 ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'. κ(ύριο)ς | μνήσθητι Ἐγλῶνος | καὶ Μαξιμῶνος | τῶν δούλων |
 σου

With the grace of Christ was this whole work of the mosaic paving completed in the month of Daisios, year 615 (roughly June 512 AD), in the fifth year of the indiction. Lord, remember Eglon and Maximon, your servants.

Comm.: l.1: more common is θεοῦ χάριτι, but cf. SEG 37, 1545 (Gerasa): χάριτι X(ριστο)ῦ ἐκτίσθη καὶ ἐψηφώθη; 1552 (Umm Er-Rasas); SEG 55, 1751 (Bethany-beyond-the-Jordan): τῆς χάριτος συνηργισάσ(ης) X(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμ(ῶν); a combination in SEG 45, 1983 (Bostra): [Χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ Κ(ύριο)υ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ X(ριστο)ῦ].

l.4: μ(η)ν(ι) Feissel apud SEG, but the reading is clear; Δαισίῳ ι' Meimaris (Chron. Systems), Di Segni (if one reads the article, a number is necessary).

l.4f.: The Ovadiahs (MPI, and Feissel apud SEG) assumed the date to be according to the Ascalonitan era (615=512 AD; Daisios 10th would be July 4th), whereas Meimaris proposes an Azonitan era starting in 59 BC (therefore 615=557 AD). But, as Di Segni (DGI) pointed out, there is no evidence for an Azonitan era, so that this inscription would be the first example ever. In nos. 2314 and 2315 a bishop Antony is mentioned; an Ascalonitan bishop of this name was ordained roughly about the time of the present inscription (cf. comm. on no. 2314) – it is therefore much easier to accept that Asor belonged to the diocese of Ascalon and that the Ascalonitan era was used here.

l.6: According to some LXX mss. there was a king of Moab of this name (e.g. Judg 3,12ff. – to be located somewhere around Jericho; cf. Jos. AJ 5,186 etc.); variants are Εγλωμ, Αιλαμ (the only variant noted in Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen) et sim.; the same variants can be found in the inscriptions, cf. e.g. Eglon in SEG 40, 1477 (near Jericho); 44, 1365 (Aqaba): κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸς) τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) Ἐγλωνος; Aiglon in 37, 1498 (Kh. el-Makhrum). The (local?) saint in SEG 44, 1365 might have been one reason for the name-giving here.

l.7: Maximon is thought to be an Aramaic variant of Maximus (but is this necessary?); Pape, WGE found the name in CIG 5064 (Talmis/Kalabsha, Nubia), too, but the new reading is Μαξιμίωνος (Gauthier 290 no. 18). But see Maximon in SEG 37, 1512, 12 (Nahariya); 1516 (Evron). Kajanto 118 records the (rare) cognomen Maximo, which could have led to the “Greek” name.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 54 no. 320 (ll.1-3); Ovadiah, MPI 67 no. 93 pl. 71-81 (edd. prr.). – SEG 37, 1469A; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 73 no. 2; DGI 470f. no. 135. – Cf. H. Gauthier, Le temple de Kalabchah 1, 1911; I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina, 1965; BE 1989, 1006; M. Aviyonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 310f.; Feissel, Chroniques 227 no. 725.

Photo: IAA.

2314. Mosaic with Greek inscription

Six-line Greek inscription in a simple rectangular frame. The Ovadiahs (MPI) published this text without indicating any missing part (and without a photo), but the available photo from the IAA files shows only the right part of the panel being preserved when the photo was taken. The left part must have been destroyed after it was seen by the Ovadiahs.

Meas.: frame: h ca. 80, w (preserved) ca. 120 cm; letters ca. 10 cm (all according to the scale on the IAA photo).

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2313-2316.



fig. 2314

(cross) ΕΠΙΤΟΥΑΓΙΩΤ[ΚΑΙΟΣΙΩΤ]ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ
 ΕΠΙΣΚ[ΚΑΙΤΟΥΘΕΟΣΕΒ]ΠΡΕΣΒ[ΚΑΙΧΩ (branch)
 ΡΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΚΑΛΟΠΟΔΙΟΥ]ΚΑΙΤΟΥ
 ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΠΑΥΛΟΥΠΡΕΣΒ[ΚΑΙΗ
 ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΤΟΕΡΓΟΝΤΟΥΤΟ (branch)
 ΤΗΣΨΗΦΩΣΕΩΣ (cross) (branch)

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτ(άτου) καὶ ὀσιοτ(άτου) Ἀντωνίου | ἐπισκ(όπου) καὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου)
 πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ χω|ρεπισκόπου Καλοποδίου {Σ} καὶ τοῦ | θεοσεβεστάτου Παύλου
 πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡ|γουμένου ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο | τῆς ψηφώσεως

*Under the most holy and most religious bishop Antonius and the most god-fearing
 priest and country bishop Calopodius and the most god-fearing priest and prior
 Paulus this work of the mosaic-paving was made.*

Comm.: Ovadiah, MPI generally does not indicate abbreviation marks in the edition. But since they are used in the part of the inscription documented by the photograph, they have to be assumed for the left part, too.

Cf. no. 2315 for a similar inscription, dated to the same year as no. 2313; the present text is either earlier or later than those two. – l.1f.: A bishop Antonius, presumably this one, is mentioned by Cyr. Scyth., *vita Sabae* 37 (cf. 36; 56). He is bishop in Jerusalem at the synod of 518 (ACO III 79), cf. Fedalto 26f. Di Segni (DGI) believes this to prove that this place belonged to the diocese of Ascalon, since Asor in itself cannot have been sufficiently large to need this office (cf. no. 2313, comm. on l.4f.). For the combination of these adjectives, cf. SEG 45, 1904 (Epiphaneia).

l.2f.: On the office of chorepiskopos, see Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 214ff.; Hübner 62ff. (with lit. in 62 n. 328). Most epigraphical instances of this office are from Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine; Hübner concludes her discussion on p. 64: “Die vollständige Abschaffung des Chorepiskopats ließ sich jedoch anscheinend nicht durchsetzen, denn auch noch für das 5. und 6. Jh. sind weiterhin Chorbischöfe bezeugt. Der Chorbischof wurde jedoch offenbar nicht mehr als eigentlicher Bischof betrachtet ... Ab dem späten 4. Jh. sind Presbyter belegt, die in Personalunion auch das Amt des Chorbischofs innehatten. Das Amt des Chorbischofs wurde demnach offensichtlich von einem Weihegrad zu einer Verwaltungsfunktion, die höheren Klerikern – ähnlich wie beispielsweise die Funktion des *οικονόμος* – übertragen wurde.”

l.3: Καλοποδίου Ovadiah; Καλαποδίου Feissel, Di Segni. The only instance of Calapodius is no. 2315 (the same person as here), where the reading of the ed. pr. cannot be controlled. On Calopodius, cf. IGLS XIII 1, 9121 (Bostra) with further references; Solin 103. The *sigma* at the end is superfluous, but perhaps the mosaicist did not intend a *sigma*, but an equally superfluous abbreviation mark (or was insecure in his grammar).

Bibl.: Ovadiah, MPI 68 no. 93 (ed. pr.). – SEG 37, 1469.2; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 193 no. 964 (ll.3-5), 209 no. 1046 (l.1f.), 216 no. 1075, 242 no. 1216 (ll.3-5); DGI 472ff. no. 136. – Cf. A. Ovadiah, RB 82, 1975, 554f.; G. Fedalto, OCP 49, 1983, 5-41; H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom I*, 2003; S. Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasien*, 2005; Feissel, *Chroniques* 227 no. 725.

Photo: DGI, fig. 176 (from IAA files, original not found).

WA

2315. Mosaic with Greek inscription, 512 AD

Two-line Greek inscription in rectangular frame; above the inscription, a cross with two birds. Today, only the central part of the panel with the cross and the birds above is preserved. However, according to the edition of Ovadiah, MPI, only

the ends of the lines were missing at the time of the publication. This is partly confirmed by the photo, pl. LXXIX,1 ad loc., at the upper margin of which quite a large section of the inscription is recognizable (running left from the central cross). Meas.: h (preserved part including the cross) 105 cm (Cradle of Christianity 220).

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2313-2316.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1957-1347/2.



fig. 2315

(cross) ΕΠΙΤ'ΘΕΟΣΕΒ'ΚΑΙΑΓΙΩΤ'ΗΜΩΝΕΠΙΣΚ'ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥΗΨΗΦΩΣΙΣΕΓΕ'ΝΕΤΟΕΙΧΕΤΟΥ'[-]

(cross) ΕΠΙΤ'ΘΕΟΣΕΒ'ΠΡΕΒ'ΚΑΙΧΩΡΟΕΠΙΣΚ'ΚΑΛΑΠΟΔΙΟΥΚΑΙΕΡΕΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΘΕΟΣΕΒ'ΠΡΕ'[-]

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ἀγιοτ(άτου) ἡμῶν ἐπισκ(όπου) Ἀντωνίου ἡ
ψήφωσις ἐγένετο εἰχ' ἔτου(ς) [-] | ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρε(σ)β(υτέρου) καὶ
χωροεπισκ(όπου) Καλαποδίου καὶ Ἐρενίου τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρε(σ)β(υτέρου) [-]

*Under our most god-fearing and most holy bishop Antonius the mosaic pavement
was made in the year 615 (= 512 AD) ... under the most god-fearing priest and
country bishop Calapodius and under the most god-fearing priest Erenius ...*

Comm.: Ovadiah, MPI generally does not indicate abbreviation marks in the edition. But since they are used in the parts of the inscription documented by photographs, they have to be assumed for the other parts, too.

l.1: ἀγι<ο>τ. Ovadiah, MPI; l.2: πρεβ. om. Meimaris, Sacred Names no. 1076; Καλοποδίου Di Segni (DGI); Ἱερονίου Meimaris, Sacred Names; πρεσ... Meimaris, Sacred Names; πρεσβ. Meimaris, Chron. Systems.

Cf. no. 2314 for the general structure of the inscription and for the offices, no. 2313 for another text from the same year. The very similar no. 2314 has the name of another priest (Paulus). – l.2: a form of the Latin Herennius? The name is known with this spelling in SEG 7, 1224 (el-Ghâriyé, Arabia); 28, 1493 (Terenouthis); 50, 1421 (Sidon).

Bibl.: Ovadiah, MPI 68 no. 93 (ed. pr.). – SEG 37, 1469.3; Meimaris, Sacred Names 193 no. 965 (l.2), 209 no. 1047 (l.1), 216 no. 1076 (l.2); id., Chron. Systems 73 no. 1; DGI 474f. no. 137. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 227 no. 725; Cradle of Christianity 128, 220.

Photo: Cradle of Christianity 128.

WA

2316. Mosaic with cross

Round medallion; inside, a cross; l.1 above the arms, l.2 below the arms (the inscription looks a little bit like a late addition to an already existing design).

Meas.: Ø of medallion 120 cm (Cradle of Christianity 224).

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2313-2316.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1957-1347/10.

IX

A Ω

Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός) | Α Ω

Jesus Christ – Alpha Omega.

Bibl.: Ovadiah, Corpus, 71f. no. 61 (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, MPI 68 no. 93 pl. 78,2; B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky, Cathedra 96, 2000, 89 with ph.; Cradle of Christianity 164 (ph.), 224.

Photo: Cradle of Christianity 164.



fig. 2316

WA

XIV. Hamama

2317. Fragment of a Greek inscription

A single line on a molded stone.

Meas.: h 11, w 22 cm.

Findspot: Hamama.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1276.

[--]+HAPH[--]

Comm.: [--]MAPH[--] Clermont-Ganneau.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 188 no. 73 (ed. pr.). – Dussaud, Louvre 73 no. 92.

Photo: R. Chipault, courtesy of Museum of Louvre.



fig. 2317

WA

XV. Kh. Makkus

2318.-2320. Church with mosaic floors

Gibson - Vitto - Di Segni 1998, 315ff. draw on a letter by V. L. Trumper, honorary secretary of the PEF, now in the archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund: in 1918, an Australian soldier saw the ruins of a Byzantine church at a site called Kh. Makkus (Horvat Mokkes, cf. on the site Dauphin 870 no. 10,173). This place is north-east of Ashkelon, about two miles north-east to Medjel/Majdal, a good 500 m from the railway line. The soldier made drawings of three mosaic inscriptions on the floor of the building; they were sent to the PEF by Trumper, who wrote, inter alia: "I have a photograph of 'B' (i.e. no. 2318), and judging by the accuracy with which that is copied, I should say that all the rest were reliable." The photograph was not found.

2318. Donation for a church in Greek

Mosaic on a church floor, inscription in a medallion.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2318-2320; Di Segni 2003, 274 notes that the inscription belonged to the nave of the church, which is not impossible, even though it is said that the drawing of the soldier shows only the relative position of the inscriptions. But there seems to be no reliable plan of the church.

ΕΚΤΩΝΙΑΙ
ΩΝΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ
ΕΨ[.]ΦΩΣΑΝΤΗΝ
ΠΡΟΣΘΗΚΗΝΤΗΣ
ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΩΛΗΣ
ΚΤΟΥΗΕΡΑ
[.]ΗΟΥ

ἐκ τῶν ἰδί|ων καμάτων | ἐψ[ή]φωσαν
τὴν | προσθήκην τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὧλης |
καί) τοῦ ἡερα|[τ]ήου

They paved with mosaics the addition of the whole church and of the sanctuary from their own labors.

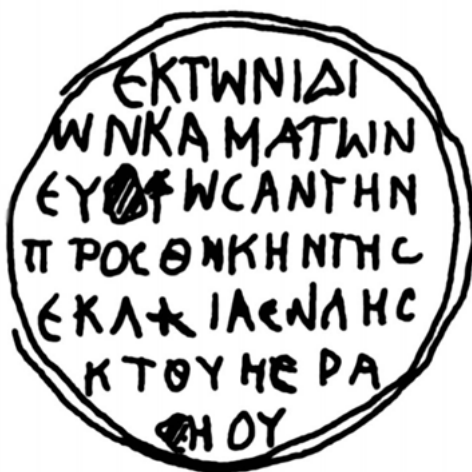


fig. 2318

Comm.: l.1ff.: the subject is missing, and the editors therefore concluded that this text is only the continuation of another one, which would have adorned another medallion; ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καμάτων can simply mean “with their own money” (see Staab 35 n. 5; quoting Merkelbach - Stauber, *Steinepigramme I* 02/09/09, v. 6; I 02/14/02, v. 5). – l.4: on προσθήκη Lampe s.v. 5 (“that part of the church which is additional to the sanctuary”) quotes only CIG 8609 (Waddington 2158 [Shaqqa]), which belongs to a very similar context: οἶκος ἁγίων ... μαρτύρων ... ἐκτίσθη ἐκ θεμελίων τῷ ἱερατεῖον καὶ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ ναοῦ; the editors refer to two other examples: CIIP I 2, 809 (Jerusalem): [ἐπὶ Σι]λουανοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) διακό(νου) κ(αὶ) ἡγουμέ(νου) ἡ παροῦσα | [ψήφω]ς ἐγένετο κ(αὶ) ἡ κόγχη κ(αὶ) ἡ προσθήκη τοῦ ναοῦ μίκους ...; the other inscription from Horvat Hanot was edited by Di Segni 2003 (SEG 53, 1845), who discusses the term p. 273f.: ἐγένετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς προσθήκης τῆς κόνυχης καὶ ζωγραφίας καὶ πλακόσεως τοῦ πέριματος τοῦ ἱερατίου σὺν τοῦ διακον(ικοῦ) ἐκ θεμελίων. SEG 55, 1695 (Tyros): ἐγένετο τόδε τὸ εἰρηαῖον. It seems that this word occurs especially in Palestine (but cf. Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III 58 [Apamea]: πρόσθεσις [τοῦ] νάου); it might mean “nave”, but this is far from certain. Gibson - Vitto - Di Segni conclude that it is best to retain the basic meaning “addition”. Furthermore, they understand τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὥλης as an hypallage, προσθήκην ὅλην τῆς ἐκκλησίας. l.6: ἱερατεῖον “presbytery”, Gibson - Vitto - Di Segni (this sense is not known to Lampe).

Bibl.: S. Gibson - F. Vitto - L. Di Segni, SBF 48, 1998, 326f. figs. 5B, 6B (drs.), 329f. no. B (ed. pr.). – SEG 48, 1889. – Cf. C. Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine*, 1998; Feissel, *Chroniques* 227f. no. 727; L. Di Segni, in: G. Bottini et al. eds., *One Land - Many Cultures*, 2003, 273ff.; BE 2005, 537; G. Staab, ZPE 170, 2009, 35ff.

Photo: S. Gibson - F. Vitto - L. Di Segni, SBF 48, 1998, 327 (dr.).

WA

2319. Donation for a church in Greek, mentioning Leontius

Mosaic pavement.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2318-2320.

[...]ΝΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥΗΕΡ[...]
[...]ΟΝΤΙΣΑΝΤΟΣΔΙ[...]
[...]+ΠΟΥ[...]



fig. 2319

[-- κύριε, πρόσδεξε τὴν προσφορὰ]ν Λεοντίου ἡερ[έως --] φρ]οντίσαντος ΔΙ[--] +ΡΟΥ[--]

Lord, receive the offering of Leontius, the priest ... Di... having been in charge ...

Comm.: The text follows the ed. pr.; l.1: πρόσδεξαι edd.; of course, the whole supplement is speculative; l.3: either ΤΡΟΥ or ΥΡΟΥ. – “Invocation (?) pour le prêtre (?) Leontios”, Feissel. Δι[--] is most probably the beginning of the personal name of the curator.

Bibl.: S. Gibson - F. Vitto - L. Di Segni, SBF 48, 1998, 326f. figs. 5C, 6C (drs.), 333 no. C (ed. pr.). – SEG 48, 1890. – Cf. BE 2005, 537; Feissel, Chroniques 227f. no. 727.

Photo: S. Gibson - F. Vitto - L. Di Segni, SBF 48, 1998, 327 fig. 6 (dr.).

WA

2320. Donation to a church in Greek

Mosaic floor, inscription in a hexagonal medallion; at the upper right side of the hexagon a square with a bird.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2318-2320.

ΕΠΙΤΟΥ
ΟΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΙΩΤΑΤΟΥΗΜΩΝ
[--]++++
[--]



fig. 2320

ἐπὶ τοῦ | ὀσιοτάτου καὶ ἀγιωτάτου ἡμῶν | [ἐπισκ(όπου)]++++[--]

Under our most pious and most holy bishop ...

Comm.: l.1: ENI dr.; l.2f. KAI|KITATOY dr.; for the combination of ἀγιώτατος and ὀσιώτατος, see Meimaris, Sacred Names 209 no. 1046; 210 no. 1053; 1055; 211 no. 1057 (= no. 2542 this vol.); 212 no. 1061. l.4: Gibson - Vitto - Di Segni interpret the traces of the letter-tops in l.4 as ΥΣΙΟΥ: probably [Διον]υσίου. A Dionysios was bishop of Ascalon from 518 to 536 AD.

Bibl.: S. Gibson - F. Vitto - L. Di Segni, SBF 48, 1998, 326f. figs. 5A, 6A (drs.), 327ff. no. A (ed. pr.). – SEG 48, 1888. – Cf. BE 2005, 537; Feissel, Chroniques 227f. no. 727.

Photo: S. Gibson - F. Vitto - L. Di Segni, SBF 48, 1998, 327 fig. 6 (dr.).

WA

XVI. Ascalon

Introduction

Ascalon, Hebrew Ashkelon, is situated about 60 km south of Jaffa and 16 km north of Gaza. It occupies fertile soil and has an abundance of fresh groundwater.¹ The site of Tel Ashkelon was first occupied in the Chalcolithic period and never abandoned for any length of time ever since.²

Called Ashkelon in the Old Testament (Jgs 1,18; 14,9), the town appears as Aškanu in Egyptian texts of the second millennium BC, in execration texts of the nineteenth-eighteenth centuries, in Amarna letters of the mid-fourteenth century and, again, in 1207, on the Israel stele of Merneptah.³ It lies on a sandstone crop and always formed an important way station on the coast road between Syria and Egypt. With its excellent fresh groundwater supply and fertile soil – the latter found particularly east of the ancient site – it was at times very substantial in size and population.⁴ An arc of earthworks, 2 km long, encloses the ancient site, which is relatively large (about 150 a.) as compared with other contemporary cities in the Levant.

From the twelfth century until the end of the seventh it was a Philistine city, one of the five mentioned in the Old Testament.⁵ Its importance as a seaport in the Persian period is indicated by the discovery of a series of warehouses on the site.⁶ Culturally, the city appears to have been most clearly influenced by Phoenicia in this period, although Greek imports are well represented in excavations, notably in a port warehouse.

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- 1 See now L. Stager - J. Schloen - D. Master, *Ashkelon 1. Introduction and Overview* (1985-2006), 2008. For the site: 3-6; the physical environment: ch. 2, 11-5 by F. Koucky; wells: ch. 6, 105-30. See in general, G. Fuks, *A City of Many Seas*, 2001 (Hebr.).
 - 2 A Neolithic site is located ca. 1.5 km north of Tel Ashkelon: J. Perrot, *IEJ* 5, 1955, 270f.; J. Perrot - A. Gopher, *IEJ* 46, 1996, 145-66; Y. Garfinkel, *Neolithic Ashkelon*, in: A. Sasson - Z. Safrai - N. Sagiv eds., *Ashkelon. A City on the Seashore*, 2001, 39-56 (Hebr.); Y. Garfinkel - D. Dag, *NEAEHL* 5, 2008, 1577f.
 - 3 S. Mercer - F. Hallock, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, 1939. Amarna letters 320-326: written to the Court in Egypt by Yidya, ruler of Ascalon. Yidya declares his loyalty and claims to have provided food, strong drink, oil, grain, straw, oxen, goats and glass ingots. 370: Pharaoh to Yidya. 287: 'Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem accuses Ashkelon and Gaza of provisioning Pharaoh's enemies. For the name of the city: Stager (n. 1) 7-10.
 - 4 L. Stager, *NEAEHL* 1, 1993, 103-12; *NEAEHL* 5, 2008, 1578-86; Schürer 2, 105-8; *TIR*, s.v. Ascalon, 68-70; *RE* s.v. Askalon; Sasson et al. (n. 2). See now: Stager - Schloen - Master (n. 1).
 - 5 Jos 13,3,1; Sam 6,4; 6,17; cf. 2 Sam 1,20: "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice." *Eus. On.* 22,15; see also *On.* 166,18: "Philistaea, which is now called Ascalon, and the renowned region of Palestine about it." For inscriptions in Phoenician and other scripts, F. Moore Cross in: Stager - Schloen - Master (n. 1), ch. 17.
 - 6 L. Stager, *NEAEHL* 1, 1993, 108.

The first mention of Ascalon in Greek literature occurs in a fragment from Alcaeus, dating to the end of the seventh century.⁷ The context is clear in general terms, for the poem contains an allusion to military operations by the Babylonian army against Ashkelon in 604 BC.⁸ It was then abandoned for several decades. Another early reference dates to the mid-fifth century. Xanthus the Lydian is cited by Athenaeus as follows: "But Atargatis (as Xanthus the Lydian says), being taken prisoner by Mopsus, king of Lydia, was drowned with her son in the lake near Ascalon, because of her insolence, and was eaten up by fishes."⁹ The least this passage shows, is an awareness of the existence of the town, its association with the cult of Phoenician Atargatis and the connection of this cult with fishes and doves.

Herodotus describes Scythians as marching through Palestine in order to invade Egypt. "From there they marched to Egypt. When they had reached Palaestina-Syria, however, Psammetichus the Egyptian king met them with gifts and prayers, and prevailed on them to advance no further. On their return, passing through Ascalon, a city of Syria, the majority of them moved on without causing any damage; but a few who had stayed behind pillaged the temple of celestial Aphrodite."¹⁰ Having investigated the matter I conclude that the temple in Ascalon is the most ancient of all the temples to this deity; for the one in Cyprus, as the Cypriotes admit themselves, was built in imitation of it; and that in Cythera was established by the Phoenicians who belong to this part of Syria."¹¹ Pausanias, writing in the

7 Alcaeus, M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 3, 1984, no. 556 = E. Lobel - D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, 1955, 1-4.

8 Stern (n. 7) 1, citing the Babylonian Chronicle from D. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 BC) in the British Museum*, 1956, 69: "In the first year of Nebuchadrezzar... he marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislev. He captured its kings and plundered it and carried off [spoil from it...]. He turned the city into a mound and heaps of ruins and then in the month of Sebat he marched back to Babylon."

9 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 8,37: ἡ δὲ γε Ἀταργάτις, ὥσπερ Ξάνθος λέγει ὁ Λυδός (FHG I 38), ὑπὸ Μόψου τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἀλοῦσα κατεποντίσθη μετὰ Ἰχθύος τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀσκάλωνα λίμνῃ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων κατεβρώθη (transl. H. Bohn). Stephanus of Byzantion, ed. Meinecke 131 cites a claim by Xanthos and by Nicolaos that the city was founded by Askalos, a son of Hymenaios, a commander of Akiamos, king of the Lydians.

10 D. Asheri et al., *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*, 2007, 154f. with further references: "Aphrodite Ourania is a Greek interpretation of the local form or variant of the 'dea Syria': Atargatis or Aštart... At Ascalon the goddess was Astarte in the shape of a fish with the head of a woman; fish and doves were sacred to her. Philo, *de providentia* 2,64, tells that doves are sacred and forbidden food in Ascalon." See also below, with nn. 90f.

11 Herodotus 1,105: Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. Καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχος σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντίσας δώροισι τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ πόλιν, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὗρισκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον

second century AD, disagrees with Herodotus and claims that “the first men to establish her cult [sc. of Heavenly Aphrodite] were the Assyrians, after the Assyrians the Paphians of Cyprus and the Phoenicians who live at Ascalon in Palestine; the Phoenicians taught her worship to the people of Cythera.”¹² In any case, the deity represents Phoenician Astart. Another deity attested archaeologically from the fifth century BC and into the Roman period is Tanit.¹³ The nature of the Scythian attack is less clear. Why would there be an independent presence of Scythians in the region? It is conceivable that Herodotus too refers to the events of 604 and that the Scythians he mentions were part of the Babylonian army.

Another relatively early Greek source mentions the town, namely Pseudo-Scylax's *Periplus* of the fourth century. Other cities referred to are Acre, Dor, and Jaffa. The text is in bad shape and has been restored as follows: “Doros (*Dor*), a city of Sidonioi, <Ioppe (*Jaffa*), a city;> they say it was here that Androm<eda> was <ex>posed <to the monster. Aska>lon, a city of Tyrioi and a royal seat. Her<e is the boundary of Koile> (*Hollow*) Syria.”¹⁴ Apparently the source lists the major cities on the Palestinian coast, apart from Gaza. There are four points to note here. First, the fact that the city is included in this list; second the Tyrian aspect, third, the fact that it was a royal seat (still attested in the first centuries BC and AD) and, fourth, the specific statement that Ascalon was the southernmost coastal city of Coele-Syria, which means that Gaza was excluded.¹⁵ Ascalon minted coins in the Persian period.¹⁶

Ascalon was particularly famous at an early stage for its excellent onions, still named after the city even today.¹⁷ These are first mentioned and described by Theophrastus (c. 371-c. 287).¹⁸ A well-known plant from Ascalon, mentioned by

ἱρῶν, ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροις Φοινίκες εἰσι οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἐόντες.

12 Paus. 1,14,7,4: πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἀσσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυπρίων Παφίους καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν· (transl. Jones - Ormerod, Loeb).

13 L. Stager, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 108f.

14 G. Shipley, Pseudo-Scylax's *Periplus*, 2011, 104,3: Δῶρος πόλις Σιδωνίων, κ[αὶ] Ἰόππη πόλις ἔκτε]θῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν τῷ κήτει. Ἀσκά]λων πόλις Τυρίων καὶ βασιλεία. ἐνταῦ[θα ὅρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κοίλης] Συρίας, also: Stern (n. 7) no. 558, comm. pp. 10-2.

15 This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the various meanings of Coele-Syria.

16 H. Gitler – O. Tal, *The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, 2006, 96-113.

17 The terms scallion and shallot derive from Latin “Ascalonia” according to the Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. It is still named “allium Ascalonicum”.

18 Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 7,4,7-9; Strab. 16,2,29 (758): The country of the Ascalonitae excels in onion, but the town is small; Plin. *NH* 19,101-5; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2,78. E. Dvorjetski, *The Economic Activity and Special Agricultural Products of Ashqelon from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Periods*, in: Sasson et al. (n. 2) 119-34 (Hebr.); for the onions: 121-3.

two first-century authors, was the canopica Ascalonia, or Cypros, which served various purposes: for the production of perfume and of henna, and medicinal use. Dioscorides writes: "Cyprus is a tree with leaves on the sprigs like the olive, but broader, softer and greener; the flowers white and mossy with a sweet smell, and the seed black like the fruit of sambucus. The best grows in Ascalon and Canopus."¹⁹ Ascalon was also known for its dates.²⁰ At least one Talmudic source referring to the third century also shows figs were grown there.²¹ As observed above, the soil, particularly east of the ancient site, is remarkably fertile. This is also illustrated by a Talmudic source which says that it "is surrounded by gardens and groves."²²

Like the remainder of Palestine and Phoenicia, Ascalon was ruled by the Ptolemies in the third century BC. It had been destroyed in about 300 BC. It issued a silver coin under Ptolemy IV in 218 BC, showing that it was in Ptolemaic hands at the time.²³

To this period belongs the story, told by Josephus, about Josephus son of Tobias, a Ptolemaic tax-farmer who executed twenty-four leading men of Ascalon and confiscated their property.²⁴ Like the remainder of the region, the city was taken over by the Seleucids under Antiochus III.

The Letter of Aristaeas, 115 (second century BC), praises the harbours of Ascalon, Jaffa, Gaza, and Ptolemais.²⁵ In the case of Jaffa we know from reliable sources that it was a dangerous place for ships. Ascalon's port may not have been very good either, but there are no ancient descriptions of it to give an impression of the quality of the harbour. However, William of Tyre, who visited the town in AD 1153, notes that "the site has a disadvantage in that it offers no harbour or safe anchorage. The shore is very sandy and the sea along the coast is tempestuous by violent winds, so that it is much feared by all except in quiet weather".²⁶ Indeed

19 Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica* 1,95,1: κύπρος δένδρον ἐστὶ φύλλα ἔχον περὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις ἐλαία παραπλήσια, πλατύτερα δὲ καὶ μαλακώτερα καὶ χλωρότερα, ἄνθη λευκά, βοτρυνώδη, εὐώδη, σπέρμα μέλαν, ὅμοιον τῷ τῆς ἀκτῆς. γεννᾶται δὲ ἀρίστη ἐν τῇ Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ Κανώπῃ (transl. Osbaldeston – Wood). Plin. NH 12,109 (Stern [n. 7] vol. 1, 1974, no. 212): *Cypros in Aegypto est arbor, ziziphi foliis, semine coriandri, candido odorato ... Optimum e Canopica in ripis Nili nata, secundum Ascalone Iudaeae, tertium <in> Cypro insula*. Cf. Dvorjetski, (n. 18) 123f.

20 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 3,18; Dvorjetski (n. 18), 124f.

21 JT Moed Qatan iii1d.

22 JT Sheviit vii 36c.

23 <http://www.coin.com/images/dr/svoronos/svc001p166t.html> (viewed 4 March 2014).

24 Jos. AJ 12,181. For discussion, see M. Stern, *Remarks on the Story of Joseph the Son of Tobias*, in: M. Amit - M. Stern eds., *Studies in Jewish History. The Second Temple Period*, 1991, 22-34 (Hebr.); D. Gera, in: A. Kasher - G. Fuks - U. Rappaport eds., *Greece and Rome in Eretz-Israel. Collected Essays*, 1989, 68-84 (Hebr.); Fuks (n.1) 21f.

25 Letter of Aristaeas 115: Ἐχει γὰρ καὶ λιμένας εὐκαίρους χορηγοῦντας, τόν τε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσκαλῶνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Γάζαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίδα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκτισμένην.

26 William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum* 17,22: *Haec autem civitas, situ maris nullam praebente aptitudinem, portum, vel aliquam tutam*

modern exploration suggests that the city had no built-up port in antiquity. Ships will have moored at some distance – concentrations of anchors, presumably lost while the ships were mooring, have been found c. 300-600 m offshore.²⁷ Even so the city prospered for centuries. One should take into account also its siting on the major coast-road from Alexandria to Antiochia²⁸ and good communications inland via the road to Beth Govrin (Eleutheropolis) and Jerusalem.²⁹ This means that the city was involved in trade and catered for the hinterland's products.³⁰

The presence of traders from Ascalon is well attested through inscriptions in various cities in the Hellenistic period: in Athens in the third century BC,³¹ a little later at Demetrias in Thessaly, at Delos, Rhodes and Puteoli.³² Ascalon apparently prospered especially in the second and first centuries BC. It produced at least one highly successful banker, named Philostratus, who appears on 18 inscriptions, including four statue bases between 140/130 and 90 BC, at Delos, where he probably was involved in the slave trade with Italy. He later received citizenship from Neapolis (Napoli), but it is not certain that he moved there as well. He is the only banker attested at Delos from the Near East. The others are of Italian origin. Fourteen other persons, also originating from Ascalon, are mentioned in inscriptions from Delos.³³ A hoard of 46 bronze coins and one diobol was found in excavations at Ascalon in 1988. The coins are from Teos, Samos, Kos, Knidos, Rhodes, Lycia, Side and Tyre; there is also a Ptolemaic issue from Cyprus and a few Seleucid coins. The

navibus non habet vel habuit stationem; sed littus tantum arenosum, et circa id mare, ventis intumescens, fretosum valde, et accedentibus, nisi multa fuerit in mari tranquillitas, nimis suspectum.

- 27 E. Galili - J. Sharvit - U. Dahari, Ashqelon and the Sea in Light of the Underwater and Coastal Archaeological Findings, in: Sasson et al. (n. 1) 11-38 (Hebr., English summary) and see now Stager - Schloen - Master (n. 1) 67-100: underwater surveys. Cf. below, sounding weights nos. 2383-2386, a lead fishing net sinker.
- 28 The Itinerarium Antonini, ed. Cuntz, p. 21 lists the main sites along the coast road (although it avoids Jaffa, taking a course from Caesarea to Diospolis and thence to Iamnia).
- 29 As such it appears in the Itinerarium Antonini, 199,11-200,2 (ed. Cuntz, p. 27).
- 30 For evidence of commerce and trade, see below, no. 2342.
- 31 CIS 1 no. 115 = G. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions, 1903, no.32 = IG II² 8388; cf. 8389-90. For an ephebe from Ascalon in Athens in 100/99 BC: IG II² 1028, l.148.
- 32 Demetrias: M. Snycer, *Semitica* 29, 1979, 45-52; Delos: P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, 1970, 474; for further references: Fuks (n.1) 94; Rhodes: IG XII 118; A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, 1925 nos. 161-162, 175; Puteoli: CIL 10, 1746.
- 33 M. Leiwo, *Athenaeum* 7, 1989, 575-84; also: G. Mancinetti Santamaria, *Filostrato di Ascalon banchiere in Delo et l'Italia*, in: F. Coarelli - D. Musti - H. Solin eds., *Delo et l'Italia*, 1983, 79-89 and ead., *La concessione della cittadinanza a greci e orientali*, in: *Les "Bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.*, 1983, 125-36; E. Deniaux, *Ktema* 6, 1981, 133-41.

time range is from the end of the 5 c. BC to the end of the 2 c. BC. It looks like a purse of a sailor (or a traveller of some other kind) who intended to return to these places.³⁴

During the wars of the Maccabees Ascalon managed to avoid involvement in the fighting. Jonathan the Maccabee marched twice against the city, but on both occasions the citizens managed to appease Jonathan and avoid hostilities.³⁵ In 143 Simon the Maccabee marched against Ascalon and vicinity, but, as far as the report goes, had to divert his attention to Jaffa.³⁶ The city produced silver for the Seleucids in the second century BC, from Antiochus VI until late in the reign of Antiochus VIII Grypus (104/3 BC), when it received autonomy.³⁷ This was the year which the city used for its era well into the Roman and Byzantine periods.³⁸ After receiving autonomy Ascalon continued with issues of the same type of silver as under the Seleucids, but with the legend of the city, until 39/8 BC. The legend Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν ἱερᾶς ἀσύλου on coins,³⁹ sometimes with αὐτο(νόμου) or αὐτονό(μου) added after 104/3 BC, is an expression of the city's claim to some form of formal independence.

Ascalon never was incorporated into the Hasmonaean state, nor was it part of Herod's kingdom, but it was one of the many cities where he financed building projects: baths, sumptuous fountains and colonnades.⁴⁰ Strabo, cited above, asserted that Ascalon was a small town – this may reflect evidence from an earlier period, or it may be a matter of comparison with larger cities, or an error. There appears to have been a kind of special relationship with Cleopatra VII, as her portraits appear on several coins.⁴¹ Its continued special status is confirmed by the Elder Pliny's classification of the city as "free."⁴² This certainly meant that, after Herod's

34 H. Gitler - Y. Kahanov, The Ascalon 1988 hoard (CH 9, 548), in: A. Meadows - U. Wartenberg eds., *Coin Hoards* 9, 2001, 259-68.

35 1 Macc 10,86: When Azotus and towns in the vicinity were set on fire, the citizens of Ascalon ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ ἐν δόξῃ μεγάλῃ. 1 Macc 11,60: ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐδόξως.

36 1 Macc 12,33.

37 The best work for this period is an unpublished dissertation by G. Voulgaridis, *Les ateliers monétaires de Ptolémaïs-Akko et d'Ascalon sous la domination séleucide*, Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg 2000. The pages relevant for the Seleucid silver are 292-341, passim. There is also occasional bronze coinage in the name of the Seleucids, from Antiochus IV to Antiochus VIII (Voulgaridis, 270-338, passim).

38 *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 1 p. 346; cf. A.B. Brett, *AJA* 41, 1937, 452-63; Schürer vol. 2, 106, n. 102.

39 Coins for Antiochus VIII from 113/2 bear the titles "hiera kai asylos" for the first time.

40 Jos. BJ 1,422-5: Ἀσκαλωνίταις δὲ βαλανεῖα καὶ κρήνας πολυτελεῖς, πρὸς δὲ περίστῦλα θαυμαστὰ ... Note that Herod was of Ascalonite ancestry, according to Julius Africanus apud Eusebius, HE 1,6,2-3 and 7,11 and Justin Martyr, Dial. c. Tryph. 5,2.

41 H. Gitler - D. Master, *Israel Numismatic Research* 5, 2010, 67-98, pls. 12-20, is an updated research on the silver coinage of Ascalon after the grant of autonomy.

42 Plin. NH 5,68: *oppidum Ascalo liberum*, a status rare in Pliny's description of this region, but not unusual elsewhere, particularly in his list of peoples in Gaul.

death, like Gaza it was not subject to the authority, first of Archelaus, then of the prefects and procurators(?) of Judaea before the First Revolt. Accordingly it is not mentioned in Josephus' description of the administrative division of Judaea.⁴³ Talmudic sources suggest the presence of a limited number of Jews in Ascalon before and after the First Revolt.⁴⁴

There is a record of fierce hostility between the non-Jews at Ascalon and the Jews.⁴⁵ This is stated emphatically by Philo, when he refers to the actor Apelles: "So then Helicon, scorpion in form of a slave, vented his Egyptian venom on the Jews and so too Apelles with the venom of Ascalon. For that was the place he came from, and the Ascalonites have a truceless and irreconcilable hostility to the Jewish inhabitants of the Holy Land on whose borders they live."⁴⁶

Another topic in Talmudic sources is the location of Ascalon, like that of Ptolemais (Acre), as part of the Land of Israel or situated beyond its borders. It was regarded as situated just beyond the boundaries of the Land of Israel.⁴⁷ According to the sources R. Judah gave the city a complex, dual status: it had the purity of locations within the Land of Israel without the financial impositions attached to such a status. If the city was regarded as beyond the borders of the Land of Israel this would free it from taxes imposed on possessions in Israel, such as tithes, gifts to the priests, and the laws of the sabbatical year. As a form of tax relief this might stimulate the settlement of Jews in the city,⁴⁸ because it would make it possible for

43 Jos. BJ 3,51-8, esp. 54-6.

44 Before the First Revolt: M. Sanhedrin vi 4, for which see below, n. 50. After the revolt: T. Miqvaot vi 3, Rabban Gamaliel and Onqelos the proselyte were in town for reasons unspecified; M. Eduyot viii 2, "R. Yose the Priest and R. Zechariah ben ha-Katzav testified of a young girl who was left as a pledge in Ashkeleon..." The mention of a pledge may suggest that Jews were to some extent involved in trade in Ascalon. See also: M. Ta'anit iii 6. The limited number of Jews there is indicated by JT Hagigah ii 77d, col. 787: "There were two holy men in Ashqelon, who would eat together, drink together, and study Torah together."

45 For pagan cults at Ascalon, see Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 222-32.

46 Philo, *Leg.* 30,205.

47 M. Gittin I 2: "R. Judah says: Rekem and the country east of Rekem count as the east [and outside the Land of Israel]; Ashkelon and the country south of Ashkelon count as the south; and Acre and the country north of Acre count as the north." T.Ahilot xviii 4: "Cities surrounded by the Land of Israel, for example, Susita, and the villages around it, Ashkelon and the villages around it, even though they are free of tithe and of the rule of the sabbatical year, are not subject to the law governing the land of the gentiles." Note that Stephanus of Byzantium, ed. Meinecke, p. 131, refers to Ascalon as a πόλις Συρίας πρὸς τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ.

48 T.Ahilot xviii 18, for flexibility regarding some of the rules regarding cities outside the Land of Israel. A Jew may spend time in an impure environment, such as the basilicas and bath houses and he will be clean in a day, rather than the forty days which it usually takes outside the Land of Israel. Cf. JT Shevi'it vi 36c, cols. 197-98 and JT Yevamot 7,8a, col. 892.

the Jews to compete economically with the non-Jews in the town and its territory. The presence of Jews in town is clearly implied in a number of sources.⁴⁹ There are four synagogue inscriptions from Ascalon (nos. 2321-2324, below). As noted there they were all found at different times in different circumstances, and thus certainly did not come from the same structure. These comprise the sole epigraphic evidence of Jews in the city. The earliest of the literary sources is puzzling and has been extensively discussed: "A man is hanged but a woman is not hanged. R. Eliezer said to them: Did not Simeon ben Shatah hang women in Ascalon? They answered: He hanged eighty women, whereas two ought not to be judged in one day."⁵⁰ Simeon ben Shatah was a leader of the Pharisees in the first half of the first century BC. The passage has been judged as without historical value by some, while others have explained it as possibly referring to a form of witch-hunt.⁵¹

In the First Revolt Ascalon was attacked and burnt by Jewish insurgents.⁵² Next the two-and-a-half thousand Jewish inhabitants of the city were massacred by the local population (as compared with two thousand in Ptolemais).⁵³ Later the Jews twice unsuccessfully attacked the Roman garrison there (Jos. BJ 3,9ff.). Interesting, in connection with the revolt, is inscription no. 2335 (below) which mentions Aulus Instuleius Tenax, a centurion of the Legion X Fretensis.

When Judaea became a regular province governed by a senatorial legate, it certainly included Ascalon, as is clear from its inclusion in the province by Ptolemy in the second century.⁵⁴ Pliny's description of Judaea contains references to the situation after 70 (Caesarea is described as a Flavian *colonia* and Jerusalem as destroyed). We may therefore conclude that his description of Ascalon as a free city within the province of Judaea indicates that it still maintained a form of autonomy under the Roman senatorial governors. In the fourth century the city had the status of Roman colony.⁵⁵ Its titles still show the old "Free" as a matter of local pride, even though as a Roman colony it was not supposed to call itself "libera" at the same

49 JT Hagigah ii 77d col. 787, cited above. M Ta'anit iii 6 reporting on a fast in various towns "because in Ashkelon there appeared blight the extent of an oven's mouth." This indicates that Jews in the Land of Israel would regard it as important if the harvest in Ascalon was affected. Note also T Miqvaot vi 3 mentioning a visit by Rabban Gamaliel and Onqelos the proselyte.

50 M Sanhedrin vi 4. Cf. J. Efron, The Deed of Simeon ben Shatah in Ascalon, in: A. Kasher ed., Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel, 1998, 318-41.

51 No reliable historical evidence: Schürer 1, 230f.; witch-hunt: Efron (n. 50); T. Ilan, A Witch-Hunt in Ashkelon, in: Sasson et al. (n. 2) 135-46.

52 Jos. BJ 2,460.

53 Jos. BJ 2,477.

54 Ptolemy, Geography 5,15,1 (Stern [n. 7] vol. 2, 1980 no. 336a); cf. Y. Hirschfeld, Ashkelon in the Roman-Byzantine Period, in: N. Arbel ed., Ashkelon. 4000 and Forty Years more 1, 1990, 138-65 (Hebr.).

55 A papyrus concerning the sale of a slave in Ascalon: BGU 316 of AD 359: ἐν κολωνίᾳ Ἀσκ[άλωνι] τῇ πιστῇ καὶ ἐλευθέρᾳ. For the date: Schürer 2, 106f. n. 102, 111.

time. Inscriptions from the reign of Commodus mention a “prohedros”, which shows that it did not have the status of a Roman colony at that time (below, nos. 2337; 2338). We also know of an agoranomos (no. 2358). As noted above, there was a royal residence in town already in the fourth century. It was occupied in 49 BC by the widow of Aristobulus, who had been killed by supporters of Pompey.⁵⁶ Salome, Herod’s sister, who maintained close relations with the Empress Livia, received it from Augustus after Herod’s death, besides Iamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis, which she also inherited.⁵⁷

Pomponius Mela, writing about AD 40, knew of Ascalon as a city as big as Gaza which he describes as “immense and very fortified”.⁵⁸

The coinage was quite extensive during the imperial period, from Augustus (4/3 BC) to Maximinus (234/5 AD).⁵⁹

There was at least one battalion, recruited from Ascalon and its territory, the *Cohors I Ascalonitanorum* or *Ascalonitana* attested from the reign of Tiberius until the mid-second century.⁶⁰ This shows that the population of the city and its territory supplied sufficient recruits for the formation of a separate battalion. It may also be the case that the Ascalonitani enjoyed, for a while at least, the privilege of serving together instead of being combined with recruits from other parts such as Sebastenians and Caesareans. At least one soldier from Ascalon is reported to have served in a praetorian cohort: Ἰαμοῦρ Ἀσάμου Σύρος Ἀσκαλωνεΐτης Παλαιστεινή,

56 Jos. AJ 14,123-126; cf. BJ 1,183-6.

57 Jos. AJ 17,321: Καῖσαρ χαρίζεται καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασιλείον οἰκησιν; BJ 2,98; cf. Strab. 15,2,46 (765) = Stern (n. 7) vol. 1, 1974, no. 115.

58 Pomponius Mela 1,11,64: *Ceterum in Palaestina est ingens et munita admodum Gaza ... Est non minor Ascalon...* Stern (n. 7) vol. 1, 1974, 372 no. 152 regards it as doubtful whether Mela refers to contemporary conditions.

59 No comprehensive study exists. For the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, the best reference is A. Burnett - M. Amandry - I. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage I*, 1992 (= RPC I); A. Burnett - M. Amandry - I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage II*, 1999 (= RPC II). For the remainder, see BMC Palestine; H. Yashin, *From Ascalon to Raphia*, 2006 nos. 69-270; M. Rosenberger, *The Rosenberger Israel collection I*, 1972, 43-67.

60 Schürer 2, 107 n. 110; CIL 9, 3664; CIL 16, 35 (diploma of AD 88), 106 (of AD 157) = ILS 9057: *cohors I Ascalonit. sag.*, i.e. it was an infantry unit of bowmen, and CIL 3, 600 = ILS 2724, where it has the title “Felix”. Schürer dates this “probably” to the reign of Hadrian. For a date in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, see now P. Weiß, *Chiron* 36, 2006, 249-98, esp. 294f. Di Segni, in: *Arbel* (n. 54) 77 (Hebr.) claims that Jos. AJ 14,127-130 and BJ 1,187 indicate that the unit existed already in 48/47 BC. Josephus implies no such thing. Di Segni also states that the numeral “I” of the unit proves that there were more units from Ascalon. This too is a fallacy. One should add that Di Segni erroneously calls military diplomas “discharge certificates”. Furthermore: in her rendering of CIL 16, 35 (her nos. 10, 11 and 12 on pp. 77f.) she reads “Ascalonitarum” instead of “Ascalonitanorum”. The former would represent an erroneous ethnic “Ascalonitae” instead of the correct “Ascalonitani”. In no. 13 on p. 78 the ethnic is correct. Note that “Ascalonitae” would not be erroneous in a Greek text. At the end of this introduction we give a list of all the military diplomas that mention the *Cohors Ascalonitanorum*.

but it would be a unique case where a Praetorian does not mention his Roman name. Something may be wrong with the reading.⁶¹ In spite of his posting in Rome, in a Praetorian cohort, the names given in the inscription are entirely Semitic. His brother is called Antoninus.⁶² Another citizen from Ascalon is on record as having served in the Legio II Traiana.⁶³ Two further inscriptions may represent soldiers from the unit.⁶⁴

Excavations have uncovered several public buildings from Roman times. In 1920-21 Garstang excavated what he called a combination of an apsidal bouleuterion and peristyle, but which may have been a small forum with a basilica. It probably dates to the third century and was the site of the discovery of several pieces of sculpture representing Nike, standing on a globe, supported by Atlas; Isis with Horus; a "crouching Aphrodite", Hermes, Pan (twice) and an empress.⁶⁵ A large basilica may date to the same period.⁶⁶ Here it may be noted that at least one Talmudic source mentions the basilicas of Ashkelon as places where wheat was sold.⁶⁷ Three painted tombs, which have been discovered in the thirties, fifties and nineties, also deserve being mentioned. They have been dated on stylistic grounds to the third century.⁶⁸ Two marble coffins, dated to the third century have elaborate reliefs on their sides. One shows the rape of Proserpina, the other a battle between Greeks and Gauls or Greeks and Trojans. To the same period or a little later belong

61 He is said to have served in the 8th praetorian cohort: CIG 6416 = IG 14, 1661 = IGR 1, 266 = IGUR 590 (Schürer 2, 108 n. 114): Ἰαμοῦρ Ἀσάμου Σύρος Ἀσκαλωνεΐτης Παλαιστεινή, ἀδελφὸς Ἀντωνεΐνου.

62 Di Segni, in: Arbel (n. 54) 86 suggests that the brother Antoninus may have been "a more veteran soldier and perhaps already a Roman citizen". That is a speculation, for the inscription does not say that Antoninus was a military man, or that he was a citizen.

63 AE 1969-70, 633 of AD 157: *T. Flavius Maximus Ascalo(ne)*. Di Segni, in: Arbel (n. 54) 87, suggests that an ancestor would have been given the citizenship by Titus at the time of the First Revolt. In fact he may have received the citizenship from any Flavian Emperor between 69 and 96.

64 CIL 9, 3664 = AE 2008, 454 is a problematic text, but it seems quite likely that it contains a reference to the cohort. Another inscription mentions a soldier who almost certainly served in this unit, CIL 13, 6409 from Heidelberg: [-] | *M(arco) Mario | Apollinar[i] | domo Hascalo[ne] |* [-].

65 J. Iliffe, QDAP 2, 1933, 11-4; 110-2; id., QDAP 3, 1934, 165f., for the sculpture; QDAP 5, 1936, 61-68, for bronze figurines.

66 M. Fischer - A. Krug - Z. Pearl, The basilica of Ascalon, in: J. Humphrey ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, 1995, 121-50. See also below for this cult.

67 T. Ahilol xviii 18: "R. Pinhas b. Ya'ir ... said ... They sell wheat in their basilicas and they bathe and [forthwith] eat their Passovers in the evening."

68 J. Ory, QDAP 8, 1939, 38-44; E. Kogan-Zehavy, *Atiqot* 37, 1999, 181-209 (Hebr.), E.S. 179*-81*; T. Michaeli, *The Wall Paintings of the Migdal Ashqelon Tomb*, *Atiqot* 37, 1999, 211-23 (Hebr.) E.S. 181*-3*; ead., *Painted Tombs in Ascalon*, in: Sasson et al. (n. 2) 175-202 (Hebr.); ead., *Visual Representations of the Afterlife*, 2009, 36ff.

lead coffins.⁶⁹ From the reign of Commodus stems a building with numerous columns.⁷⁰

Its prosperity was long-lasting. As noted above, it is well attested for the Hellenistic period, particularly the second and first centuries BC. However, it continued. A papyrus shows that in AD 149 merchants from the Fayum obtained a large loan (about 8 Talents) in Ascalon, presumably for commerce between Ascalon and Alexandria.⁷¹ Note also Comisius Memor, below, no. 2342. The inscription shows that there must have been a collegium of *navicularii* in the early third century at the latest. The collegium may have carried out instructions from the state.⁷² Between 317 and 324 Theophanes passed through Ascalon twice on his way to Antiochia and back. On his way north he purchased an imperial gilded statue to dedicate “[... in the] foreco[urt] at the temple”,⁷³ and bought tickets for the theater and odeion, presumably to see performances there. The least this shows is that there were a theater and an odeion, the remains of which have not been found, as yet.⁷⁴ On his way back Theophanes enjoyed a fine dinner in the city.⁷⁵ Theophanes also records the purchase of a large number of items, some of them produced locally, as known from other sources, namely fine loaves, grapes, fresh figs, peaches, apples, leeks, plums, wine, fish sauce, vinegar, gourds, *kemia*, eggs, and *exatilia*.⁷⁶ In the fourth century Gaza and Ascalon are described as “distinguished cities full of commercial activity and having everything in abundance. They export an excellent wine all over Syria and Egypt.”⁷⁷ In the same period Ammianus mentions Ascalon as one of a number of “splendid cities, none of which yields to any of the others, but they rival one another, as it were, by plumb line”, the others being Caesarea, Eleutheropolis, Ne-

69 M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 4, 1934-35, 87-99, 138-53 at 148f.; id., Atiqot 11, 1976, 72-6; L. Rahmani, IEJ 37, 1987, 123-46; a sarcophagus from Ascalon: 134f., 142: local workshop, probably mid-third century.

70 Mentioned above. See R. Boehm – W. Eck, ZPE 183, 2012, 179ff. and below, nos. 2337, 2338.

71 L. Casson, New Light on Maritime Loans. P. Vindob. G 19792 (= SB V 9571), in: R. Baginall – W. Harris eds., Studies in Roman Law in Memory of Arthur Schiller, 1986, 11-7.

72 For Ascalon and the wine trade: W. Eck – B. Zissu, SCI 20, 2001, 89-96 at 93-6.

73 P. Ryland 627, verso i, 214-220. Cf. J. Matthews, The Journey of Theophanes, 2006, 51, 53, 60f. M. Schwabe, EI 3, 1953, 181-5 (Hebr.), missed the point here when he argued that Theophanes bought a souvenir. Cf. H. Cotton – W. Cockle – F. Millar, JRS 85, 1995, 214-35 at 219 no. 10.

74 As observed by C. Roberts, Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester 4, 1952, 123.

75 P. Ryl. 630, 412-35; cf. Matthews (n. 73) 127 and 135, for the costs of the meal.

76 P. Ryl. 630*, 411-35; cf. Mathews (n. 73) 127, 135.

77 Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium, ed. Rougé 29: *Ascalon et Gaza, civitates eminentes et in negotio bullientes et abundantes omnibus, mittunt omni [negotio] Syriae et Aegypti vinum optimum.*

apolis, and Gaza, (both) “built in a former age”.⁷⁸ In the fifth century Marcus Diaconus, in his *Life of Porphyry* (c. 347-420) notes that he travelled from Jerusalem to Thessaloniki boarding his ship in the port of Ascalon and returning via the same city.⁷⁹ In the reign of Justinian the president of the *boule* of the city, Anatolius, was sufficiently wealthy for the Emperor personally to become involved in the division of his property after his death, and again after the death of his granddaughter.⁸⁰

Culturally Ascalon was through the ages far from negligible as emphasized in a number of articles and a recent book by J. Geiger.⁸¹ Particularly in the first centuries BC and AD the names of an impressive variety of significant persons are known: the philosophers of the late Academy, Antiochus and his brother Aristus, who was an acquaintance of Brutus;⁸² another philosopher named Sosius; the Stoics Antibiis and Eubius; a grammarian Dorotheus; a grammarian and historian Ptolemy,⁸³ and historians Apollonius and Artemidorus.⁸⁴ One should also mention Euenus, a poet of the first century BC.⁸⁵ For the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period we may note Ulpian the Sophist, Zosimus, and Eutocius, the mathematician.⁸⁶ A learned architect and writer on metrology, local law, and customs in the fifth century was Julian of Ascalon.⁸⁷ At another level, it is known that there were games held in the third century.⁸⁸ The city was especially known for its good wrestlers.⁸⁹

The cults at Ascalon were marked by some Egyptian influence and by Phoenician and Syrian elements.⁹⁰ The chief deity was Phoenician Astarte,⁹¹ also named the “ce-

78 Ammianus 14,8,11-12 (Stern [n. 7] vol. 2, 1980, no. 505): ... *et civitates habens quasdam egregias, nullam nulli cedentem, sed sibi vicissim velut ad perpediculum aemulas ... itidemque Ascalonem Gazam, aevo superiore extructas.*

79 Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii* 6.

80 Procopius, *Anecdota*, 29,17-25. A fourth-century president is mentioned in the *Suda* E3770 because he gave asylum to a Thracian soldier who had stolen the funds of his unit.

81 J. Geiger, *The Tents of Japheth. Greek Intellectuals in Ancient Palestine*, 2012 (Hebr.).

82 Strab. 16,2,29 (758), Stern (n. 7) vol.1, 1974, no. 114: “Antiochus the philosopher, who was born a little before my time, was a native of this place.” For Antiochus, see J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the late Academy*, 1978. For the brother Aristus: Glucker 25f.

83 J. Geiger, *SCI* 31, 2012, 185-90. Geiger dates Ptolemy to the reign of Augustus or Tiberius.

84 Id., *Greek Intellectuals from Ascalon*, *Cathedra* 60, 1991, 5-16 (Hebr.).

85 Id., *Euenus of Ascalon*, *SCI* 11, 1991/92, 114-22.

86 Id., *Cathedra* 60, 1991, 5-16 (Hebr.).

87 Id., *Julian of Ascalon*, *JHS* 112, 1992, 31-43.

88 Schürer 2, 107 n. 111 refers to IGR 3,1012, l.19 = L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, 1943 no. 85, recording a boxer who was victorious at Ascalon. As observed by Fuks (n. 1) 62, this shows that there must have been a building in town appropriate for such contests.

89 *Expositio Totius Mundi* 32: *Ascalon athletas luctatores (sc. habet).*

90 E. Friedheim, *The Pagan Cults of Ascalon during the Roman Period*, in: Sasson et al. (n. 2) 147-74 (Hebr.).

91 See W. Röllig, *Astarte. Dictionnaire de la civilization phénicienne e punique*, 1992, 46ff.

lestial Aphrodite”, whose temple is mentioned by Herodotus (above) and by Xanthus the Lydian. The Ascalonian banker on Delos dedicated an altar to the deity “Astarte the Palestinian Aphrodite” in honor of his city, himself, his wife and children.⁹² Next to be mentioned is Atargatis-Derketo, as recorded by Diodorus: “Now there is in Syria a city known as Ascalon, and not far from it a large and deep lake, full of fish. On its shore is a precinct of a famous goddess whom the Syrians call Derceto and this goddess has the head of a woman but all the rest of her body is that of a fish.”⁹³ Whatever this lake may represent – we have seen that it was mentioned already by Xanthus the Lydian. As in many other cities in the Hellenistic period, Tyche was a deity of central importance,⁹⁴ apparently identified also with Atargatis/Derketo.⁹⁵ The cult of Phoenician Tanit has already been mentioned. Furthermore attested is Heracles (Phoenician Melkart),⁹⁶ and a problematic deity “Phanebolos”.⁹⁷ Among Egyptian deities, the worship of Isis is well documented in Ashkelon.⁹⁸ Osiris is represented on coins. Another Egyptian god worshipped in Ascalon was Horus.⁹⁹ Serapis has been mentioned. The regular Graeco-Roman pantheon was well represented.

Christianity did not arrive in Ascalon at a particularly early stage. The first bishop of Ascalon, Longinus, is attested for 321 and 325. Sozomen (c. 400-c. 450) reports that his grandfather, born in a village near Gaza, was one of the early converts to Christianity there, and much respected in Gaza and Ascalon.¹⁰⁰ In the reign of Julian “presbyters and virgins” were killed and maimed in Ascalon and Gaza.¹⁰¹ In the Byzantine period Ascalon joined the group of sites to be visited by Christian pilgrims, for it boasted wells dug by Abraham the Patriarch.¹⁰² Later in the sixth century the Piacenza pilgrim gives a description of a well frequented by pilgrims.¹⁰³

92 Inscriptions de Délos 1719: Ἀστάρτη Παλαιστινῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. See also *ibid.* 2305.

93 Diodorus 2,4,2-6 with comments and explanations. For the cult of Atargatis-Derketo, see also Fischer - Krug – Pearl (n. 66) 146.

94 *Ibid.*

95 F. Cumont, *Dea Syria*, RE 8, 2236f.; Brill’s New Pauly, s.v. Syria Dea. In Talmudic sources Ascalon is included among the location of temples of idol-worship: BT ‘Avodah Zarah 11b mentions a temple of “Zerifa” (Serapis?).

96 A. Bernard, *Le delta égyptien d’après les textes grecs I*, 1970, 242-4 no.14; cf. Fuks (n. 1) 102f. Marcus Aurelius Maximus from Ascalon makes a dedication in Canopus in the name of Heracles Belus. Cf. Fuks (n. 1) 102-4.

97 He is represented on coins. Fuks (n. 1) 105-10.

98 P. Oxy 1380, XI, col.V, l.96, an invocation of Isis of the early second century AD. See above for the sculpture of Isis and Horus.

99 R. Palistrant-Shaick, Who is standing above the Lions in Ascalon?, *Israel Numismatic Research* 7, 2012, 127-46.

100 Sozomenus, HE 5,15.

101 According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, 546 (Dindorf); Theodoret 182,10. Ambrosius, Ep. 40,15 (CSEL 82,3, p. 63) has a dubious report about Jews burning churches at this time.

102 Origen, *Contra Celsum* 4,44; Eus. On. 168,1-3.

103 Anonymus Placentinus, *Itinerarium* 33 (ca. 570 AD): *Ibi est puteus pacis in latitudine maior, in modum theatri factus, in quo usque ad aquam per gradudus descenditur.*

"Then we came into Ascalon where is the Well of the Peace. It is built like a theater, in which one goes down by steps to the water. It is the resting-place of three brothers martyrs. Each of them had a name of his own, but they are usually called 'the Egyptians'." The text continues: "A mile away is the city of Sarafia, and nearby is the city Maiuma of Ascalon."¹⁰⁴ A Talmudic source refers to "five appointed Temples of idol-worship", one of them being "Zerifa which is in Askelon."¹⁰⁵ Neither the site of Maiuma, not that of Sarafia/Zerifa have been identified with any certainty.

Ascalon was represented through its bishops at the councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), Chalcedon (451), and Jerusalem (518 and 536).

The city is included on the seventh-century lists of cities of Palaestina I.¹⁰⁶ On the Madaba map of the sixth century only a fragment of the depiction of the city has been preserved. What exists shows a city wall and a gate, a broad square surrounded by porticoes, a smaller portico and a rectangular pool. Several other colonnaded streets are visible.¹⁰⁷ John Moschus mentions a "Hospice of the Fathers".¹⁰⁸ A text after the Islamic conquest, Epiphanius Monachus, mentions a tomb of Cosmas and Damian at Ascalon: "... and to the west, about a day's journey, is the fort of Ascalon, where the holy Anargyroi Kosmas and Damianos are buried".¹⁰⁹ At the time of the conquest, a church of St. Mary al Khidr was destroyed.¹¹⁰

A bathhouse (see below, no. 2396), built in the fourth century on the site of the early settlement was replaced in the sixth century by a monumental apsidal building. Within the area of the ancient city remains of three churches have been discovered so far.¹¹¹

104 Loc. cit: *Miliario a civitate Sarafia est civitas Mazom Ascalonites*. Cf. B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 227-64; Y. Hirschfeld, in: Arbel (n. 54) 138-65 (Hebr.), at 153-5; E. Dvorjetski, The Maiumas Festivals at Ashqelon During the Roman-Byzantine Period, in: Sasson et al. (n. 2) 99-118 (Hebr.); TIR, p.175 s.v. Maiumas Ascalonitis.

105 BT 'Avodah Zarah 11b.

106 Hierocles, Synecdemos 719,9 (ed. Honigmann, p. 42); Georgius Cyprius 1008.

107 The city is depicted also on mosaics at the eighth-century churches at Ma'in and Umm al-Rasas; for Ma'in, see R. De Vaux, RB 47, 1938, 227-58; M. Piccirillo, SBF 35, 1985, 339-64. For Umm al-Rasas, cf. M. Piccirillo - E. Alliata et al., Umm al-Rasas, Mayfa'ah I, 1994, 184f., 223 pl. xxi, 255.

108 John Moschus, Pratum spirituale 189. Moschus 180 also mentions "the most holy church at Ascalon".

109 Epiphanius Monachus apud H. Donner, ZDPV 87, 1971, 42-91; text: 66-82, translation: 82-91. Ascalon is mentioned on p. 72: καὶ δυσικὸν αὐτ(ῶν)· ὡς ἡμεροῦσιον διάστημα, ἔστι τὸ κάστρον ἀσκάλων· ἐνθα κεῖνται οἱ ἅγιοι ἀνάργυροι, κοσμάς καὶ δαμιανός.

110 For a church recently excavated near the eastern wall of the city, see V. Tzaferis - L. Stager, The Church by the Jerusalem Gate, fifth-century AD, in: Stager - Schloen - Master (n.1), ch. 21.

111 One in the southern part of the city: J. Garstang, PEQ 53, 1921, 74; for the second, see above, n. 109; the third, in the northern part of the city, is mentioned by Conder - Kitchener SWP 3 Judaea 240.

Evidence of flourishing trade is the discovery of 130 different types of transport amphorae from all over the Mediterranean besides a great variety of other forms of imported pottery.¹¹² The text praising Ascalonian wine has been cited above. It is now known that wine production at Ascalon goes far back. Excavations have uncovered a monumental Philistine winery, probably established by the last of the Philistine rulers of the city, king Aga, in the seventh century BC.¹¹³ Local wine from Gaza and Ascalon also was exported widely, from the mid-fourth century AD onward, and particularly in the fifth and sixth centuries, as indicated by texts, papyri and numerous jars¹¹⁴ manufactured locally and discovered in sites as far as London, Trier, and the Crimea.¹¹⁵ As shown by Mayerson, the so called 'askalonia' and 'gazitia' storage jars contained not only wine, but a variety of products, such as cheese, fish, fish sauce (*garum*) and beans.¹¹⁶ The wine was also used widely for medicinal purposes from the fourth century onward and until the seventh century at least.¹¹⁷ It has been noted that it is wine from Ascalon rather than any other Palestinian city, including Gaza, that was recommended because it was light and had an agreeable taste.¹¹⁸ Along the road from Ascalon to Jaffa, near the third milestation, a site has been excavated which functioned from the fourth until the seventh century as a winery, an oil-production centre as well as one for fish breeding. Large wine presses were uncovered there, oil presses, and sweet-water fish breeding pools.¹¹⁹

The remains of three churches have been discovered at Ashkelon Barnea north of the site of Ashkelon, and the remains of a synagogue there date to this period

112 Cf. Dvorjetski (n. 18); and see: Stager - Schloen - Master (n. 1), ch. 23: Amphoras.

113 L. Stager, NEAHL 5, 2008, 1585.

114 As Stephanus of Byzantion, ed. Meinecke, p.132, calls them: Ἀσκαλωναῖα κεράμια. According to reports, one of the workshops that produced these jars has been found south of the city: see Y. Hirschfeld, in: Arbel (n. 54) 140f. and n. 23 (Hebr.). For Ascalon and the wine trade: Eck - Zissu (n. 72).

115 See above, the evidence concerning the wine from the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, ed. Rougé 29 and cf. P. Mayerson, IEJ 62, 1992, 76-80; reprinted in id., *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens*, 1994, 347-55. See also: id., BASOR 257, 1985, 75-80, reprinted in id., op.cit., 250-55. See also Stager - Schloen - Master (n. 1), ch. 25, where Mayerson's articles, originally published in IEJ, are reprinted. For the jars: S. Oked, "Gaza Jar", a Chronicle and Economic Overview, in: Sasson et al. (n. 2) 227-50 (Hebr.), concluding that the use of the jars reached its peak in the late fifth to the sixth century when they were found all over the ancient world.

116 P. Mayerson, IEJ 43, 1993, 79f. = *Monks, Martyrs ...* (n. 115) 350f.

117 P. Mayerson, IEJ 43, 1993, 169-73 = *Monks, Martyrs ...* (n. 115) 367-71.

118 Ibid. 172f. = 370f.

119 Y. Israel, *The Economy of the Gaza-Ashkelon Region in the Byzantine Period in Light of the Archaeological Survey and Excavations of the "Third Mile Estate" near Ashkelon*, in: Sasson et al. (n. 2) 212-26 (Hebr.).

as well.¹²⁰ Consequently this is one of the sites proposed for identification with Maiuma of Ascalon, which had its own bishop.¹²¹

BI

Appendix

The Cohors Ascalonitanorum appears in the following military diplomas:

AE 1900, 27 = *ibid.* 58 = CIL 3, p. 2328,71 = ILS 9057 = CIL 16, 106 = AE 1972, 669 = *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones extra fines Daciae repertae Graecae et Latinae* 2, 2000, 349

AE 1927, 44 = AE 1928, ad 155 = AE 1933, ad 1 = CIL 16, 35 = AE 1959, 90

AE 1939, 126 = AE 1959, 252

AE 2001, 2153 = Chiron 36, 2006, 237ff. no. 8 = AE 2006, 1849 = Roman Military Diplomas 5, 2006, 371

AE 2002, 1747 = Chiron 36, 2006, 233ff. no. 6 = AE 2006, 1847 = Roman Military Diplomas 5, 2006, 372

AE 2002, 1748 = Chiron 36, 2006, 236f. no. 7 = AE 2006, 1848 = Roman Military Diplomas 5, 2006, 388

AE 2005, 1736 = Chiron 36, 2006, 240f. no. 9 = AE 2006, 1850

AE 2006, 1838

AE 2006, 1839

AE 2006, 1841

AE 2006, 1852

Chiron 36, 2006, 221-30 no. 4 = AE 2006, 1845

Chiron 36, 2006, 230-3 no. 5 = AE 2006, 1846

Chiron 36, 2006, 242f. no. 10 = AE 2006, 1851

ZPE 165, 2008, 219-26 = AE 2008, 1753

120 For the site: B. Bagatti (n. 104); see also: Ovadiah, *Corpus*, no. 10; A. Ovadiah - C. de Silva, *Levant* 14, 1982, 123, 134 no. 2. For the remains of a synagogue: M. Avi-Yonah, *Atiqot* 11, 1976, 72-6; *Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund* 3, 1961, 61.

121 Hirschfeld (n. 54), 153 (Hebr.).

Inscriptions

A. Res sacrae

2321.-2324. Inscriptions from synagogues in Ascalon

Four inscriptions, two in Greek, one in Aramaic and one in Hebrew, have been attributed to synagogues in and around Ascalon. They were all found at different times in different circumstances, and thus certainly did not come from the same structure. These comprise the sole epigraphic evidence of Jews in the city.

2321. Greek inscribed synagogue chancel screen, 605-6 CE

Two fragments from a polished marble chancel screen, with two-line Greek inscriptions carved in relief on each side. The fragments have a groove along their bottom edge, for fitting into the screen. The two rows of letters on each face are separated by a thick carved margin line. The preserved text is not complete; the missing part between the two surviving pieces had perhaps 10-12 letters. The text is presented below in the order in which it was supposed to be read. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar; square *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*, trace of classical *omega* in l.3a; *omicron-epsilon* in ligature, and also without (l.2b); *upsilon* with regular stem (l.1a etc.) and also no stem (l.2b); *kappa* with abbreviation sign for *χαλ*.

A third decorated fragment of similar size from the same screen, without writing, has grooves on top and bottom edges, and shows on each side a seven-branched menorah, shofar, lulav, ethrog and rosettes.

Meas.: Both fragments: h 18.5, d 9 cm; fragment A: w 43 cm; fragment B: w 56 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: See comm.

Pres. loc.: German Protestant Institute, Jerusalem (Fr. B). Autopsy: 4 November 2009; Fr. A was not located.

(1a) Fr. A, side 1, top line:

ΘΒΚΥΡΑΔΟΜΝΑΙΟΥ[--]

(1b) Fr. B, side 1, top line: [--]

ΡΜΑΡΙΝΟΝΝΟΥΕΥΧΑΡ[--]

(2a) Fr. B, side 2, top line:

ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΩΜΕΝΚΥΡ[--]

(2b) Fr. A, side 2, top line: [--]

ΓΟΝΙΝΕΛΙΚΙΟΥ[--]

(3a) Fr. A, side 1, bottom line: ΤΩΘΩΚΤΩΑΓΩ[--]

(3b) Fr. B, side 1, bottom line: ΑΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΕΡΚΥΡΚΟΜ[--]

(4a) Fr. B, side 2, bottom line: ΕΓΚΑΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΕΡ

(4b) Fr. A, side 2, bottom line: ΖΩΗΝΕΤΟΥΣΘΨ



fig. 2321.1 (1a and 3a)



fig. 2321.2 (1b and 3b)



fig. 2321.3 (2a and 4a)



fig. 2321.4 (2b and 4b)

θ(εὸς) β(οή)θ(ει). Κύρα Δόμνα Ἰου[-- καὶ κύρ(ος) Μάρι Νόννου εὐχαρ[ιστοῦ]ντες]
προσφέρωμεν. Κύρ[ος -- ἐγ]γόνιν Ἑλικίου | τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγ(ί)ῳ [τόπῳ προσήνεγκ]
α ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίας). Κύρ(ος/α) Κομ[-- π|ροσῆν]εγκα ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίας) [--] ζοήν. ἔτους θψ

God, help! We, Cyra Domna (daughter) of Iu... and Cyrus Mari (son) of Nonnus, in gratitude make a donation. I, Cyrus ... grandson of Helicias, have made a donation

to God and the holy place, for (my) salvation. I, Cyrus/Cyra Com..., have made a donation for (my) salvation: Life. Year 709.

Comm.: Dalman first published these two inscribed stones with the decorated third one after the German Protestant Institute in Jerusalem bought them from men who claimed to have found them in a tomb near Ascalon. The inscribed slabs reportedly had served as the lintel to the door of the tomb, the decorated one as a doorpost. As Sukenik points out, all three stones clearly belonged to the same object, probably a chancel screen, from a structure which is generally assumed to have been a Jewish synagogue in or near Ascalon. Dalman's suspicion of forgery, based on a mistaken restoration of the text, has not gained wide acceptance. There is no reason to connect this inscription with the other synagogue inscriptions from Ascalon (nos. 2322, 2323 and 2324). The whole screen would have been impressive: it was made of expensive marble, the inscriptions and lavish artistic decoration were expertly made. It would have been set up in a prominent place in the synagogue, certainly for the public display of the donors' benefactions, but with questionable practical purpose; most scholars believe that women and men were not separated in ancient synagogues (see Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 475ff.; T. Ilan, CHJ IV 637f.; contra, Horbury, CHJ III 385-8), and such screens, which have been found in other synagogues in Palestine, may have been adopted in imitation of Christian churches, where clergy and laity were separated (Habas; Foerster 1989; Levine 317f.); it might have served as symbolic separation of the Torah shrine. The donors most likely dedicated the screen itself; Klein thought the dedication was for a Torah shrine.

Dalman's restoration in ed. pr. and copy in AE 1904 is very different from the one offered here and from that of most subsequent editors: $\theta(\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon)\beta(\eta\varsigma) \kappa\upsilon\rho\alpha \Delta\omicron\mu\nu\alpha \text{ } \text{I}\omicron\upsilon[\lambda\iota\alpha \kappa\upsilon\rho(\text{I}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma) \text{ } \text{M}\alpha\rho\iota(\text{N}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma) \text{ } \text{N}\omicron\upsilon\text{N}\omicron\upsilon \text{ } \epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho[\text{I}\sigma\tau\omega\nu] \text{ } | \text{ } \tau\omega \theta(\epsilon)\omega \kappa(\alpha\iota) \text{ } \tau\omega \alpha\gamma(\text{I}\omega) \text{ } [\text{H}\lambda\iota]\alpha \text{ } \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho \text{ } \sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\rho(\text{I}\alpha\varsigma) \text{ } \kappa\upsilon\rho(\text{I}\omega) \text{ } \text{K}\omicron\mu[\mu\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon] \text{ } | \text{ } \text{π}\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\nu \text{ } \kappa\upsilon\rho[\text{I}\omega \text{ } \text{A}\nu]\text{ } \tau\omicron\nu\text{I}\nu[\omega] \text{ } \text{E}\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\upsilon \text{ } | \text{ } \epsilon\gamma\kappa(\omega\mu\iota)\alpha \text{ } \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho \text{ } \sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\rho[\text{I}\alpha\varsigma] \text{ } \zeta\omicron\eta\nu \text{ } \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \text{ } \theta\psi$ (sic, without accents).

(1a) $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota/\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is a common formula found in both Jewish and Christian inscriptions within and outside Iudaea/Palaestina, cf. e.g. CIIP I 842; II 1177, 1179, 1339, 1342, 1682, 2143 (none in a definitely Jewish context), Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 109; and e.g. in Jewish inscriptions in the Diaspora, see Ameling, IJO II 14; Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr 38, 41, 75; JIGRE 17, 18. The formula $\text{K}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$ is even more common. Other editors have parsed $\theta(\epsilon\acute{\omega}) \beta(\omicron\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\text{N}\tau\iota)$ (Clermont-Ganneau, Klein), which is possible.

Cyra and Cyrus here are honorary titles (= $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and obviously not names, as at Beth She'arim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II 39, 57, 66, 70, 130, 151, 165, 191, 219; cf. JIGRE 15; Noy, IJO I, Ach 52); cf. comm. ad no. 2227.

The Latin name Domna is attested for Jews in Late Antiquity, CIJ 2, 1169 (Neapolis); Ameling, IJO II 174 ($\Delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\eta$); cf. $\Delta\omicron\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ and $\Delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\omicron\varsigma$ at Rome, Noy, JIWE II 527, 435, 540. Most editors have repeated Clermont-Ganneau's restoration $\text{I}\omicron\upsilon[\lambda\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon]$, but the possibilities are too numerous for such a determination.

(1b) Lifshitz suggested the haplography Μάρι(ν) Νόννου, but this is not necessary, since Mari is a well-attested version of the Aramaic name Mara, see J. Porath, *Atiqot* 37, 1999, 50f. and CIIP I 241, comm.; Ilan, *Lexicon* I 422f., III 676 and especially IV 378-81. Hüttenmeister - Reeg's suggestion of a "Verschreibung" for Μάρινος Νόννου is not likely. Μάρις is recorded in no. 2243 this volume. Νόννος, a common name, is attested for Jews in the Jaffa necropolis, see nos. 2181 and 2188 + comm. this vol., and outside Palestine, Ilan, *Lexicon* III 344f. On the formulaic εὐχαριστῶν/-οῦντες, see Robert, *Hellenica* X 55-62; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 150f.

(2a) προσφέρωμεν is formally a subjunctive, but surely indicative is meant; for ο>ω cf. Gignac I 275ff.

(2b) On ἐκγόνιν, see no. 2240, comm. Ἐλικίου, genit. of Ἐλικίας, could be the biblical name חִלְקִיָּה *hlqyh*, which Josephus renders Ἐλιακίας (AJ 10,55, etc.; LXX: Χελκίας). If so, this is the only Semitic name in the preserved portion of the inscription.

(3a) After ΑΓ there are traces of what looks like a classical Ω, although the inscriber has been using the angular W throughout, in fact in the letter just before ΑΓ, but note a similar inconsistency in the *upsilon*, and in ligatured vs. separated *omicron-epsilon*. ΑΓ or ΑΓΩ is an abbreviation of ἀγίω, which was presumably followed by τόπω. Synagogues in Iudaea/Palaestina are often referred to as a "holy place", nos. 2460 and 2468 this volume; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 10, 17; Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 16, 26, 60, 64, 65; the expression was used also for synagogues in the Diaspora, see Ameling, *IJO* II 20, with useful commentary listing other Diaspora instances and discussing the terms for holiness. In general on the holiness of synagogues, see S. Fine, *This Holy Place*, 1997 and id., *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World*, 2005, 206-9, arguing that the "holiness" derived from the presence of Torah scrolls and Temple imagery; Levine is less certain, dubbing an answer to the question "elusive", but pointing out as well that the "holy" status afforded synagogues legal protection.

(2b)-(3b) If the conjecture [εὐχαριστῶν] is correct, then εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θε(ε)ῷ καί τῷ ἁγ(ι)ῷ τόπῳ προσήνεγκα can mean that he was grateful to God and the holy place, or that he made a donation to God and the holy place, or (despite the καί) that in gratitude to God he made a donation to the holy place; this third possibility makes the most sense but is least suitable grammatically.

(3b) ΚΥΡΚΟΜ is usually resolved Κύρ(ος) Κόμ[μοδος], in light of the imperial name Domna in l.1a, but there are many possibilities for restoring ΚΟΜ, Commodus being among the rarer ones; LGPN lists 45 names beginning with Κομ-, not all male, thus it is not even certain whether ΚΥΡ is Κύρ(ος) or Κύρ(α).

(4b) ζῴην is accusative, thus cannot be construed with ὑπέρ, setting aside a scribal error of Ν for Σ assumed by most editors. It may be part of another expression, or stand alone; Goodenough suggested: "for (my) salvation: Life". Compare the Hebrew inscription from Jerusalem with the final phrase חֲזַקוּ בַחַיִּים *hzqw bhyym*, "Be strong in life", CIIP I 1027.

Using the Ascalon and not Seleucid era as ed. pr. suggested, the year 709 works out to 605-6 CE, see Meimarīs, *Di Segni*.

Bibl.: G. Dalman, ZDPV MN 9, 1903, 17-32 at 23-8 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – AE 1904, 203-204; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 6, 1905, 167-74 at 169-72 no. 7; BE 1906, p. 51; J. Juster, Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romaine, 1914, 198 n. 3, 364 n. 1, 430 n. *. J. Starr, JPOS 15, 1935, 280-93 at 291; E. Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara), 1935, 62-6; SEG 8, 267; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 9f. no. 15 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 964; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 1, 219f., 3, figs. 575-6; Lifshitz, Donateurs 55 no. 70; T. Ulbert, Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes, 1969, 34 no. 103; Saller, Catalogue 20f. no. 12.2; H. Cavallin, Life After Death I, 1974, 99; A. Blanchard, in: Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists, 1975, 19-24 at 21; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 24ff. no. 2; G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); B. Brooten, Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue, 1982, 159f. no. 16; Chiat, Handbook 180f.; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 25ff. no. 3; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 125; G. Foerster, in: Actes du IXe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, 1989, 1809-20 at 1816; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More 1, 1990, 67-90 at 79 no. 17 (Hebr.); J. Branham, Art Bulletin 74,3, 1992, 375-94 at 387f.; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 70 no. 6; Y. Tsafir, in: D. Urman – P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 1, 1995, 70-86 at 72f.; J. Branham, in: D. Urman – P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 2, 1995, 319-45 at 333; S. Llewelyn, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity, 1998, 161, 164; L. Habas, in: L. Levine – Z. Weiss eds., From Dura to Sepphoris, 2000, 111-30 at 120f.; Levine, Ancient Synagogue, 220-4, 229f.; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 407f.; S. Schwartz, Imperialism and Jewish Society, 2001, 209; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 178 no. 364; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18-19, 2006/07, 113-26 at 122f.; Milson, Art and Architecture 307; E. Ribak, Religious Communities in Byzantine Palestina, 2007, 129.

Photo: Sukenik, pl. XVI (Fr. A and Fr. B, 1b, 3b); A. and N. Graicer (Fr. B, 2a, 4a).

JJP

2322. Greek dedication in a synagogue, 6-7 c. CE

Top section of marble column bearing a four-line Greek inscription, surface abraded and some letters partially effaced; *alpha* with broken cross-bar; round *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; *upsilon* with small stem.

Meas.: h 52, ø 33 cm; letters 1.5-2 cm.

Pres. loc.: Ganei-Yehoshua, Tel Aviv (Rock Garden), Rockefeller Museum (IAA) inv. no. I-9297.

ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΜΕΝΑ
ΜΟΥΚΜΑΤΡΩΝΑΣΗΒΙΟΥΑΥ
ΤΟΥΚΣΑΜΟΥΛΟΥΥΙΟΥ
ΑΥΤΩΝ

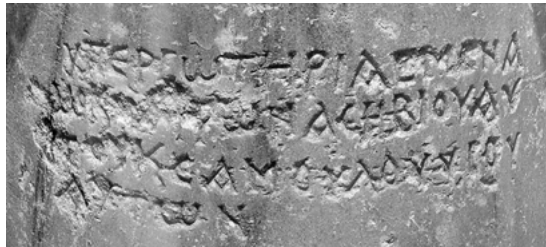


fig. 2322.1

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μενά|μου κ(αὶ) Ματρῶνας <σ>ηβίου αὐ|τοῦ κ(αὶ) Σαμουίου υἱοῦ | αὐτῶν

For the salvation of Menamus and of his wife Matrona and of Samulus their son.

Comm.: Father and son had biblical names, but the forms are unusual, each omitting the syllable -η-: Μέναμος = Menahem (מנחם *mnḥm*), which in LXX is Μαναημ, in Josephus Μανάημος, and these are the two forms attested in most inscriptions and papyri, e.g. CIIP I 318, see Ilan, *Lexicon* I 185-8, III 135. Σαμουῖλος = Samuel (שמואל *šmw'l*), usually Σαμουήλ (LXX), Σαμούηλος (Jos.) or varr. as in documentary sources (many instances in CIIP I-II, cf. *Index*, s.v.), but this form is attested on an epitaph at Beth She'arim (Schwabe - Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* II 96), and a papyrus from Egypt has Σαμουῖλ, Hagedorn, *Wörterlisten* 110. Like Cyra (no. 2321 this vol.), Matrona (Suknik et al.: *Μαίρωνα*) can be both a name and a title; it is a name here, as in CIIP I 1015 and CIIP II 1143, 2082; for Jewish instances outside Palestine, see Ilan, *Lexicon* III 599; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 24 n. 5; it is possibly a title in Schwabe - Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* II 136; Matrona occurs frequently in rabbinic literature (jShab. 2e 2,6, 8k 1,1; jSota 19a 3,4; jNed. 38b 3,14; Gen.R. 4,6, 6,5, 17,7, etc.; s.v. in Kasovsky, *Mishna*, Kosovsky, *Yer.* and Kosovsky, *Bab.*). *Ματρώνα* is a Latin name, but the genitive *Ματρώνας* is Greek in form. The haplography and iotacism in *Ματρώνας* (σ)ηβίου are unexceptional in epigraphy of the period.

Compare the similar dedication in the synagogue at Caesarea, CIIP II 1143.



fig. 2322.2

Bibl.: E. Suknik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara)*, 1935, 65f. (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 266; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 9f. no. 14 (Hebr.); M. Schwabe, *Tarbiz* 13, 1942, 66f. (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 965; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* I 219ff. no. 29; Lifshitz, *Donateurs* 56 no. 71; Saller, *Catalogue* 20f. no. 12.3; H. Cavallin, *Life After Death* I, 1974, 99; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 1, 26 no. 3; Chiat, *Handbook* 180f.; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 23f. no. 2; Hemer, *Book of Acts* 227 no. 13.1; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., *Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More* 1, 1990, 67-90 at 79 no. 16 (Hebr.); J. Moralee, *For Salvation's Sake*, 2004, 179 no. 367; Milson, *Art and Architecture* 307.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2323. Fragment of marble with Aramaic inscription, ca. 5 c. CE

A fragment of an inscription engraved on white marble, containing the remains of five lines bordered by four horizontal stripes, all in high-relief. The remains of the top and bottom lines are illegible.

Meas.: h 26, w 29 cm.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1274.

[--]+[--]+[--]
 [--]כלחדוחד
 דשמהו[--]
 [--]שתלמ[--]
 [--]



fig. 2323

[--|--]שתלמ[--]ו דשמהו[--] כל חד וחד [--]+[--]+[--]

Translit.: [--]+[--]+[--] kl ḥd wḥd [--] dšmyh w[--|--]štlm[--|--]

... each one and (every) one ... of heaven and ...

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau discovered this fragment in 1878, and sent it to Paris, where it is stored today. The letters are difficult to read, and various interpretations, none likely, were offered before Naveh deciphered ll.2-4, the first and last lines being illegible. His reading is adopted here. In ll.2-3, Naveh suggested restoring *mryh* “the lord” before *dšmyh* “of heaven”, compare Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic*, no. 20. Beyer thought the inscription began with the formula *דכירין לטב dkyryn ltb* and suggested restoring l.4 as [ו]שתלמ[ו] [*wy*]štlm[*wn*], which he translated “und sie mögen vergolten werden”.

Bibl.: Dussaud, *Louvre* 71f. no. 86 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *AMSL* 11, 1885, 188 no. 71 pl. 1B; Klein, *JPCI* no. 180; E. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara)*, 1935, 66; id., *JPOS* 15, 1935, 151-7 at 156; *CIJ* 2, 963; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* 1, 219f. no. 29; Saller, *Catalogue* 20f. no. 12.4; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 1, 23f. no. 1; Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 89f. no. 53 (Hebr.); Chiat, *Handbook* 180f.; Beyer, *Aramäische Texte* 362 no. yy; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., *Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More* 1, 1990, 67-90 at 78 no. 15 (Hebr.); Milson, *Art and Architecture* 307.

Photo: RMN - F. Raux, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre.

2324. Hebrew fragment of the 24 Priestly Courses, 5-6 c. CE

Marble fragment containing the beginning of three lines inscribed in Hebrew.
Meas.: h 13, w 17 cm.

[--]
[--] משמר
[--] שמשמר
[--] אמשמר
[--]

[--] | משמר [שנים עשר --] | משמר ש[לושה עשר --] | משמר א[רבעה עשר --] |

Translit.: [--] | mšmr [šnym 'sr --] | mšmr š[lwšh 'sr --] | mšmr '[rb'h 'sr --] |

... Course twelve ...; course thirteen ...; course fourteen ...

Comm.: This fragment of a list of the twenty-four priestly courses was discovered in excavations which the British Palestine Exploration Fund conducted in 1920-21; according to Naveh, it was kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem, but it has been missing since 1926. The restoration here is that of Naveh, who showed, by comparison with the similar list from Yemen (Naveh 106), that the word משמר *mšmr* at the head of each line is followed by sequential numbers, and all numbers through ten had the definite article ה, whereas from eleven on, the numbers were spelled without the definite article. Thus Naveh has corrected Sukenik and Klein, who believed that the *shin* and *alef* in ll.2-3 were the first letters of names of priestly courses, and has rejected the possibility raised by Avi-Yonah of reading the *shin* and *alef* as the beginnings of the Hebrew words for “three” and “four” (שלושה *šlwšh*, ארבעה *'rb'h*). The priestly courses are listed in 1 Chron 24,7-18 (cf. M.Taan. 4,2); according to 1 Chron 24,12-13, the priest of the twelfth course was Yakim, thirteenth course was Hupa and the fourteenth was Yeshev'av. Similar inscribed lists of the priestly courses have been found in Kissufim, no. 2541 this vol., Caesarea (CIIP II 1145), Rehov, Nazareth (possibly) and Yemen; see commentaries to no. 2541 and CIIP II 1145. It is interesting that in this inscription the course is called *mšmr* (mishmar: “guard”, “watch-period”, “shift”), whereas it is *mšmrt* (mishmereth) in the Caesarea inscription; both have the same plural form *mishmaroth*.

Bibl.: E. Sukenik, Zion 1, 1926/27, 16f. (Hebr.); S. Klein, *ibid.* 20 (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – Id., ZDPV 51, 1928, 135ff. at 135; E. Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara), 1935, 66f.; id., JPOS 15, 1935, 151-7; CIJ 2, 962; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 1, 219ff. no. 29; M. Avi-Yonah, EI 7, 1964, 24-8 (Hebr.); id., in: E. Vardaman - J. Garrett - J. Adair eds., The Teacher's Yoke, 1964, 46-57 at 48f.; Saller, Catalogue 20f. no. 12.5; Ringel, Césarée 119; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 24 no. 3; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 89 no. 52 (Hebr.); Chiat, Hand-

book 180f.; R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, 1988, 225f.; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., *Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More* 1, 1990, 67-90 at 78 no. 14 (Hebr.); J. Branham, *Art Bulletin* 74,3, 1992, 375-94 at 387; ead., in: D. Urman – P. Flesher eds., *Ancient Synagogues* 2, 1995, 319-45 at 334; S. Fine, *OEANE* 5, 1997, 114-8 at 115; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 409f.; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 2nd. ed., 524 (with references to earlier studies); Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz – Z. Weiss eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?*, 2012, 91-111 at 95. – On the list of priestly courses indicating the scope of priestly settlement throughout the Galilee, cf. S. Klein, *The Galilee*, 1946, 62-8, 177-92 (Hebr.); E. Urbach, *Tarbiz* 42, 1973, 304-27 (Hebr.); T. Kahane, *Tarbiz* 48, 1979, 9-29 (Hebr.); D. Trifon, *Tarbiz* 59, 1989, 77-93 (Hebr.); S. Talmon – I. Knohl, *Tarbiz* 60, 1991, 505-21 (Hebr.); S. Talmon, in: Z. Zevit – S. Gitin – M. Sokoloff eds., *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*, 1995, 327-44; id. – I. Knohl, in: M. Fox et al. eds., *Texts, Temples and Traditions*, 1996, 65*-71* (Hebr.); S. Talmon, in: Ch. Cohen et al. eds., *Birkat Shalom*, 2008, 927-42. – And cf. bibl. in CIIP II 1145.

AY/JJP

2325. Statue base with Greek inscription

“Base of a statue bearing a pair of feet and a dedicatory inscription” (Galili – Sharvit). The first, very worn line of the inscription is on the molding of the base, and the whole object shows every sign of having been in the water for a longer period of time.

Findspot: Underwater (0-2 m) between the Elat – Ashkelon pipeline port in the south and the beach resort in the north.

[--]ΘΕΟΣΑΙ[--]
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΤΟ[.]ΣΠΑΤΡ[.]
ΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣ

[--]ΘΕΟΣΑΙ[--] ἀνέθηκεν
τοῖς πατρ[ί]οις θεοῖς

... dedicated this to (his)
paternal gods.



fig. 2325

Comm.: Roman imperial times. – l.1: the name of the dedicant is lost. If ΘΕΟΣ is read correctly(?), the father's name is much more probable than a reference to the origin of the dedicant; l.2: πατρ[ί]οις? Both variants are attested.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – E. Galili – J. Sharvit, *HA - ESI* 111, 2000, 113 (Hebr.), 84* (E.S.), fig. 175 (ph.). – Cf. E. Galili – B. Rosen, *NEAEHL* 5, 2008, 1927.

Photo: E. Galili.

WA

2326. Greek acclamation to the One God, ca. 361/2 AD

Marble column with inscription; it was later “sawn length-wise and turned into a lintel ... In this process the right side of the lines was sawn off and lost” (Avi-Yonah). Meas.: h 95 cm; ø 49 cm; letters 5.4-7.5 cm.

Findspot: To the west of the remains of a Byzantine church (cf. Bagatti and Keel - Küchler on the church).

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Archaeological Park, IAA inv. no. 1951-146. Autopsy: 21 March 2012 (WE).

ΕΙΣΘ[--]

ΝΙΚ[--]

ΙΟΥΛΙ[--]

ΕΞ[.]

εἰς θεός[.]. | νικ[α,] | Ἰουλι[ανέ]. | (ἔτους) ἐξ[υ']

One God. Iulianus, be victorious! In the year 465
(=361/2 AD).

Comm.: l.2f.: νικ[ᾷ, εἰς] | Ἰουλι[ανός] Hallof apud Peterson - Marksches (cf. a parallel below). l.3: the vocative, introduced by Avi-Yonah and kept by Di Segni (see on l.4), is not necessary; see the parallels quoted below; Ἰουλι[ανέ] Peterson - Marksches; l.4: Avi-Yonah read EZ and thought ΕΞ less probable, hence ἔ(τους) ζ[ξυ']; ἔ(τους) ζ[ξυ'] Meimaris; Ἰουλι[αν]|έ. ζ[ήση] Di Segni 1991; (ἔτους) ἐξ[υ'] Di Segni 1994; the xi before the break was confirmed by W. Eck.

The date of the inscription has been much discussed, due to the difficult reading of l.4; today it seems inevitable to accept Di Segni's solution that (ἔτους) was not on the stone, but has to be supplied by the reader. This corresponds to November 361-November 362, and Julian spent the latter part of this year in Antiochia.

Similar acclamations for Julian can only be found on milestones from Arabia (cf. Peterson 270ff.; Welles 489f. no. 345-8; Dietz 836f.); the most similar texts are Conti 60f. no. 3: εἰς θεός, Ἰουλιανὸς βασιλεύει, 61f. no. 5: εἰς θεός, νικᾷ, εἰς Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Αὔγουστος, 62f. no. 7: εἰς θεός, Ἰουλιανὸς βασιλεύς, νικᾷ, 63 no. 8: εἰς θεός, Ἰουλιανὸς βασιλεύς, 63 no. 9 and 64 no. 11: Αὔγουστε Ἰουλιανέ, νικᾷν ἐγεννήθης. Di Segni connects this with the preparations for Iulian's Persian campaign, while Avi-Yonah and others invoke Julian's well known religious sympathies. Julian quotes his own version of the Orphic verse 543 F Bernabé (or. 11 [4], 10): εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Αἰδῆς, εἰς Ἥλιός ἐστι Σάραπις (on which see Peterson 241ff.).



fig. 2326.1

Conti 69: “Unklar ist, von wem die Wei-
 hung ausging: stammte sie von der Partei, die
 auch den anti-christlichen Aufstand in Asca-
 lon entfachte oder vom Statthalter? Wir ken-
 nen Cyrillus, Statthalter ... der Palaestina Salu-
 taris in den Jahren 360-361 und von Palaestina
 Prima in den Jahren 361-362. Er könnte auch
 der Statthalter sein, den Julian zwischen 362
 und 363 absetzte und verbannte, weil er die
 antichristliche Revolte in Gaza missbilligt hat-
 te. Es kann sich aber auch um den anonymen
 rector provinciae handeln, der zusammen mit
 Alypius versuchte, den jüdischen Tempel von
 Jerusalem wiederherzustellen. Dies scheint
 mir wahrscheinlicher: Cyrillus war Christ”; on
 Cyrillus see PLRE I Cyrillus I, on the anony-
 mus PLRE I Anonymus 132. If Di Segni’s in-
 terpretation, here adopted, is right, this stone
 was erected during the times of Cyrillus. – The
 anti-Christian troubles in Ascalon are noted
 by Ambros., ep. 74 [40], 15; Theodoret, HE
 3,7,1f. and the Chronicon Paschale (I p. 546
 Dindorf), but Dietz is surely right in focusing
 on the “überkonfessioneller Akklamation-
 scharakter” (cf. already Peterson 273: “schon
 längst übliche Akklamation, mit der man Kai-
 sern und Göttern huldigte”), but cf. Versnel 281 n. 141: “Curiously enough, in the
 period in which Christians exploited the cheer to distinguish their creed from that
 of the pagans, milestones in Palestine seem to counter this propaganda by acclaim-
 ing the ‘neo-pagan’ emperor Julian thus: εἰς θεός, εἰς Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Αὐγουστος (vel
 βασιλεύς) (Peterson 1926, 271) and εἰς θεός, νίκ[α], Ἰουλι[ανέ] (SEG 41, 1544).”



fig. 2326.2

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 10, 1944, 160f. no. 1 pl. 35,1 (ed. pr.). – AE 1948, 137; J. Arce, Estudios sobre el emperador Juliano, 1984, 165 no. 123 (Hebr.); L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 years and forty years more 1, 1990, 69f. no. 5 (Hebr.); SEG 41, 1544; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 68f. no. 1; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 104 no. 31; S. Conti, Die Inschriften Kaiser Julians, 2004, 68f. no. 16; Peterson - Marksches, Heis Theos 413f. no. 86.1. – Cf. C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling ed., Gerasa, 1938, 355ff.; BE 1946/47, 223; B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 235, 237; Keel - Küchler 73; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 125, 158; K. Dietz, Chiron 30, 2000, 837; Belayche, Pagan Cults 231f.; H. Versnel, Coping with the Gods, 2011, 280ff.

Photo: IAA; WE.

2327. Mosaic with Greek inscriptions from a church complex, 493/494 AD

The complex consists of a church with three naves; at its south side is a chapel. The mosaics belong to two rooms, which did not form part of the church, but were adjacent to it; modern literature identifies them as diaconicon and narthex, but at least in the second case this is doubtful (the diaconicon measured 6x10.4 m; width of the narthex: 5.4 m; length of the narthex: over 11 m). Of these rooms, only the pavement is left, consisting of geometric mosaics with three inscriptions; inscriptions (a) and (b) are in the first room, inscription (c) is in the second, on the eastern border of the western pavement. (a) in a field with a dark border; red letters; (c) ll.1 and 3: red tesserae; ll.2, 4 and 5: black tesserae. Inscription (c) was lost by 1974. – On the excavations, see Bagatti 1974, 249ff.

Meas.: (a) h 103, w 116 cm (frame); inscription: h 89, w 101 cm; letters 8.5-11 cm.

(b) w 323 cm; letters 10.5 cm.

(c) h 98 cm; letters ll.1, 3: 7 cm; ll.2, 4, 5: 8 cm.

Findspot: In the Barnea district of Ashkelon, north-east of the ancient city, two Byzantine churches were found, one in 1954, the other one in 1966; the second one was 200 m to the northwest of the first excavated church and contained these mosaic inscriptions.

Pres. loc.: In situ. Autopsy (a and b): 9 March 2013 (A. and N. Graicer).



fig. 2327.1 (a)

- (a) ΕΤΟΥΣΒΧΜΗΑΡΤΕΜΙ
ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟΦΙΛΚΑΓΙΩΤ
ΕΠΙΣΚΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥΤΟ
ΠΑΝΕΡΓΟΝΤΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΚ
ΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΕΚΤΙΣΘΗ
ΚΑΙΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ

- (b) ΚΣΠΟΙΜΕΝΙΜΕΚΑΙΟΥΔΕΝΜΕΥΣΤΕΡΗΣΕΙ

(c) ΤΩΟΙΚΩΣΟΥ[--]
 ΑΓΙΑΣΜΑΚ[--]
 ΚΡΟΤΗΤΑΗΜ[--]
 ΕΝΕΤΙΖΣΦΜΗ[--]Α
 ΕΚΤΙΣΘΗΚΑΙΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ

- (a) ἔτους βχ', μη(νός) Ἀρτεμ(ισίου) εἰ', ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) κ(αὶ) ἀγιωτ(άτου) | ἐπισκ(όπου) Ἀναστασίου τὸ | πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ διακονικ(οῦ) | ἐκ θεμελίων ἐκτίσθη | καὶ ἐψηφώθη.
- (b) κ(ύριο)ς ποιμένι με καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει
- (c) τῷ ὄκῳ σου [πρέπει] | ἀγίασμα, κ[(ύρι)ε, εἰς μα]|χρότητα ἡμ[ερῶν]. | ἐν ἔτι ζςφ', μη(νὶ) [--]α' | ἐκτίσθη καὶ ἐψηφώθη

- (a) In the year 602, on Artemisios 15th (= 9 June 498), in the time of the most God-beloved and most holy bishop Anastasius the whole work of the diaconicon, from its foundation on, was made and paved with mosaic.
- (b) The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.
- (c) Holiness befits thy house, o Lord, for evermore. In the year 597 (= 493/4 AD), on the x+1st day of ... was built and paved with mosaic.



fig. 2327.2 (b)

Comm.: (a) Ἀρτε(μισίου) κ(αὶ) ἡ' ἰ(νδικτιῶνος) Tzaferis; Bagatti 1974; corr. Meimaris, Chron. Systems and Di Segni apud Bagatti, Judaea 154 n.; l.1: *eta* in small scale above the first *mu*, above the second *mu* an abbreviation mark. (b) ὑστερήσῃ edd.

(a) Ascalonitan era.

(b) Ps 22,1 (LXX); this is perhaps an allusion to the function of the diaconicon (Bagatti). ποιμένι = ποιμαίνει.

(c) Ps 92,5 (LXX); on the quotation, cf. CIIP II 1348 (Caesarea), comm. on l.1; Vriezen 251. – The year 597 of the Ascalonitan era corresponds to the time from 28 October (27 November) 493 to 27 October (26 November) 494.



fig. 2327.3 (c)

Bibl.: V. Tzaferis, EI 10, 1971, 241-4 (phs.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 250f. figs. 21 (dr.), 22-23 (phs.); Meimaris, Sacred Names 30 no. 122 (c l.1-3 and b), 206 no. 1026; Ovadiah,

MPI 13f. no. 7 (phs.); Meimaris, Chron. Systems 69 nos. 2-3; SEG 37, 1472; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 years and forty years more 1, 1990, 81f. nos. 19-21 (Hebr.); Felle, Biblia Epigraphica 114 nos. 169-170. – Cf. V. Tzaferis, HA 21, 1967, 6 (Hebr.); id., IEJ 17, 1967, 125f.; RB 75, 1968, 414f. pl. 49 (ph.); BE 1969, 596; Y. Landau, in: Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, 1971, 387; Keel - Küchler 61f.; Bagatti, Judaea 154; K. Vriezen, in: L. Rutgers et al. eds., The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World, 1998, 247ff.; J. Schloen, in: L. Stager - J. Schloen - D. Master eds., Ashkelon 1, 2008, 159.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; V. Tzaferis, EI 10, 1971 pl. 70 fig. 3.

WA

2328. canceled

2329. Fragment of a chancel screen with Greek inscription

White marble chancel screen. Below the inscription a profile, serving as a frame for the larger field with a cross, whose upper arm is still visible.

Meas.: h 28, w 33, d 6.5 cm; letters 2.5-3.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Khan Museum.

ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟΦ[--]

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφ[ιλιστάτου --]



Under the most pious (priest vel sim.) ...

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

fig. 2329

WA

2330. Fragment of a chancel screen with Greek inscription

Marble fragment of a chancel screen, decorated on both sides. Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 10.5, w 17.5, d 3.2 cm; letters 2 cm.

Findspot: Surface find in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1950-120. Autopsy: 20 May 2012 (AE).

[--]ΗΝΟΣ



fig. 2330.1



fig. 2330.2

Comm.: The letters [--]ΗΝΟΣ are found in many inscriptions either referring to a month (for example μηνός Ξανθικοῦ) or to the *origo* of a Person, like Παλμυρηγός or Βοστρηγός, but only rarely belong to a name, like Σεργήνος. If the letters stood at the end of the inscription, an *origo* would be more likely.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; AE.

WE

2331. Greek invocation to the One God

“Marble inscription, Byzantine period” (Meimaris).

Pres. loc.: According to Meimaris: Dept. of Antiq. File, no. 11, not known to IAA.

ΕΙΣΘ[--]

[--]

εἷς θεός --|--]

One God ...

Comm.: On invocations to the One God, see no. 2264 with further reference. – There are two other invocations of the εἷς θεός in Ascalon, nos. 2326 and 2355. The one, no. 2355, is a small medallion made of lead, which does not fit the description of Meimaris; the other one, no. 2326, actually begins in the same way as the present inscription: εἷς θεός] | νικ[α] – but this stone is known since 1944 and Meimaris himself mentioned it with bibliography in his later book, *Chron. Systems* 69f. no. 1. Either Meimaris made a mistake in *Sacred Names* 28 no. 110 – or this is a another, different stone.

Bibl.: Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 28 no. 110 (ed. pr.).

WA

B. Imperial document

2332. Gaius Iulius Caesar's decisions concerning privileges for the Jews, published in Ascalon

According to Iosephus, AJ 14,197, a bronze tablet containing privileges granted by Caesar to the Jews and the pertinent *senatus consulta*, was to be set up in a temple in Ascalon.

Iosephus, AJ 14,196-197: Γαῖου Καίσαρος αὐτοκράτορος ὑπάτου δεδομένα συγκεχωρημένα προσκεκριμένα ἐστὶν οὕτως ἔχοντα. ὅπως τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἄρχῃ, καὶ τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους καρπίζωνται, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων προῖσθῇ τῶν ἀδικουμένων. πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαλκῆν δέλτον ταῦτα περιέχουσαν ἐν τε τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Τύρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγκεχαράγμενην γράμμασιν Ῥωμαῖκοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς.

The following are the grants, concessions and awards made by Gaius Caesar, emperor and consul: That his (Hyrchanus') children shall rule over the Jewish nation and enjoy the fruits of the places given them, and that the high priest, being also ethnarch, shall be the protector of those Jews who are unjustly treated. And that the envoys be sent to Hyrchanus, son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, to discuss terms of friendship and alliance. And that a bronze tablet containing

these decrees shall be set up in the Capitol and at Sidon and Tyre and Ascalon and in the temples, engraved in Latin and Greek characters. (Loeb translation, vol. VII p. 553).

Comm.: According to Iosephus, AJ 14,190-216, Caesar granted Hyrcanus and the Jews various privileges; in 14,197 Iosephus reports that it was ordered that these decisions should be set up on bronze tablets, in both Greek and Latin, in Sidon, Tyre and Ascalon. As a rule, *senatus consulta* and letters of Roman magistrates were displayed in the Eastern part of the Empire on stone, rather than in bronze, in contrast to the Western part of the Empire (see W. Eck, *Documents on Bronze. A Phenomenon of the Roman West?*, in: J. Bodel ed., *Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy* [in print]). However, sometimes they were written also on bronze, as happened in the case of the treaty between Caesar and the Lycian league, set up probably in a Lycian city, perhaps in Xanthos (see S. Mitchell, in: R. Pintauidi ed., *Papyri Graecae Schøyen I*, 2005, 161ff. = AE 2005, 1487). Therefore, it is not unlikely that the Jewish privileges were indeed displayed on bronze tablets in Ascalon. According to Eilers - Ward the privileges had been granted by Caesar and confirmed by a *senatus consultum* on February 9, 44 BC, without, however, being formally recorded and registered in the archive in Rome. Therefore, Marcus Antonius had another *senatus consultum* passed on April 11 of the same year (AJ 14,219-222) confirming the Caesarian grants. This *senatus consultum* was sent together with Antonius' decree ordering the publication of the latest *senatus consultum* in the Eastern cities of the Empire, including Ascalon.

Caesar had already granted privileges to Hyrcanus and the Jews before 44 BC; whether all of them or only part of them were included in the *senatus consultum* of 9 February 44 and later on in that of 11 April 44 cannot be ascertained. For Jewish privileges in general see Pucci Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights*.

Bibl.: A. Stein, *Römische Inschriften in der antiken Literatur*, 1931, 12; M. Pucci Ben Zeev, *Athenaeum* 84, 1996, 77ff.; ead., *JSJ* 27, 1996, 26; ead., *Jewish Rights in the Roman World*, 1998, 55-67; C. Eilers - G. Ward, *An Embedded Fragment in Iosephus' Caesarian acta* (AJ 14. 196-212), *Phoenix* 66, 2012, 414-27.

WE

C. Emperor

2333. Fragment with Latin letters, late 3 or 4 c. AD

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides. Apices above the D and the N.
Meas.: h 11, w 12.5 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA from Ashkelon?
Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-2380.

[--]ODN[--]
[--]



fig. 2333

[Salv]o d(omino) n(ostro) [--|--]

or for example:

[Bono r(ei) p(ublica) nat]o d(omino) n(ostro) [--|--]

With our Lord being well ... or: To (or With) our Lord born for the good of the republic ...

Comm.: The language must be Latin because of the second letter, which cannot be accounted for in Greek. The letters can be expanded in several ways: *[Salv]o d(omino) n(ostro)* (cf. AE 2006, 187) or *[Bono r(ei) p(ublica) nat]o d(omino) n(ostro)* (cf. CIL 3, 10648 = ILS 8946). The letter form suggests late 3 or 4 c. AD. – Cf. also S. Orlandi, MEFRA 109, 1997, 31ff.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WE

D. Inscriptions of public character and in architectural contexts

2334. Late Antique acclamation in Greek

Ashlar block of marble coming from quarries in the region of present-day Afyon or from Aphrodisias, now broken in two, decorated with a medallion surrounded by acanthus leaves. The inscription is inside the medallion. The block belonged to an architrave, of which a part is preserved on the right side. Remains of a drain on the back. Lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: h 33, w 73.5, d (left side) 51, (right side) 40 cm; Ø of the medallion 26 cm; letters ca. 5.5 cm.

Findspot: Found during the British excavations 1920-22, inside the basilica, probably in the eastern colonnade.

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Archaeological Park, IAA inv. no. 1951-140. Autopsy: 21 March 2012.

ΑΥΞΙ
ΑΣΚΑΛ
ΑΥΞΙΡΩ
ΜΗ

Αὕξι | Ἀσκάλ(ων), | αὕξι Ῥώ|μη

Advance Ascalon, advance Rome.

Comm.: ll.1 and 3 αὕξι(ι) *all eds.*; αὕξι(ι) *Fischer - Krug - Pearl*. The last two letters of Ἀσκάλων in l.2 may have been written in smaller script like the ω in Ῥώ|μη, but destroyed when the stone was broken. Nothing can be seen now.

Acclamations with αὕξι used for persons and cities are known especially from the 3 c. onwards, and very common in Late Antiquity. While Fischer - Krug - Pearl date the acclamation to the beginning of the 3 c., Feissel (BE), more plausibly, dates it much later, cf. the distinctive Ξ.

Rome, according to Feissel, means here the Eastern Empire, i.e: Byzantium. For αὕξι cf. IK 16, 3328 (Ephesus): αὕξι, ἡ μεγάλη Ἐφε[σίων πόλις]; IK 61, 331 col. II (Perge): αὕξε Πέργη.

Bibl.: D. Hogarth, PEQ 54, 1922, 22f. no. 3 (ed. pr.). – AE 1923, 85; SEG 1, 554; Keel - Küchler 69; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More 1, 1990, 68 (Hebr.); M. Fischer - A. Krug - Z. Pearl, in: J. Humphrey ed., The Roman and Byzantine Near East, 1995, 147f. fig. 28 (ph.); AE 1995, 1586; SEG 45, 1932; BE 1996, 489; M. Fischer, Marble Studies, 1998, 245; Feissel, Chroniques 227 no. 726; J. Schloen, in: L. Stager - J. Schloen - D. Master eds., Ashkelon 1, 2008, 153f. – Cf. P. Weiß, Chiron 21, 1991, 353ff.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2334.1



fig. 2334.2

2335. Greek inscription: The council and people of Ascalon honor the centurio Aulus Instuleius Tenax, before 65 AD

An almost square slab of white marble with reddish inclusions; a small part suffered damage at the top. The back is irregular. Guidelines, mostly unused.

Meas.: h 21, w 21, d ca. 2 cm; letters 1.3 cm.

Findspot: Found during the British excavations 1920-22, in the southern part of the basilica.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-907. Autopsy: 14 March 2010; 19 March 2012.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΙ
ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΩΛΟΝ
ΙΝΣΤΟΛΗΙΟΝΤΕΝΑΚΑ
ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗΝ
ΛΕΓΙΩΝΟΣΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ
ΦΡΕΤΗΣΙΑΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ
ΕΝΕΚΑ

ἡ βουλὴ{ι} | καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὧλον |
Ἰνστολήιον Τένακα | ἑκατοντάρχην |
λεγιῶνος δεκάτης |
Φρετηνσίας εὐνοίας | ἔνεκα

The council and the people honor Aulus Instuleius Tenax, centurion of the tenth legion Fretensis, for his goodwill (towards the city).

Comm.: 1.6: Φρετησίας all eds.; but the stonecutter made first a mistake by writing only ΦΡΕΤΗΣΙΑΣ; then he corrected the mistake by chiseling at the left and right sides of the Σ a vertical hasta and also a small tail from the middle of the Σ to the bottom of the right additional hasta, creating in this way a perfect ligature of N and Σ.

An Aulus Instuleius Tenax is also known from an inscription he left on the statue of



fig. 2335.1

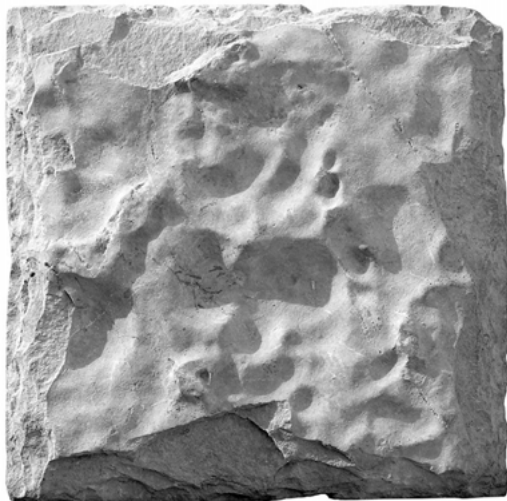


fig. 2335.2

Memnon in Egypt (CIL 3, 30 = ILS 8759a), where he described himself in 65 AD as *primipilaris* of the legio XII Fulminata, which, as is known, was stationed in Syria at that time. In the present text, Instuleius Tenax in Ascalon is described as a *centurio* in the legio X Fretensis, which was also stationed in Syria until 66, when it was sent to Judaea for suppressing the Jewish revolt, and ended up, from 70 AD onwards, as the legionary garrison of Judaea, now for the first time, probably, detached from Syria and made into an independent province (see Eck, *Rom und Judaea* 24ff., 108ff.). There can be no doubt that the two inscriptions refer to one and the same person, since the *nomen gentile* is extremely rare, attested only here and in a text from Pompei (CIL 4, 3376). Consequently the inscription from Ascalon must date earlier than the one from Egypt, or his rank as the leading centurion (*primipilaris*) of the legio XII Fulminata would not have been omitted in the inscription from Ascalon.

This dates the inscription to the time before 65, when the Tenth Legion still belonged to the Syrian garrison; but a centurion from that garrison could easily be sent by the legate of the province of Syria to Judaea, the southern part of his province. We probably know of a soldier from the Syrian army in the 30s of the 1 c. AD who was obviously on the staff of the procurator Herennius Capito, the man in charge of the imperial property in Judaea under Tiberius and Caligula (see no. 2268). The region around Iamnia together with Azotus and Phasaelis had been the property of Salome, Herods' sister, who bequeathed it to Livia. A centurion from the Syrian army who happened to be working in the *officium* of the patrimonial procurator in Judaea could in one way or another render some service (about which it would be idle to speculate) to the city of Ascalon, whose people and council would have acknowledged it with an honorary monument; into the base for a statue or a bust this relatively small plaque was inserted.

After his service near Ascalon Tenax returned to his legion in Syria, where he later was promoted to the higher rank of a *primipilus* in the legio XII Fulminata. As such he was sent to Egypt in AD 65, probably with a part of his legion, but the reasons for this sojourn are unknown.

Bibl.: D. Hogarth, *PEQ* 54, 1922, 22f. (ed. pr.). – W. Albright, *BASOR* 6, 1922, 17; *AE* 1923, 83; *SEG* 1, 552; *BE* 1924, p. 358; B. Lifshitz, *BIES* 23, 1959, 53–67 (Hebr.); B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, 1978, 196f.; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., *Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More* 1, 1990, 67 (Hebr.); Isaac, *Limits* 136 n. 169; E. Dąbrowa, *Legio X Fretensis*, 1993, 86 no. 19A1; O. Stoll, *Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung*, 2001, 68; J. Schloen, in: L. Stager - J. Schloen - D. Master eds., *Ashkelon* 1, 2008, 153f.; W. Eck, in: D. Slootjes ed., *Aspects of Ancient Institutions and Geography*, forthcoming.

Photo: IAA; WE.

2336. Greek inscription: The council and people of Ascalon honor Tiberius Iulius Miccio, first half of 1 c. AD

Pink square limestone tablet; the surface is worn out on all sides; some letters have almost disappeared. The back is rough.

Meas.: h 23, w 23, d 5 cm; letters 2.2 cm.

Findspot: Found during the British excavations 1920-22, in the basilica.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1936-1721. Autopsy: 19 March 2012.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ
ΜΙΚΚΙΩΝΑΤΟΝΕΑ
ΤΩΝΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΑ



fig. 2336.1

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ | ὁ δῆμος | Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον | Μικκίωνα τὸν ἐα|τῶν πολεῖτην |
εὐνοίας ἔνεκα

The council and the people honor Tiberius Iulius Miccio, their own citizen, for his goodwill (towards the city).

Comm.: l.1: βουλῇ; all eds.; ll.4-5: ἐαυτῶν AE, but ἐατῶν instead of ἐαυτῶν is a common phenomenon, cf. Gignac I 187f.; l.6 ἔνει(κα) AE; ἔνε[κα] SEG.

The Roman citizenship, received by the honorand himself or his father, goes back to the time of Tiberius (14-37 AD). In the latter case, the father could have been

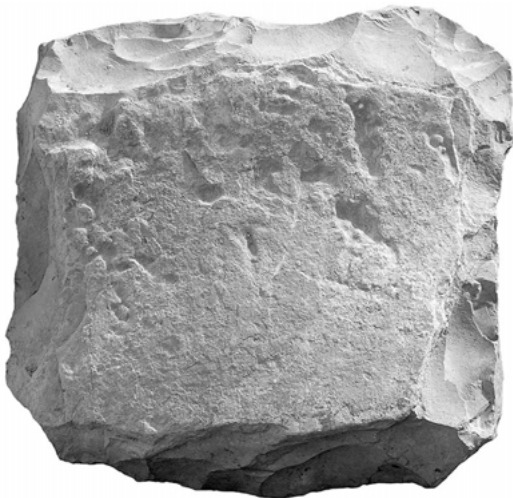


fig. 2336.2

the son of an imperial freedman working in the palm groves of Iamnia (see no. 2268), who later on settled in Ascalon; the son became a citizen of this city. The first editor thought the inscription should be a bit earlier than no. 2335, which can be dated to the early years of Nero, thus fixing the present text to Claudius' reign (41-54 AD), or Nero's (54-68 AD). The city erected for Miccio an honorary monument in acknowledgment of his good will towards them. As in the case of no. 2335, the relatively small plaque was probably inserted in a base of a statue or a bust. It would be idle to speculate about the service he had rendered the city of Ascalon.

Bibl.: D. Hogarth, PEQ 54, 1922, 22f. (ed. pr.). – AE 1923, 84; SEG 1, 553; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More 1, 1990, 67f. (Hebr.); J. Schloen, in: L. Stager - J. Schloen - D. Master eds., Ashkelon 1, 2008, 153f.

Photo: IAA; WE.

WE

2337. Column with Greek inscription, 187/8 AD

“Segment einer Marmorsäule” (Euting); “segment longitudinale de colonne, le quart environ du fut cylindrique. Tronquée en haut” (Clermont-Ganneau 1885). In most lines, probably only one letter is missing on the left-hand margin and about four letters on the right-hand one. Lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: h 135 cm (Clermont-Ganneau 1885).

Findspot: Clermont-Ganneau believed the findspot to be Ramleh, but Euting was right in assigning it to Ashkelon, as proven by no. 2338.

Pres. loc.: In 1885 it was seen in Baron von Ustinov's house in Jaffa, but so far as is known, it is not part of the Ustinov collection in Oslo.

[.]ΤΟΥΣΙΒΑΥΤΟΚ[-]
 [.]ΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΚΟΜΜ[-]
 [.]ΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΕΙΝ[-]
 [.]ΑΣΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΥ[-]
 [.]ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟΥ[-]
 [.]ΛΟΔΟΤΤΟΥΤΟ[-]
 [.]ΤΙΑΔΟΥΕΓΕΡΣ[-]
 ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΥ
 Ζ

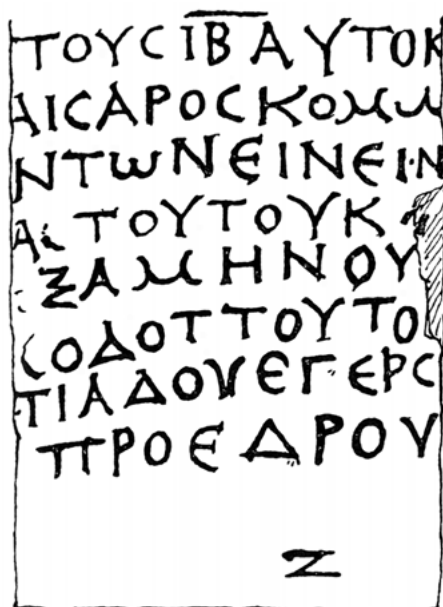


fig. 2337

[ἐ]τους ιβ' Αὐτοκ[ράτορος | Κ]αίσαρος Κομμ[όδου | Ἀ]ντωνεῖ[ναι]ν[ου Σε|β]αστοῦ
τοῦ κυ[ρίου | α' or β'] ἐξαμήνου [ἐπὶ Ἀπολ|]λοδότ[τ]ου τοῦ Μι[λ]τιάδου ἐγε[ρσ] [ίτου] |
προέδρου | ζ'

In the twelfth year of Emperor Caesar Commodus Antoninus Augustus, our Lord, in the first (or) second half of the year, when Apollodotus son of Miltiades was in charge of the works as prohedros. Seventh (column).

Comm.: 1.4: ασ τοῦτου κ Euting, IGR; [β]αστοῦ τοῦ κ(υρίου) Clermont-Ganneau 1905, Meimaris; but in the 2 and 3 c. κυρίου in connection with the emperor was not abbreviated; 1.5: [ἐ]ξαμήνου Euting, IGR; 1.4ff.: [Ἀλε]ξ(αμ)έ(ν)ου [τοῦ Ἀπολ|](λ)οδότ[τ]ου Clermont-Ganneau 1905, Meimaris; 1.6: ...κοδόττου τὸ Euting, IGR; 1.7: ...τιάδου ἐγε[ρσ].. Euting, IGR; 1.6f.: [Μιλ]τιάδου ἐγε[ρσ] [ις?] Clermont-Ganneau 1905, Meimaris; 1.8: [.] ΠΙΠΟΕΔΡΟΥ Euting; προέδρου [τοῦ δεινός] Clermont-Ganneau 1905; προέδρου [--] Meimaris.

This inscription and the next one no. 2338 belong to the same building, where they stood as the seventh and eighth columns in a row. The erection of the present column is here dated to the twelfth regnal year of Commodus, which probably started at the same time as did his *tribunicia potestas*, namely sometime in November 176; and hence the twelfth year falls in 187/188. The two columns were probably erected within a short span of time, since the same person, namely Apollodotus son of a Miltiades, was, as his title ἐγε[ρσ] [ιτης] implies (see below), in charge of the works at the same time that he served as *prohedros*, perhaps the eponymous magistrate in Ascalon. Since the formula on this 7th column is somewhat longer than the one read on the 8th (no. 2338), it is just possible that this column was erected in the first half of the year ([α'] ἐξαμήνου), whereas the 8th column was erected in its second half ([β'] ἐξαμήνου); for this type of dating, see nos. 2581, 2594. But this is by no means certain, since their being numbered clearly implies that they stood in a long row alongside other columns. The office of *prohedros* is the only type of magistrate known so far in Ascalon apart from that of the *agoranomos* (see no. 2358).

In 1.7, "ΕΓΕΡΣ[--]" follows the patronymic Miltiades, a word that must relate to Apollodotus and his activity. A number of attestations are connected with the root ΕΓΕΡΣ, all of which have to do with the construction of buildings. In Herodian 8,5,4 Maximinus' soldiers met with serious difficulties before Aquileia τειχίων τε ἐγέρσεσιν, which had been constructed by their opponents. In an inscription from Beth Safafa τ<δ> πᾶν ἔργ<ο>ν τῆς ἀνεγέρσεως τοῦ οἴκου is mentioned (SEG 16, 850 = 26, 1672). Finally, in a text from Philadelphia in Arabia, a member of the city's elite, who among other things was gymasiarch and πρόεδρος, was honored as ἐγε[ρσε] [ιτην] τοῦ Ἡρακλείου (IGLS 21, 229), i.e., he took on the responsibility for the construction of a sanctuary of Herakles. This meaning can be applied to the inscriptions from Ascalon. The πρόεδρος Apollodotus, the son of Miltiades, was responsible for the construction of a building, or at the very least for the erection of

the columns of the structure. This sense accords well with what is already expected from the context” (Boehm - Eck 184).

Bibl.: Euting 686 no. 81 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 199 no. 1; Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7, 1905, 174-8 at 174-7 no. 1; IGR III 1210; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 374 no. 89; DGI 486-9 no. 141 (differs in some details); R. Boehm - W. Eck, ZPE 183, 2012, 179ff.

Photo: Euting, pl. XII no. 81.

WE

2338. Column with Greek inscription, 187/8 AD

Column of bluish-white marble, reused later; large pieces were sawn off the sides and the back of the column. The top is broken off. An empty space with a completely smooth surface is preserved between the first line of the text and the top edge of the column fragment, measuring between 6 and 12 cm; that proves that nothing stood above the first preserved line.

Meas.: h 67, w 29, d 25 cm; letters 3.5-4 cm; space between lines ca. 2 cm.

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Archaeological Park, IAA inv. no. 1958-66. Autopsy: 21 March 2012.

[--]ΜΜΟΔΟΥ *vacat*
 [--]ΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
 [--]+ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟ[.]
 [--]ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟ[...]
 [--]ΜΙΛΤΙΑΔΟΥ
 [--]ΥΠΡΟΕΔΡΟ[.]
 Η

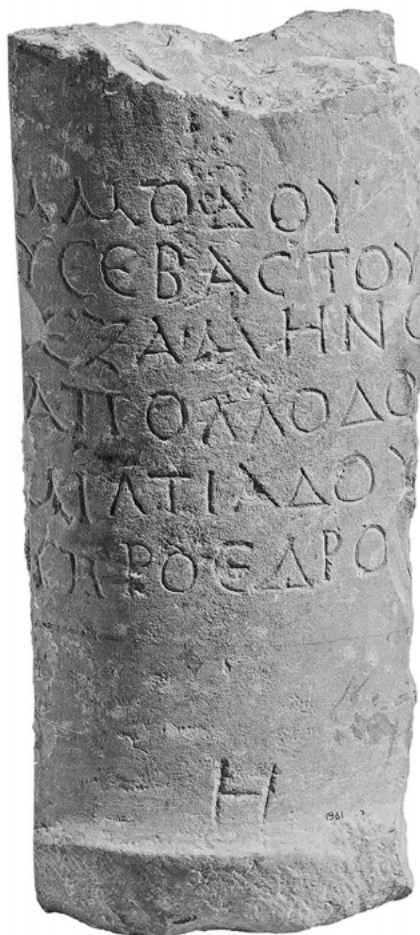


fig. 2338.1

[ἔτους ιβ' Κο]μμόδου | [Ἀντωνεῖνο]υ Σεβαστοῦ | [τοῦ κυρίου] β' (?) ἑξαμήνο[υ | ἐπὶ]
Ἀπολλοδό[του | τοῦ] Μιλτιάδου | [ἐγερεσίτο]υ προέδρο[υ] | η'

In the twelfth year of Commodus Antoninus Augustus, our Lord, in the second(?) half of the year, when Apollodotus son of Miltiades was responsible for the work when he was prohedros. Eighth (column).

Comm.: The inscription was written on a column which stood eighth, as indicated by the H at the bottom, in the row of the same building where no. 2337 stood seventh. The slight difference between the phrasing of the two almost identical inscriptions makes it likely that this slightly abbreviated text was written later – perhaps in the second half of the twelfth year of Commodus (see comm. to no. 2337); hence β' is tentatively inserted before ἑξαμήνο[υ] in the text; but α' cannot be ruled out. Later on the column was reused and recut and the original text partly destroyed.

Bibl.: R. Boehm - W. Eck, ZPE 183, 2012, 179ff. (ph.) (ed. pr.). – Y. Landau, in: Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, 1971, 387-90 at 389 (only mentioned).

Photo: IAA; WE.



fig. 2338.2

WE

2339. Marble capitals with numbers

Three Corinthian capitals: the numbers on capital (a) and (b) are engraved on the lower surface; the number on capital (a) stands beside a hole; on capital (c) the number is engraved on the abacus to the right-hand side of the abacus-rose.

Meas.: (a) Ø 60 cm; letters 7.8 cm. (b) Ø 57 cm; letters 5.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Archaeological Park (various places there). Autopsy: 21 March 2012.

- (a) B'I'
- (b) MZ
- (c) H

- (a) βι'
- (b) μζ'
- (c) η'

- (a) *Twelve.*
- (b) *Fortyseven.*
- (c) *Eight.*



fig. 2339.1 (a)

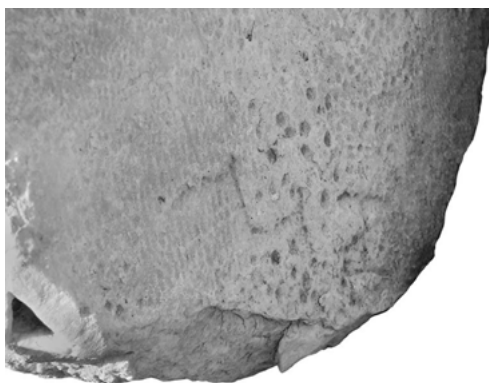


fig. 2339.2 (b)

Comm.: Although their function is not certain, it is most likely that the numbers refer to the respective location of each capital in the structure to which it belonged, as do the numbers on the columns in nos. 2337 and 2338.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – For marks on building stones, see now U. Weber, *Versatzmarken im antiken griechischen Bauwesen*, 2013.

Photo: WE.



fig. 2339.3 (c)

WE

2340. Basis of a column with Greek inscription

Attic marble basis with the inscription on the plinth.

Meas.: h ca. 30 cm (11.75 inches in Schumacher's drawing).

Findspot: Near a well in the middle of the ruins of a church whose measures are given by Ovadiah, Corpus 21f. as: length 27.5, width 12.5 m.

ΕΠΙ ΚΑΡΑΤ[-]

ἐπὶ Καρατ[-]

Under the

Comm.: The reading is not absolutely clear: ΠΙ KA(2) P[--] *Conder - Kitchener*; ΕΠΙ ΚΑΙΑ *Bagatti*. If the column belonged to the Byzantine church, the fragmentary inscription could refer to a person under whom the church was built, or this specific column erected.



fig. 2340

Bibl.: *Conder - Kitchener*, SWP 3 Judaea 237f.; *G. Schumacher*, PEQ 18, 1886, 173 (dr.) (edd. prr.). – *B. Bagatti*, SBF 24, 1974, 235ff. no. 8.

Photo: *Schumacher* 173 (dr.).

WE

E. Funerary inscriptions**2341. Grave marker of Anthusa with Greek inscription**

White marble. This grave marker closely resembles no. 2346 in form and measurements, as Schwabe emphasized. There is a small, almost cubic base on which a column rises. Base and column are made of one piece. A wreath is placed 1.2 cm below the end of the column. The inscription is on the base.

Meas.: base: h 13, w 16.5, d 13.5 cm; column h 18 cm; lower ø 15 cm; upper ø 13.5 cm; width of wreath 5 cm; inscription h 9.5 cm; letters 1.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, inv. no. MHS 133063.

ΑΝΘΟΥΣΑ
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ
ΚΑΙΑΛΥΠΕ
ΧΑΙΠΕ

Ἀνθοῦσα, | χρηστὴ | καὶ ἄλυπε, | χαῖρε

Anthusa, worthy and having caused no grief, greetings.

Comm.: Schwabe assigns the lettering to the 2 c. AD and notes that this kind of monument is usually found in Sidon (cf. no. 2346).

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, BIES 13, 1947, 149 with ph. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More 1, 1990, 71 no. 7 with dr. (Hebr.). – Cf. BE 1948, 250.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.



fig. 2341

WA

2342. Latin and Greek funerary inscription of the naclerus Gaius Comisius Memor

Tablet of white-yellow marble broken at the bottom. The polished surface is broken at top and bottom. The back is roughly dressed. Guidelines were prepared in advance. KOM in l.5 is visible, although the surface of the stone is splintered; lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 30.3, w 52, d 6.8 cm; letters 2.8-4 cm.

Findspot: The stone comes from a collection in the area of Tel Ashkelon. Its original location is unknown. It seems very likely to have been found not far away from Ashkelon before 1995.

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Khan Museum. Autopsy: 10 July 1998.



MEMORIAE
C·COMISI·MEMO
RIS·NAVCLERI·DE
OECO·POREVTICOR
ΜΝΗΜΗ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΚΟΜΙΣΙΟΥ
[--]

fig. 2342

Memoriae | G(ai) Comisi(i) Memo|ris naucleri de | oeco poreuticor(um) | Μνήμη
Γαίου Κομισίου | [Μέμορις ναυκλήρου ἐξ | οἴκου πορευτικῶν]

To the memory of Gaius Comisius Memor, shipowner in the guild for regular transport of goods.

Comm.: Gaius Comisius Memor was a Roman citizen with a rare *nomen gentile* (Eck - Zissu 90). He probably came from the western part of the Empire, and most likely from Italy. At any rate, his mother tongue is likely to have been Latin, as suggested by the fact that the Latin text precedes the Greek one in this bilingual inscription. Nevertheless, the characterization of his profession and membership: *nauclerus de oeco poreuticor(um)*, which is a literal translation of the Greek [ναυκλήρου ἐξ | οἴκου πορευτικῶν], points to a socio-economic context that was predominantly Greek. The term οἶκος expresses the Latin term *collegium*, a guild. The man's guild is likely to have dealt with the regular transport of food from a province to Rome; the adjective πορευτικός is normally used in connection with the transport of grain from Egypt to Rome (Eck - Zissu 92f.). It is likely that this particular *collegium* transported wine from the area near Ascalon to Rome. The letter-form points to a date no later than the second century AD.

Bibl.: W. Eck - B. Zissu, SCI 20, 2001, 89-96 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – AE 2001, 1969; SEG 51, 2016; BE 2002, 475; Eck, Rom und Judaea 183f. – On the navicularii = naucleroi, cf. J. Rougé, Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain, 1966, 239ff.; J. Vélissaropoulos, Les nauclères grecs, 1980, 91ff.; A. Sirks, Food for Rome, 1991; L. de Salvo, Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'impero Romano, 1992 (passim); S. Schmidt-Hofner, Reagieren und Gestalten, 2008, 290ff.

Photo: WE.

2343. Tomb marker for Domnis with Greek inscription

Made of plaster; conical and hollow object; inscription and decorations (bands and floral design) are painted: reddish brown and green on yellow wash. Only the top is preserved; when found, it was filled with earth. The inscription was set on a light background. The strokes below the name may have belonged to a palm-leaf.

Meas.: h 25, w 23 cm.

Findspot: Bought at Sheikh Awad, near Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1936-1877.

ΘΑΡΣΙ

ΔΟΜΝΙ (staurogram)

θάρσι,| Δόμνι

Be of good courage, Domnis.

Comm.: The adhortation to be of good courage is widespread among epitaphs, with and without the explanation that nobody is immortal. On the name cf. IGLS 2, 654.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2343

WA

2344. Tombstone with Greek inscription

Square tombstone made of gray marble and later reused as an anchor; three holes were cut into the slab, one for the rope attaching the anchor to the boat, two for wooden stakes to improve hold on the seabed; there is also an incised cross. The letters suffered much damage by the seawater.

Meas.: For the reused anchor: h 41, w 27.5, d 5.5 cm.

Findspot: North of Ashkelon in the sea.

Pres. loc.: IAA.

KANΛΙΣ[--]

KA[.]ΛΙΤ[--]

ΚΥΘΗΡΡ[--]

(cross)

Κανλισ[--] | Κα[λ]λιτ[--] | Κυθηρρ[--]

*Canlis... son of Callit... from the
demos Kytherrios?*



fig. 2344.1



fig. 2344.2



fig. 2344.3

Comm.: l.1: Καλλισ[θέν]ης ed. pr., but the first λ looks like a fragmentary N. Nothing is visible of the last two letters; a name beginning with Κανλισ-- is unknown, but the third letter can not be a *lambda*; l.2: Κα[λ]λιτ[--]ου ed. pr., but ΟΥ is not visible; l.3: Κυθηρρ[--] ed. pr., the H looks more like a M.

The text probably belonged to a funerary monument. If (!) the reading of the last word is correct, the dead person belonged to the Attic demos Kytherrios. Then the tombstone is likely to have been set up in a necropolis in Attica, since demotica were not used outside Athens. For comparable funerary texts found in Athens see e.g. IG II² 6611; or IG II² 6610: Ἀπολλόδωρος Σίμωνος Κυθήρριος. The ed. pr. suggested the island of Kythera as an alternative provenance, but this is impossible: the two *rhos* are certain, whereas the name of the island Kythera is always spelled with one *rho* only. The ed. pr. dates the stone by the style of the letters to the third century BC.

Bibl.: E. Galili - G. Finkielsztein - J. Ayalon - B. Rosen, *Atiqot* 71, 2012, 113-27 at 114 table 1 no. 1, 115ff. (Hebr.), 121* (E.S.) (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: E. Galili.

WE

2345. Fragment of a Latin inscription

Fragment of a thick slab of stone, perhaps part of the front plate of a basis; broken on the right-hand side and at the bottom, but probably not on the left-hand side and top.

Meas.: h 18.7, w 18.5, d 4.8 cm; letters 2.6-2.8 cm.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1951-134.

SEXVO[--]

SEX L[--]

++OV+[--]

[--]



fig. 2345

Sex(t-) Vo[--] | Sex(ti) l(ibert-) [--]++OV+[--][--]

Sextus Vo... freedman of Sextus (Vo...) ... or: For Sextus Vo... freedman of Sextus (Vo...) ...

Comm.: If correctly reconstructed, the inscription either recorded a monument erected by the freedman Sextus, or was written on his grave.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WE

2346. Grave marker of Zenobius with Greek inscription

White marble. This grave marker closely resembles no. 2341 in form and measurements, as Schwabe emphasized. There is a small, almost cubic base on which a column rises. Base and column are made of one piece. A wreath is placed 1.2 cm below the end of the column. The inscription is on the base.

Meas.: base: h 15, w 17, d 15.5 cm; column: h 19.5 cm; lower ø 16 cm; upper ø 14 cm; width of wreath 5 cm; inscription h 10.5 cm; letters 1.5-2 cm.
Pres. loc.: Eretz Israel Museum, inv. no. MHS 132963.

ZHNOBIE
XPHCTEKAI
AΩPEXAIPE
ZHΣAΣETHIC
MHNIHMEKB



fig. 2346

Ζηνόβιε, | χρηστὲ καὶ | ἄωρε, χαῖρε. | ζήσας ἔτη ις', | μῆν(ας) ι', ἡμέ(ρας) κβ'

Zenobius, worthy and untimely dead, greetings. He lived 16 years, 10 months, 22 days.

Comm.: Schwabe assigns the lettering to the 2 c. AD and notes that this kind of monument is usually found in Sidon (cf. no. 2341).

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, BIES 13, 1947, 149 with ph. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More 1, 1990, 70f. no. 6 with dr. (Hebr.). – Cf. BE 1948, 250.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2347. Fragment with Greek letters

Marble fragment, broken on all sides, except for the bottom and (perhaps) the right-hand side. *Omicron* and *upsilon* in ligature.

Meas.: h 14.5, w 18 cm; letters 1.6-3.7 cm.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition: Grid 41, Square 9, Layer 1: Byzantine pottery context. "From southeast S. Aisle."

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition, reg. no. MC 2944-A85-224.

[--]ΚΩΝ

[--]ΟΥ/ΗΠ (cross)

(cross)

Comm.: Probably a Greek funerary inscription.

Bibl.: Unpublished; information by R. Boehm (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.



fig. 2347

WE/WA

2348. Greek funerary inscription

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides except on the right, as it seems; the back is rough. Abbreviation mark in l.3. Meas.: h 15, w 15, d 4.5 cm; letters 3.5-4 cm.

Findspot: Brought to the IAA in 1951, probably by Z. Yeivin, from the collection in the tower of the mosque in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1951-132. Autopsy: 25 May 2012 (AE).

[--]+

[--]+ΠΕ

[--]+ΚΘ



fig. 2348.1

[--]+[-- ἄλ]υπε |[-- ἐτῶν] κθ'

... causing no grief... 29 years.

Comm.: If the remains before πε belong to an *upsilon* one could read ἄλυπε; cf. no. 2341; also BE 1959, 475; the fragment would then belong to a funerary text and the two letters in l.3 with the mark above them can be understood as the age of the deceased: 29 years old. Cf. CIIP II 1474.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; AE.



fig. 2348.2

WE/WA

2349. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Part of a sarcophagus lid(?); two erotes holding a garland above the inscription. The top is flat, perhaps sawn off. The inscription is on a raised border in the lower part. Meas.: h 7.5, w 12, d 9 cm; letters 3.5 cm (*omicron*).

Findspot: According to IAA, from Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1943-340.

[--]ZHNATO+[--]



fig. 2349.1



fig. 2349.2

Comm.: After *omicron* perhaps a trace of a lunate *sigma*, but it is possible that this is only the break. – The personal name Zenas?

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; WE.

WA

2350. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription, 600 AD

A piece of white marble; Bagatti believed it to be part of the tomb to which the crosses of no. 2351 belong.

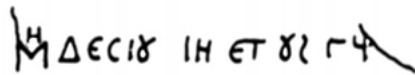


fig. 2350.1

Findspot: “Davanti alla tombo” (no. 2351), i.e. a tomb at a site called er-Raml el-Qibly, to the south of Ashkelon.

[--]ΜΗΔΕΣΙΟΥΙΗΕΤΟΥΣΓΨ

[--]μη(νι) Δεσίλου ιη' έτους γψ'

... on the 18th Daisios, in the year 703
(= 12 July 600).

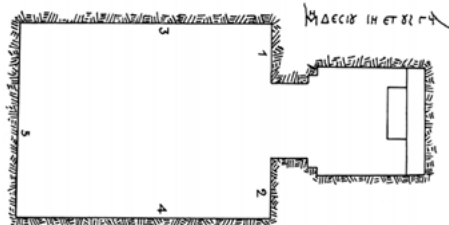


fig. 2350.2

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 230f. fig. 2 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Chron. Systems 70 no. 5; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 years and forty years more 1, 1990, 82 no. 22 (Hebr.).

Photo: B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 230 fig. 2 (dr.).

WA

2351. Painted crosses in a tomb with Greek letters

The wall of a tomb, south of Ashkelon, was decorated with six painted crosses. Some letters, not very well preserved, are reported in connection with four of the crosses. The position of the letters can be seen in the drawing.

Findspot: See description.

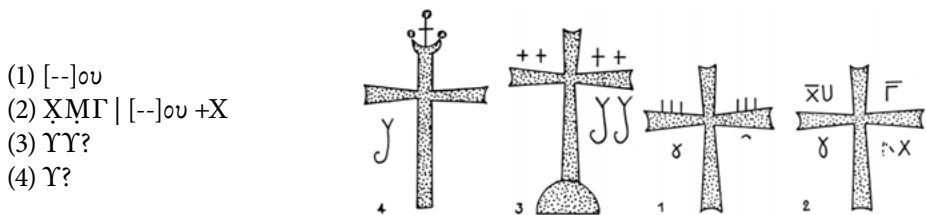


fig. 2351

Comm.: (2) Bagatti reads “Cristo, Michele e Gabriele”, which is one of the resolutions of this abbreviation – but there are others (cf. Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 111): Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ, Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθείς, Χριστὸς Μαρίας γέννα, X(ριστὸς) μ(έ)γ(ιστος). XMIΓ can also be interpreted as an isopsephon: the letters have the same numerical value (643) as the letters of θεὸς βοηθός or ἅγιος ὁ θεός. The abbreviation has several uses, some of them apotropaic. It is normally impossible to decide between its different meanings. - Cf. SEG 52, 1036 for literature; 53, 2068; 55, 1703, 1955.

Since the abbreviation for ου belongs at the end of a word and not at its beginning, Bagatti wonders whether this part of the inscription should be read from the right to the left, starting with the *chi*.

(3) and (4) One cannot be sure whether these signs are letters; but cf. Bagatti 1974 who thinks of an abbreviation: “La lettera Y può essere anche un numero, il 20 di carattere sepolcrale ma più probabilmente à l’inizio della parola *yghia* che va bene in una tomba quale augurio per la felicità del defunto.”

Bibl.: B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 229f. fig. 2 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., Alle origine della chiesa II, 1982, 247 fig. 33. – Cf. P. Perdrizet, REG 17, 1904, 357ff.; S. Llewelyn, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 8, 1998, 156ff. on XMIΓ.

Photo: B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 230 fig. 2 (dr.).

2352. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Left part of a funerary inscription, broken at the bottom; the right part may have been sawed off, indicating a later, secondary use of the stone.

Meas.: h 20, w 20 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: "Provenant d'Ascalon. Nous l'avons recueilli à Jaffa dans la collection du baron von Ustinov" (Germer-Durand); "d'Ascalon (ou de Gaza?)" (Clermont-Ganneau 1901).

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C41664.

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔ[--]
ΗΜΑΚΑΡ[--]
ΛΟΧΡΗΣ+[--]
ΔΙΔΑΚΥ+[--]
ΜΝΗΔΥΣ[--]
ΙΝΔ[--]



fig. 2352.1

ἐνθάδε[κεῖται] | ἡ μακαρί[α --] | ΛΟΧΡΗΣ+[--] | ΔΙΔΑΚΥ+[--] | μῆν'(δς)
Δύσ[τρον --] | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [--]

Here lies the blessed ... month of Dystros ... indiction ...

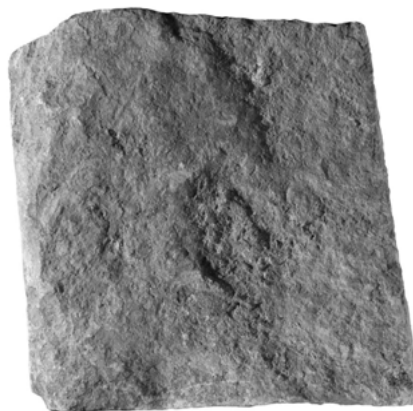


fig. 2352.2

Comm.: l.2f.: φιλοχρίστη? cf. Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris III 127 for the personal name Φιλόχριστος; ἐνθάδ[ε κεῖται] | ἡ μακαρ[ία καὶ φι]λοχρήσ[τη --] is perhaps too long; l.4: ΔΙΔΑΚΥ[--] Germer-Durand, ΑΙΔΑΚΥ Clermont-Ganneau 1900, possibly *kappa* with an abbreviation mark.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 250 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110 (dr. after squeeze); L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More 1, 1990, 82 no. 23 (Hebr.). – Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 139 no. 5.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

WA

F. Instrumentum domesticum

Amulets

2353. Ivory pyxis lid

Ivory lid of a round pyxis. A round sphere, pierced with four holes (perhaps for attaching a handle?) and encircled by three inscribed bands.

Meas.: Ø 7.8 cm.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition: Grid 50, Square 48, Layer 151 B77, in a fill with Late Roman/Byzantine pottery context.

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition, reg. no. MC 45548-A95-7224 and A93-5594.



fig. 2353

[--]+++OOOOΦΦΦΦ[--]+ΣΧ[--]XXXX[.]ΧΥΛΛΛΛ
 [--]ΒΕΝΘΕΝΒΑ[--]ΟΘΛΕΟΜΑΖ[--]ΒΑΘ[--]
 [--]ΖΟΡΟΥΘΕΝΑΔΕΣΕΑΒΙΟΥΡΟΑΘ[--]

Comm.: l.1 is filled with Greek letters (serving magical purposes) and, at the end, what is probably the magical sign $\bar{\Lambda}$ (rather than a *kappa* on its side) repeated four times. A magical sign of the same basic shape may be found, for example, in PGM VII 399, another in Suppl. Mag. I 48 J–K 27.

ll.2 and 3 contain magical words. It is a matter of guesswork how most of them should be divided. If by chance one should isolate BIOΥ and if this was not an *ex tempore* invention, one might compare BIOΥ BIOΥ BIBIOΥ in Suppl. Mag. I 44, 3-4 (see comm. ad loc.); see also A. Mastrocinque, ZPE 120, 1998, 113 on BIBIOΥ in l.5 of a magical gem now republished as SEG 58, 1306 (thanks to Robert Daniel for his help).

Bibl.: Unpublished; information by R. Boehm (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

WE

2354. Greek amulet, 3 c. AD

Red jasper, highly polished, originally made to fit a ring. On the obv. a figure with a human body but the head of a rooster (the body and the legs are human, but the feet are a rooster's feet). The figure has a whip in its right hand; the left carries a shield with inscription. This is a variation of the well-known anguipedes (on him, Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 123ff.), which has a human body and a rooster's head, carrying whip and shield. Rooster's feet for the anguipedes are singular, but there are parallels for human feet alone (Delatte - Derchain 41 no. 40; Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 141f. no. 230f.; Michel 248). Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 143f.: "Eine kleinteilige Arbeit mit Liebe zum Detail. Die polykletische Haltung mit der starken Verschiebung der Hüfte nach rechts und dem kraftvoll angespannten rechten Arm als Gegengewicht lassen die Figur bewegt erscheinen." - The rev. has only the inscription.

Meas.: h 2.3, w 1.6, d 0.4 cm.

Findspot: Said to be from Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: British Museum, inv. no. G 210, EA 56210 (Rev. Greville J. Chester, 1866).

obv.: IA

Ω

rev.: A

BAA

NAΘA

NAAA

BA

obv.: 'Ia|ω

rev.: α|βλα|ναθα|νααλ|βα

Comm.: It seems that red jasper was only rarely used for a motive of this kind (and Bonner 1951 therefore hesitated to believe this stone to be from antiquity; but see Michel 143).

obv.: On 'Iaω, see Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 374 (lit.): this name, perhaps derived from Jahwe, is made out of three vowels, and it is commonly used to designate the sun-god (three of the seven vowels used to designate the seven planets); nevertheless, there seems to be no religion whose adherents did not use 'Iaω for magical purposes. The shield with this vox magica can be found, too, in Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 115 no. 181 (anguipedes, as are most of the other examples); 120 no. 189; 123 no. 194; 125 no. 199; 126 no. 201.

rev.: A (not quite perfect) palindrome of the well-known vox magica, which is often combined with the serpent-legged god; Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 202 and e.g. Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 122 no. 193; 129 no. 208; 133ff. nos. 216-218. The palindrome is usually addressed at the sun-god (cf. Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 115 on the anguipedes as light-god) and is thought to represent a prayer for bodily well-being. There are different ideas about its origin, both starting from Hebrew: "lanu atha ab", 'you are our father', or 'atta barouch leolam adonai + nathan + alba', or 'ablanatha', 'father come', or 'ablanathalba', 'daughter of god'" (Brashear [Lit.]; Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 372). – The spelling with the double *alpha* in 1.4 seems to be singular, cf. Michel 489 for the major variants.



fig. 2354.1 (obv.)



fig. 2354.2 (rev.)

Bibl.: C. Bonner, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, 328 pl. 97,29 (ed. pr.). – Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 143 no. 232 (dr.) pl. 3 (ph.); Michel 248. – Cf. Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 130 n. 33; A. Delatte – P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, 1964; W. Brashear, *ANRW II* 18,5, 1995, 3577; Michel 481.

Photo: Michel, *Magische Gemmen* pl. 33 no. 2.

WA

2355. Lead plaquette with Greek invocation of the One God

Rectangular plaquette; obv.: within a circle, Helios on his chariot, holding a globe in his right hand; rev.: “stamped inscription” (Di Segni).

Meas.: 2.5x1.8 cm.

Findspot: In the dunes of Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Private collection of Dr. M. Lavi (Di Segni).

ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣΟΒΟΗΘΩ

ΕΘΛΟΓΙΑ

ΠΑΣΕΙΝ

εἰς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶ(ν). | εὐλογία | πᾶσιν

One God is the helping one. A blessing for all.

Comm.: On Helios, see Bonner, esp. 149 on representations of the god holding a globe; Michel 279f., who has half a dozen examples of Helios holding a globe, but none with Helios and a globe in the chariot. – l.1: on the missing *nu* at the end of the last word, see Gignac I 111f. (in pausa and before a word starting with a vowel). – l.2f.: Whereas the simple noun εὐλογία was used in different contexts by pagans, Jews and Christians alike, εὐλογία πᾶσιν is an expression typical for Jewish texts, as Robert noted long ago. Its use is often deemed sufficient to establish the “Jewishness” of a text (cf. e.g. Ameling, *IJO II* 13, 5; 155, 16; 156, 8). Di Segni noted this and supplied the relevant parallels. Helios driving his chariot is “freely represented in synagogue decoration and played an important role in Jewish magic in the Talmudic period” (Di Segni 104, referring to M. Margalioth, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 1966, XV; 11ff.; 98f.). On the other hand, Di Segni believes that Jews did not use this blessing with an apotropaic intention – as it is clearly used here. Therefore she thinks it possible that this was a Gnostic phylactery (pagan or Christian according to Belayche).

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 104f. no. 32 (ed. pr.). – SEG 44, 1351; Peterson - Marksches, Heis Theos 543f. no. 16.3. – Cf. L. Robert, Études anatoliennes, 1937, 409ff.; Bonner, Magical Amulets 148ff.; Belayche, Pagan Cults 232.

WA

2356. Greek inscribed cross

Sheat of silver(?), cut in the form of a cross. Some of the letters were destroyed by the insertion of nails for the attachment of the cross on another object.

Meas.: h 7.1, w (at the top) 2.6 cm (Vincent).

Pres. loc.: Part of the collection of Baron Ustinov (Vincent). Present whereabouts unknown.

(cross) ΚΥΡΙΕΚΑ

ΤΑΡΓΙΣ

ΟΝΤΟΚ

ΑΚΟΝ

ΑΠ[.]

ΤΗΣ

ΔΟΥ

ΛΗ

[.]ΟΥ

ΟΥΤ

ΙΝΟΣ

ΚΙΣΤΟ

ΟΝΟΜ

Α



fig. 2356

Κύριε, κα[ταργί]σον τὸ κ[α]κὸν | ἀπ[ὸ] | τῆς | δού[λ]ης> | [σ]ου, | οὗ γ[ιν]οσ[κ]ις τὸ | ὄνομ[α]

Lord, avert the evil from your maidservant, whose name you know.

Comm.: | is used to mark the transition from one arm of the cross to another. – Clermont-Ganneau 180: “Étant donnée la teneur de la formule, il est peu probable que ce soit une applique funéraire. C’est plutôt un véritable phylactère chrétien destiné à un vivant ... Nous avons plusieurs exemples dans l’épigraphie chrétienne de Syrie de cette formule d’anonymat”. καταργέω is frequently used in Christian texts for similar purposes, but there seems to be no perfect parallel (in funerary inscriptions from Nubia, God is commonly called ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας).

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 611 no. 15 with dr. (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 6, 1905, 180 no. 15; B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 239; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 years and forty years more 1, 1990, 82 no. 24 with dr. (Hebr.).

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 611 no. 15 (dr.).

WA

2357. Greek inscribed cross as pendant

Lead cross with slightly ornamented branches; the lower middle branch is missing. The inscription is arranged in the usual way, the two words crossing each other. The *zeta* is mirror-inverted.

Meas.: h 3.9, w 3.9 cm.

Φ (top), Ζ (left side), Ω (center), Η (right side), [.] (bottom)

vertical: φῶ[ς]
horizontal: ζωή

Light. Life.

Comm.: The combination of these words is typically Christian; see especially Jn 1,4 and cf. comm. on CIIP II 1690.



fig. 2357

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 3, 1903, 611 no. 17 with dr. (ed. pr.). – Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 6, 1905, 181 no. 17; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/53, 130 no. 36 (dr.); id., SBF 24, 1974, 239; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., Ascalon. 4000 years and forty years more 1, 1990, 82 no. 25 with dr. (Hebr.).

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 3, 1903, 606 no. 17 (dr.).

WA

Weights

2358. Hellenistic lead weight of agoranomos Nicander, 122/1 BCE

A lead weight of a square shape. One side has raised borders decorated on the exterior with an “ovolo” pattern. There is an inscription in five lines within the field; lunate *sigma*. The reverse side has a network pattern.

Meas.: h 3.5, w 3.5, th 0.3 cm; wt 35.3 g.

Findspot: Allegedly from Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem, inv. no. 717. Autopsy: June 2012.

ΛΑΩΡΑ
ΓΟΡΑΝΟ
ΜΟΥΝΤΟ
ΣΝΙΚΑΝ
ΔΡΟΥ +

(Ἔτους) ἀγορᾶ ἄγορανο|μουῦντο|ς Νικάν|δρου +

Year 191, Nicander being agoranomos.



fig. 2358.1



fig. 2358.2

Comm.: The weight has a network pattern on the reverse, which assures its belonging to the Hellenistic period. Year 191 counted from the Seleucid era of 312 BCE equals 122/1 BCE. The “ovolo” decoration on the borders is also characteristic of the Hellenistic period; it further hints at the coastal location of the city that produced the item (A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 6, 2011, 56). The mass of the weight (35.3 g) suggests that it was intended as 1/16 of the Seleucid mina current in Palestine (between 550-600 g). l.5: the *upsilon* resembles *phi*, with its upper part being somewhat flower-like. At some distance from it, on the right, there is another sign consisting of a vertical bar and a diagonal bar beginning at the bottom of the vertical bar and going right. This unclear sign at the end of the inscription may have been meant to indicate a weight unit.

Bibl.: A. Decloedt, *RB* 23, 1914, 552f. no. 4 pl. 1,4 (ed. pr.). – A. Kushnir-Stein, *ZDPV* 113, 1997, 88-91 at 89 no. 1.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AKS

2359. Hellenistic lead weight from Tyre, 115/4 BCE

A rectangular lead weight, apparently without a handle or loop. One side has raised borders, sloping towards a square frame in relief in the center of the field. The sloping part of the borders is decorated by the “ovolo” design. There is an inscription in

one line within the square frame. The reverse has a network pattern, with the sign of Tanit in the center.

Meas.: h 2.7, w 3 cm; wt 55 g.

Findspot: Allegedly found in Ashkelon. Manufactured in Tyre.

Pres. loc.: Former collection of Baron Ustinov (Vincent). Present whereabouts unclear.

LBI

(Ἔτους) βι'

Year 12.

Comm.: The weight belongs to a well established series of weights from Tyre dated by "Year 12" of the city's autonomy. Tyre was granted the autonomous status in 126/5 BCE; Year 12 thus equals 115/4 BCE. Known denominations of this series range from a Tyrian mina (ca. 450 g) to "an eighth" (ca. 55 g). All weights of the series have a network reverse with the sign of Tanit. The present weight, with its mass of 55 g, belongs to the smallest known denomination.

The ed. pr. (Vincent) read the inscription as LB and suggested that it means *Librae B* and that the weight was probably made on the Roman standard. Clermont-Ganneau supported the idea of the Roman standard but suggested that the letters should be read as if written upside down (ΓΒ) which would mean "two ounces". Neither read the vertical line that appears to the right of B as *iota*. In 1992, Gatier - Planet published another weight inscribed LBI, of an external appearance and mass very similar to the present one (57.98 g). As more weights of the whole of the "Year 12" series were known by that time, the authors were able to attribute the weight to this series and consequently to read the inscription correctly and to interpret it as a date.

Weights of Tyre from the 2 c. BCE have been found in several other Palestinian cities, mostly in the coastal region: Dora/Dor (CIIP II 2132), Ashdod (only sign of Tanit, but no letters; HA 10, 1964, 18 [Hebr.]), Gezer (R. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1905 and 1907-1909*, vol. II, 1912, 286 fig. 434).

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 no. 10 (dr.), 608 (description with dipl. text) (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 6, 1905, 177f.; P.-L. Gatier - F. Planet, *Bulletin des musées et monuments Lyonnais*, 2, 1992, 6f. no. 4. – On the series of "Year 12", cf. S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden IV* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 49), 1983, nos. 5073-5075; J. Elayi - A. Elayi, *Recherches sur les poids phéniciens*, 1997, nos. 392-395, 397-402.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 no. 10 (dr.).

AKS



fig. 2359.1



fig. 2359.2

2360. Two lead weights with a Greek letter indicating their mass in drachms, 2 c. BCE-2 c. CE

(a) A square lead weight with a loop at its top. One side has raised borders and a raised square frame in the center of the field. The space between the frame and the borders is decorated by vertical strokes. There is a big Greek letter within the square frame. The reverse has not been reported.

(b) A rectangular lead weight with a loop at its top. The lateral sides are sloping towards the reverse side; the upper part of the weight is wider than its lower part. The inscribed side has slightly raised borders with a big Greek letter in the center of the field. The reverse has not been reported.

Meas.: (a) h 3.2, w 3.5 cm; wt 25 g; (b) h 3 cm (with handle); wt 29 g.

Findspot: Allegedly found in Ashkelon (a and b).

Pres. loc.: Former collection of Baron Ustinov (Vincent). Present whereabouts unclear.

(a) and (b) H

(a) and (b) η'

(a) and (b) *Eight*.



fig. 2360.1 (a)



fig. 2360.2 (b)

Comm.: The basic weight unit to which the number on the weights relates must have been the Ptolemaic (Phoenician) drachm, of about 3.5 g. A relatively large number of lead weights made on this standard are known, cf. S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, nos. 4106-4108 [H], 4112, 4115, 4116 [Δ, B, A]; III (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 45), 1981, nos. 94, 95, 97 [H, Δ, B]; IV (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 49), 1983, nos. 5094-5096 [Δ, A]. Three such weights, bearing numbers Δ, B and A, were found in the excavations at the fortress of Gamla, see D. Syon - Z. Yavor, *Qadmoniot* 34, 2001, 22 (Hebr.) (ph. of two of the weights). Since the Romans destroyed Gamla in 67 CE, this date provides

the terminus ante quem for the introduction of weights of this type in the area of Palestine. Lead weights bearing Greek letters first appear in Palestine under the Seleucids, in the 2 c. BCE. The earliest among them have neither handles, nor loops, which are attested only around mid-2 c. BCE. Since loops do appear on the weights under discussion, mid-2 c. BCE would be the approximate terminus post quem for them. Whether such weights continued to be produced after the First Jewish Revolt, is impossible to say at present. Hellenistic units of weight survived in Palestine well into the early Roman period, but were later gradually replaced by local weight units and then by the Roman weight standard. A use of a Hellenistic weight unit later than 2 c. CE would thus seem somewhat unlikely.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 no. 18 (dr.) (b), 19 (dr.) (a), 611 (description with diplomatic and reading text) (ed. pr.).

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 nos. 19 (a), 18 (b) (dr.).

AKS

**2361. Lead weight of pentagonal form inscribed in Greek,
probably from Laodicea in Syria, 1-2 c. CE**

A pentagonal lead weight without a loop or handle. One of the flat sides has raised borders and an inscription in two lines in the upper part of the field (a). The reverse side is reported to have an inscription in one line (b), in very low relief and worn. Meas.: wt 81 g (no other measurements available).

Findspot: Allegedly found in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Former collection of Baron Ustinov (Vincent). Present whereabouts unclear.

(a) ΕΚΚΑΙ

ΔΕΚΑ

(b) ΚΙ

(a) *ἐκκαίδεκα* or *ἐκκαίδέκα(τον)*

(b) ΚΙ

(a) *sixteen* or *sixteenth*



fig. 2361 (a)

Comm.: The weight puzzled earlier scholars (Vincent, Clermont-Ganneau), who found it difficult not only to reconcile the meaning of *ἐκκαίδεκα* (sixteen) with the mass of the item (81 g) but also to establish, in general, the weight system

meant by this inscription. Further difficulties unmentioned by these scholars would involve the unusual form of the weight and the absence of either loop or handle, which are characteristic of the large majority of Palestinian weights from the Roman period.

The word *έκκαιδέκα* or *έκκαιδέκα(τον)* must have related to the mass of the item. With the version *έκκαιδέκα* (meaning “sixteen”), it is indeed unclear what weight unit it may have referred to; nor can the appearance of the letters KI on the opposite side be explained. However, according to H. Seyrig, if the word is completed as *έκκαιδέκα(τον)*, meaning “sixteenth”, then the weight would perfectly fit the group of undated *έκκαιδέκατον* weights manufactured in Laodicea in Syria. The *έκκαιδέκατον* weights of Laodicea come in a variety of shapes (circular, rectangular, triangular, lozenge), so that the form of the item under review would not look as exceptional as it does when put in the context of Palestinian weights. Apart from weights of triangular shape, the above-mentioned weights from Laodicea have no loops or handles. Furthermore, among six *έκκαιδέκατον* weights that were registered by Seyrig for the undated series of Laodicea (series 2, nos. 11-16), two have the mass of 82 and 83 g, very close to 81 g of the present item. One of the weights from Laodicea has also two letters on the other side, of unclear meaning. Seyrig 66f. assigns the undated group of weights from Laodicea to the 1-2 c. CE.

Since Seyrig’s suggestion explains most of the peculiar features of the present item in a satisfactory way, his tentative attribution to Laodicea and his dating have been adopted here.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 no. 20 (dr.), 611 (description with diplomatic and reading text); (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 6, 1905, 179; H. Seyrig, Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth 8, 1946/48, 58 n. 3, 66f.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 no. 20 (dr.).

AKS

2362. TETAPTON lead weight inscribed on both sides, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of a rectangular shape, with a loop at the top and a handle at the bottom. One side has raised bevelled borders; in the field is an inscription in three lines (a). The opposite side has raised borders and also a raised square frame in the center. Within this square frame is a big Greek letter (b).

Meas.: h 4.2, w 3.8, th 0.45 cm; wt 78 g.

Findspot: Allegedly from Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem, inv. no. 716. Autopsy: June 2012.

(a) TE
TAP
TON

(b) Δ

(a) τέ|ταρ|τον

(b) δ'

(a) A quarter.

(b) A quarter.



fig. 2362.1 (a)



fig. 2362.2 (b)

Comm.: The mass of the item, 78 g, multiplied by four, would give 312 g, which may be considered fairly close to the Roman *libra* standard. It may be noticed, though, that an old Greek division of a main weight unit into 2, 4, 8 etc. is employed on the present weight, while fractions of the Roman *libra* were usually indicated in *unciae*. A weight from Ascalon, dated to 148/9 CE (no. 2584), has almost the same mass, 78.4 g; this would suggest the date of the 2 c. CE or later for the item under discussion. At the same time, even if the weight under review was indeed meant to be a quarter of the Roman *libra*, the indication of a fraction of the main unit by the Greek division system could hardly have occurred after the very beginning of the 4 c. CE, having been almost universally replaced around that time by the Roman *libra* system in its entirety, i.e. together with indications of smaller units in *unciae*. The most likely period for the weight's manufacture would thus be the 2-3 c. CE.

Bibl.: A. Decloedt, RB 23, 1914, 552 no. 3 pl. 1,3 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2363. Bronze weights with indication of mass in nomismata, 5-7 c. CE

Square or round bronze weights with an inscription in one line on one of their flat surfaces. The sign and the digit are separated by a round cavity on (d) and (f). Silver inlay is preserved on (a) and (c). The reverse side is blank on (a)-(c) and (e); (d) and (f) have a small round cavity in the center.

Meas.: (a) \varnothing 1.5, th 0.25 cm; wt 4.47 g; (b) h 1.2, w 1.2, th 0.4 cm; wt 4.29 g; (c) h 1.2, w 1.2, th 0.4 cm; wt 4.29 g; (d) \varnothing 2.0, th 0.5 cm; wt 8.55 g; (e) h 1.75, w 1.75, th 0.4 cm; wt 13.25 g (Decloedt); (f) \varnothing 2.0, th 0.7 cm; wt 17.96 g.

Findspot: Allegedly found in Ashkelon (a-f).

Pres. loc.: Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem, inv. nos. 786 (a); 767 (b); 766 (c); 761 (d); 775 (f).

Autopsy: June 2012 (a-d) and (f). (e) published as part of the Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem (Decloedt). Present whereabouts unclear.

(a-c) NO

(a-c) Νό(μισμα)

(a-c) (One) *nomisma*.



fig. 2363.1 (a)



fig. 2363.2 (a)



fig. 2363.3 (a)



fig. 2363.4 (b)



fig. 2363.5 (b)



fig. 2363.6 (b)



fig. 2363.7 (c)



fig. 2363.8 (c)



fig. 2363.9 (c)

(d) NO B

(d) Νο(μίσματα) β'

(d) *Two nomismata.*



fig. 2363.10 (d)



fig. 2363.11 (d)



fig. 2363.12 (d)

(e) NOΓ

(e) Νο(μίσματα) γ'

(e) *Three nomismata.*



fig. 2363.13 (e)

(f) N Δ

(f) Νο(μίσματα) δ'

(f) *Four nomismata.*



fig. 2363.14 (f)



fig. 2363.15 (f)



fig. 2363.16 (f)

Comm.: On the smallest weights, the inscription consists of a single ligature of *nu* and *omicron* (large N with a small *omicron* above); the meaning of the sign is “nomisma”. The same ligature appears on two larger weights (d-e), followed by a letter signifying a numeral. The weight (f) appears to have N without the *omicron*. These weights bear no crosses. However, their style is very similar to those with crosses (no. 2364, CIIP II 1748) and, therefore, their dating would be approximately the same, 5-7 c. CE.

Bibl.: A. Decloedt, RB 23, 1914, 554f. nos. 1a-b + var., 2, 3a, 4 var., pl. 2,6-10, 14 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer (ph.); A. Decloedt, pl. 2,6-10 (a-d) and 14 (f) (dr.).

AKS

2364. Bronze weights with crosses, indicating mass in nomismata, 5-7 c. CE

Square or round bronze weights with a two-letter inscription on one of their flat surfaces. The first letter of the inscription is a sign composed of a large N with small *omicron* above, meaning “nomisma” or “nomismata”; the second letter is a numeral. The sign and the digit are separated by a round cavity on (c). All the weights show a cross, placed above the letters. The design of (b) includes also a wreath around the letters and the cross. Silver inlay is preserved on (a), but disappeared from (d). The reverse side is blank on (a) and (d); it has a raised border on (b) and (c), with a small central round cavity in the center on (c).

Meas.: (a) h 1.75, w 1.75, th 0.4 cm; wt 13.1 g; (b) ø 2.05, th 0.4 cm; wt 12.1 g; (c) ø 2.0, th 0.7 cm; wt 17.5 g; (d) h 2.35, w 2.35, th 0.5 cm; wt 26.3 g.

Findspot: Allegedly found in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem, inv. nos. 763 (a); 776 (b); 774 (c); 759 (d). Autopsy: June 2012.

(a) NOΓ

(a) Νο(μίσματα) γ'

(a) *Three nomismata.*



fig. 2364.1 (a)



fig. 2364.2 (a)



fig. 2364.3 (a)

(b) NOΓ

(b) Νο(μίσματα) γ'

(b) *Three nomismata.*



fig. 2364.4 (b)



fig. 2364.5 (b)



fig. 2364.6 (b)

(c) NO Δ

(c) Νο(μίσματα) δ'

(c) *Four nomismata.*



fig. 2364.7 (c)



fig. 2364.8 (c)



fig. 2364.9 (c)

(d) NO Σ

(d) Νο(μίσματα) ς'

(d) *Six nomismata.*



fig. 2364.10 (d)



fig. 2364.11 (d)



fig. 2364.12 (d)

Comm.: Byzantine bronze weights with crosses are usually dated to 5-7 c. CE.

Bibl.: A. Decloedt, RB 23, 1914, 555 nos. 3a var.-b, 4, 5, pl. 2,11-13, 15 (ed. pr.). – Cf. CIIP II 1748 (similar weights found in Caesarea).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer (ph.); A. Decloedt, pl. 2,11-13 (a-c) and 15 (d) (dr.).

AKS

2365. Bronze weights with the ligature $\Gamma\omicron$ indicating number of ounces, 5-7 c. CE

Square or round bronze weights with two-letter inscription on one of their flat surfaces. The first letter of the inscription is Γ with small *omicron* underneath its horizontal bar, meaning “ounce/s”; the second letter is a numeral. All the weights show a cross, sometimes placed between the letters, but sometimes above them. The design often includes also a wreath around the letters and the cross. On one weight (e), the letters and the cross are positioned inside a two-column aedicule. Some of the items had originally been inlaid with silver, now lost. The reverse side is blank, except for (d), which has a small cavity in the center and a double circle along the edge.

Meas.: (a) h 2.2, w 2.2, th 0.55 cm; wt 26.3 g; (b) h 3.1, w 3.1, th 0.5 cm; wt 50.5 g; (c) \varnothing 3.1, th 0.75 cm; wt 50.63 g; (d) \varnothing 3.8, th 0.9 cm; wt 79.25 g; (e) h 3.4, w 3.4 cm; wt 79.5 g; (f) \varnothing 4.7 cm; wt 162 g (Vincent).

Findspot: Allegedly found in Ashkelon (a-f).

Pres. loc.: (a-d) Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem, inv. nos. 760 (a); 756 (b); 771 (c); 770 (d). Autopsy: June 2012. (e-f) Former collection of Baron Ustinov (Vincent). Present whereabouts unknown.

(a) $\Gamma\omicron$ A

(a) (Οὐνχία) α'

(a) *One ounce.*



fig. 2365.1 (a)



fig. 2365.2 (a)



fig. 2365.3 (a)

(b-c) ΓΟ Β

(b-c) (Οὐνχίαι) β'

(b-c) *Two ounces.*



fig. 2365.4 (b)

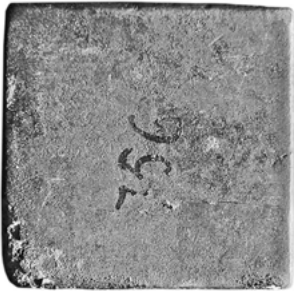


fig. 2365.5 (b)

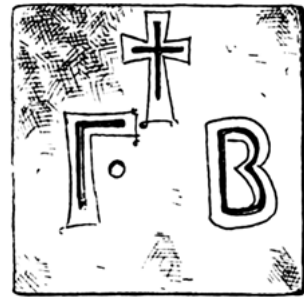


fig. 2365.6 (b)



fig. 2365.7 (c)



fig. 2365.8 (c)



fig. 2365.9 (c)

(d-e) ΓΟ Γ

(d-e) (Οὐνχίαι) γ'

(d-e) *Three ounces.*



fig. 2365.10 (d)



fig. 2365.11 (d)



fig. 2365.12 (d)



fig. 2365.13 (e)

(f) ΓΟ Σ

(f) (Οὐνχίαι) ς'

(f) *Six ounces.*



fig. 2365.14 (f)

Comm.: The weights (e)-(f) proved difficult to trace and the only surviving documentation consists of descriptions and drawings as given by edd. prr. The

appearance of the cross gives the 5 c. CE as the terminus ab quo for the items (G. Brands, AA 1998, 485f.). For similar weights found in Caesarea, cf. CIIP II 1746.

Bibl.: A. Decloedt, RB 23, 1914, 553f. nos. 1-3a pl. 2,1-4 (a-d); L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 nos. 11-12 (dr.), 608f. (description with diplomatic and reading text) (e-f) (edd. prr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer (a-d) (ph.); A. Decloedt, pl. 2,1-4 (a-d) (dr.); L. Vincent, 606 nos. 11-12 (e-f) (dr.).

AKS

2366. A bronze weight of three ounces with a christogram, 5-7 c. CE

A square bronze weight with an inscription in one line on one of the flat sides. Above the inscription is a christogram. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 3.1, w 3.1, th 0.85 cm; wt 77.50 g.

Findspot: Allegedly from Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Museum of St. Anne, Jerusalem, inv. no. 757. Autopsy: June 2012.

Γ Γ

(Οὐνχίαι) γ'



fig. 2366.1



fig. 2366.2

Three ounces.

Comm.: The christogram consists of X with a long vertical line crossing it in the middle. Christograms on Byzantine bronze weights are rare (CIIP II 2153; S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden III* [Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 45], 1981, no. 149.), as compared with crosses of various shapes that are present on the greater part of them. However, judging from the style of the weights with christograms, they would belong to the same period as those with crosses, 5-7 c. CE.

Bibl.: A. Decloedt, RB 23, 1914, 554 no. 3b pl. 2,5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AKS

Lead seals

2367.-2377. Lead seals from the Ustinov collection

In 1904, J. Germer-Durand published eleven Byzantine lead seals found in Ashkelon, which belonged to the Baron von Ustinov's collection at the time. It is unknown whether or not these seals remained part of the collection or passed into other hands. In any case, their present location is unknown. Their inclusion in the CIIP relies solely on Germer-Durand's account. The photos he published in his article were taken from casts; their poor quality makes it hard to check his readings.

2367. Lead seal of the emperor Phocas with Latin inscription, 602-610 AD

Obv.: The Virgin, nimbate, standing facing forward, holding the infant Christ in front of her with both hands. The figure is flanked by a cross with a long vertical bar on each side. Rev.: Bust of Phocas, with pointed beard, facing forward; he wears a crown with a cross and a chlamys, and seems to hold a globe with a cross on it in his right hand. The effigy is encircled by the inscription, of which only the right-hand part can be figured out from the photo published by Germer-Durand.

[.]NF[--] PERP·AVG·

[D(ominus)] n(oster) F[ocas] perp(etuus)
Aug(ustus)

Our Lord Phocas, Augustus forever.



fig. 2367

Comm.: For parallel lead seals of the emperor Phocas, see G. Zacos - A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals I* 1, 1972, 11f. nos. 8 and 9, pl. 10, which represent two variants (cf. so already A. Sorlin Dorigny, *RA nouv. sér.* 22, 1881, 90f.). The obverse is identical on both seals, but the designs of the imperial effigy on the reverse differ slightly: in type A (no. 8) the arms hang down close to the body whereas in type B (no. 9) the emperor holds a globe in his right hand, which is raised towards the left, as seems to be the case here, and would assign the present seal to type B.

In four out of five specimens mentioned in Zacos - Veglery, the part of the legend bearing the name Focas is preserved; in all four cases the name is in the nominative case, found on seals of other emperors as well: e.g. Iustinianus I (Zacos - Veglery I.1, 7f. no. 3), Iustinus II (ibid. 9 no. 5), Heraclius (ibid. 13f. no. 12), Constans II (ibid. 17 no. 15).

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, *EO* 7, 1904, 193 no. 1 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 193 no. 1.

WE/DK

2368. Lead seal of Alexander (?), 6-7 c. AD

Obv.: block monogram with a cross above it; rev.: block monogram.

Obv.: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (?)

Rev.: monogram containing the letters E, M(?), O, Π, P(?), T, Υ

Ἀλεξάνδρου || ... (?)



fig. 2368

(Seal) of Alexander ... (?)

Comm.: Germer-Durand's reading of the name Alexander can neither be falsified, nor supported (neither *epsilon* nor *xi* or *rho* can be identified) by what can be seen on the photograph. For a similar monogram, also with a cross above and read as the name Alexander, see D. Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, 2004, 196 no. 93. However, there exist several similar looking types of block monograms read differently (see e.g. nos. 2372, 2373; I. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria* 3, 2009, pl. III no. 46, pl. V no. 141; PLRE III B 1563 no. 181).

Germer-Durand's reading *πρε(σβυτ)έρου* on the reverse is also problematic: 1) There seems to be no parallel for the office of presbyteros being presented in a block monogram similar to the one on the seal; 2) the reverse need not give the office of the person whose name appears in the obverse: a second personal name, a father's name or the name of a another person might have appeared there as well.

The *pi* to whose right hasta three horizontal strokes are attached to create an *epsilon* is the main element here; at its top a loop for a *rho* could be read, and the extended horizontal bar of *pi* at the left may indicate a *tau* in ligature with the *pi*. Inscribed into the lower part of *pi* is *omicron-epsilon* in ligature, with the diagonal hastae of the *epsilon* touching the vertical bars of *pi*. The latter design seems to be unattested, with the exception of no. 2375; it might have been used to indicate a *mu* in addition. Since no. 2375 and a similar monogram (P. Speck, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin (West)*, 1986, 38 no. 12, admittedly with *omicron-epsilon* in ligature given in small scale on top of the horizontal bar of *pi*) are read as Πέτρου, the monogram on the present item might be understood in the same way.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 194 no. 9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 194 no. 9.

2369. Lead seal of Victor, mid 6-7 c. AD

Obv.: bust of the Virgin between two crosses; rev.: cruciform monogram.

ΒΙΚΤΟΡΟΣ

Βίχτορος

(Seal) of Victor.

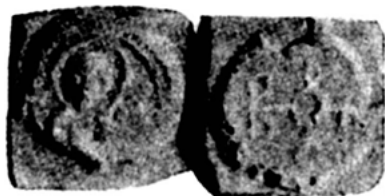


fig. 2369

Comm.: Only the *beta* on the left hasta of the cross and the *omicron* in the center can be safely read in the photo. A *kappa* on the right-hand side seems probable; thus Germer-Durand's suggestion to read the name Victor in the monogram may be accepted.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 193 no. 6 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 193 no. 6.

WE/DK

2370. Lead seal of Georgia (?), mid 6-8 c. AD

Obv.: sitting Virgin with the infant Christ on her knees; rev.: cruciform monogram.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ (?)

Γεωργία (?)

(Seal) of Georgia (?).



fig. 2370

Comm.: Germer-Durand's reading of the monogram, which makes a woman the owner of a seal, seems questionable, since women are rarely attested as such in the early Byzantine period. An *omega* on the lower hasta of the cross, an *iota* on its left and an *alpha* on the right-hand side are clearly visible. A loop to the right on the upper hasta of the cross, near its center, can be identified as a *rho*. Given its proximity to the center, one would expect another letter at the top.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 193 no. 4 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 193 no. 4.

WE/DK

2371. Lead seal of Theodorus, mid 6-7 c. AD

Obv.: bust of the Virgin between two crosses; rev.: cruciform monogram.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ

Θεοδώρου

(Seal) of Theodorus.

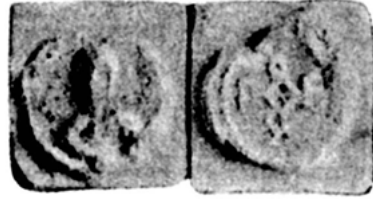


fig. 2371

Comm.: The letters suggested by Germer-Durand's reading can be identified on the photo: *theta* in the center of the cross, *rho* on the left-hand side, *epsilon* on the right-hand side, *delta* and *omega* at the bottom, and a ligature of *omicron-upsilon* at the top. For cruciform monograms showing this arrangement of letters, see G. Zacos - A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals I*, pl. 234 types 180-182. Type 181 has a rhomboid *theta*, like the one here. However, none of the seals with monogram type 181 on the reverse shows a bust of the Virgin on the obverse. On the other hand, this is the case with one specimen each of type 180 and 182 showing round *theta*: Zacos - Vegler 756f. nos. 1214 and 1216, pl. 97. In both cases the bust is flanked by crosses as on the present seal. Since on both parallels the Virgin holds the infant Christ in front of her, this may well be the case here, but the quality of the photo defies certainty. Θεοδώρου is the reading usually given for this set of letters in a monogram (so, Zacos - Vegler), but reading Δωροθέου would be possible, too.

Zacos - Vegler, nos. 1214 and 1216 are dated by the authors to 550-650. Of the six specimens showing the rhomboid *theta*, four are dated to the same period (nos. 452, 511, 518, 525), the remaining two (nos. 509, 1215) to the 7 c. – which suggests an approximate date for the present item.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 193 no. 7 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 193 no. 7.

WE/DK

2372. Lead seal of Iulianus patricius (?), mid 6-7 c. AD

Obv. and rev.: Eagle with outstretched wings, raised to form a crescent-shaped curve; head and tail turning rightward; a block monogram above the eagle's head and between the tips of its wings.



Obv.: ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ (?)

Rev.: ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ (?)

fig. 2372

Ἰουλιανοῦ || πατρικίου (?)

(Seal) of *Iulianus patricius* (?).

Comm.: “Eagle” seals are not uncommon (cf. G. Zacos - A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals* I 1, 1972, 489ff. nos. 585-730 and D. Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, 2004, 302ff. nos. 307-410), with the eagle on the obverse and inscriptions or cruciform monograms on the reverse – less frequent are block monograms (Metcalf nos. 307-317). However, there is no parallel for the representation of an eagle on both obverse and reverse, present on this seal. Furthermore, commonly a cruciform monogram, a small cross, a star appear between the eagle’s wings (unless nothing does); a block monogram, as on the present item, is again an exception. Zacos - Vegler give two examples (nos. 656, 668) and Metcalf three (nos. 309, 311, 316).

According to Germer-Durand the reading of the monogram on the obverse could be ΟΥΑΛΕΠΙΟΥ. The main objection to his reading is that the photograph seems to show a *nu* to be the main element of the block monogram: an *alpha* is inscribed into it, and a loop attached to the left vertical hasta of the *nu* facing right stands for an *omicron*; on top of the *nu*’s right hasta two short diagonal lines indicating an *upsilon* seem to be discernible; presumably the *lambda* in Valerius should be taken as part of the monogram and the *rho* may be suggested by the loop simultaneously representing the *omicron*. However, all this does not account for the *nu* forming the basic element of a monogram of a Valerius, and an *epsilon* is not recognizable as part of the monogram on the photograph. These considerations seem strong enough to tilt the balance in favor of the reading Iulianus, especially since monograms of Iulianus Argentarius on capitals in the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna match the monogram on this seal perfectly (for these, see F. Deichmann, *Felix Ravenna* 3rd ser. 5, 1951, 5ff.).

For the reverse Germer-Durand observes “un autre monogramme incomplet, indicant peut-être la qualité de patrice”. The photo reveals the *pi* into which an *alpha* is inscribed to be the main element for the block monogram. Three additional small letters seem to be attached to the top of the horizontal hasta of the *pi*, two above the vertical hastae and the third in the center. For a similar monogram read as πατρικίου, see Zacos - Vegler 384 no. 322, pls. 51 and 239 no. 361, where a *kappa* is attached to the right vertical hasta of the *pi*, whereas on the present seal the *kappa* could be one of the letters on top of the *pi*. Three patricii named Iulianus are so far attested (PLRE II Iulianus 26; PLRE III B Iulianus 10, 26), who all lived in the 6 c.

Metcalf (p. 110) tentatively dates the “eagle” seals from Cyprus to the 7 c.; Zacos - Vegler (p. 489) date their seals to the period from 550 to 750, while the two seals with block monograms between the eagle’s wings are dated to the 6 c. All this suggests a date from mid 6-7 c. for the present seal.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, *EO* 7, 1904, 193 no. 3 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 193 no. 3.

WE/DK

2373. Lead seal of Iustinianus (?), 6-7 c. AD

Obv. and rev.: identical block monograms.

ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ or ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ (?)

Ἰουστινιανοῦ or Ἀναστασίου (?)

(Seal) of Iustinianus or of Anastasius (?).



fig. 2373

Comm.: Germer-Durand's reading of the monogram as Ἰουστινιανοῦ cannot be falsified by what can be seen on the photograph. Its poor quality and the condition of the preservation of the seal permit only the identification of the monogram's main structure. The main element is a *nu* into which an *alpha* is inscribed, and on the top of both its vertical hastae faint remains of small letters can be recognized: a right curve of an *omicron* on top of the left hasta and the short horizontal hasta of a *tau*, and presumably an *upsilon* above the right hasta. At least, that is what one would expect, as well as another short horizontal hasta to the right at the bottom of the vertical hasta of *nu* indicating, together with the hasta of *tau*, an additional *sigma*.

This type of monogram is attested also for Iustinianus I on the capitals of several churches, e.g. Hagia Sophia, St. Sergius and St. Menas and Menaios in Constantinople or St. John in Ephesus (see C. Curtis - M. Aristarches, *Ho en Konstanteinoupoli Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos* 16, 1885, 13, pl. B nos. 12, 15, 16; H. Swainson, *BZ* 4, 1895, 106 nos. 2, 5, 6; S. Pétridès, *EO* 5, 1901/02, 219ff.; R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 1936, 177, 191 pl. 36 no. 567a-b, 38 no. 618; J. Keil, *Forschungen in Ephesos* IV,3, Die Johanneskirche, 1951, 122 no. 3, fig. 22,2 pl. XXVIII,1).

The same type is present on Anastasius I's coinage (see A. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* I, 1966, Anastasius I. nos. 15, 28, 41), and is attested for both emperors in stamps on silver vessels (see E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, 1961, 58ff. nos. 2, 4, 5 [Anastasius], 6, 7, 8, 11, 14 [Iustinianus]). Hence, restoring Ἀναστασίου rather than Germer-Durand's Ἰουστινιανοῦ seems equally possible – and plausible.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, *EO* 7, 1904, 194 no. 10 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 194 no. 10.

WE/DK

2374. Lead seal of Magnentius (?), 6-7 c. AD

Obv.: the sitting Virgin with the infant Christ on her knees; rev.: block monogram flanked by crosses.

ΜΑΓΝΕΝΤΙΟΥ (?)

Μαγνηντίου (?)

(Seal) of Magnentius (?).



fig. 2374

Comm.: The reverse shows an elaborate block monogram of which the details are not easy to make out given the poor quality of the photograph. The letters read by Germer-Durand can all be found in the monogram, with the exception of the *epsilon*: A, Γ, I, M, N are inside the block, while the tiny *omicron-upsilon* and *tau* are attached to the tops of the two vertical hastae; there may well be additional letters at the bottom of these two hastae, which themselves seem to be connected by a horizontal line, thus making a *pi*; a loop beneath this could be part of a *rho* and the diagonal lines that cross the block could stand for *chi*. If so, then it may well be that another name should be read here – not a Magnentius; perhaps both a personal name and a title or an office; see e.g. CIIP II 1754, 1756, 1767; G. Zacos - A. Vegliery, *Byzantine Lead Seals I*, pl. 230 no. 47, 233 no. 152, 236 no. 263, 238 no. 349.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 193 no. 2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 193 no. 2.

WE/DK

2375. Lead seal of Petrus (?), 6-7 c. AD

Obv.: A person with outstretched arms; rev.: block monogram.

ΠΕΤΡΟΥ (?)

Πέτρου (?)

(Seal) of Petrus (?).



fig. 2375

Comm.: Germer-Durand's reading can be accepted from what one can make out on the photograph: the *pi* is the central element in this block monogram, while the *omi*-

cron-epsilon in ligature are inscribed into it; for a similar design, see no. 2368; a loop at the upper part of the left vertical hasta of *pi* suggests a *rho*; the *epsilon* may have been formed by short horizontal hastae attached to the right-hand hasta of the *pi*.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 193 no. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 193 no. 5.

WE/DK

2376. Lead seal of Fronto (?), 6-7 c. AD

Obv. and rev.: block monograms.

Obv.: ΦΡΟΝΤΟΝΟΣ (?)

Rev.: ΕΠΑΡΧ (?)

Φρόντωνος || ἐπάρχ(ου) (?)

(Seal) of Fronto, the prefect (?).



fig. 2376

Comm.: Germer-Durand's reconstruction of the monogram on the obverse cannot be verified since the right-hand side is hardly visible on the photo. The main element of the block monogram is a *nu*; a small *omicron* is attached to the left of its top, underneath which there is a *phi*, indicated by a circle crossing the vertical hasta of the *nu*. There seems to be no parallel for a block monogram solved as Φρόντωνος.

However, Germer-Durand's reading of the monogram on the reverse seems reasonable judging by what can be seen on the photo. The main element of the block monogram is the *pi* into which an *alpha* and a *chi* are inserted. A loop of the *rho* seems to be attached on top of the right vertical hasta. Since as a rule a monogram contains all the letters making up the word, one looks for two additional short horizontal hastae at the center and at the bottom, representing the *epsilon*, but neither this letter nor the *omicron* and *upsilon*, which one would expect to be attached to the horizontal hasta of the *pi*, can be identified, which led Germer-Durand to think of an abbreviation.

For similar monograms designating the office of ἐπαρχος, see G. Zacos - A. Vegler, Byzantine Lead Seals I, 1972, pl. 232 no. 114; J.-C. Cheynet, REB 49, 1991, 220 no. 1, pl. I; PLRE III B 1559 nos. 77, 78).

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 194 no. 11 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 194 no. 11.

WE/DK

2377. Lead seal with invocation, mid-late 7 c. AD (?)

Obv. and rev.: cruciform monograms.

Obv.: (right) K,
 (bottom) B,
 (left) I H E Σ,
 (top) T,
 (center) Θ/O
 Rev.: (right) Σ or E,
 (bottom) Ω(?),
 (left) IB(?) or NB(?),
 (top, in ligature) O P T Υ



fig. 2377

Θεοτόκε βοήθει || ...

Mother of God, help ...

Comm.: For the main variants of a cruciform monogram with an invocation of Mary or Christ, like the one on the obverse of this seal, see V. Laurent, *La collection C. Orghidan*, 1952 pl. LXX (for more variants see G. Zacos - A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals I*, 1972 pl. 257ff). The present monogram is closest to Laurent's type I, which has *theta* in the center, *kappa* on the right-hand side, *beta* at the bottom, *iota*, *eta*, *epsilon* and *sigma* on the left-hand side and *tau* and *omicron* at the top (cf. Zacos - Vegler pl. 257 no. XXXV). However, the fact that there seems to be no *omicron* above the *tau* at the top here suggests another variant with *kappa* on the right-hand side, *beta* at the bottom, *iota*, *eta*, *epsilon* and *sigma* at the left-hand side and *tau* at the top, while the oval in the center represents at the same time a *theta* and an *omicron*. Germer-Durand took the monogram to be an invocation of Christ – Κ(ύριε) βοήθει – but these invocations normally do not omit any of the letters required for the κύριε, whereas here the *rho* and *upsilon* are missing. Hence it should rather be read as an invocation of Mary.

The obverse makes it likely that the cruciform monogram on the reverse contained a personal name. The letters on the photo are for the most part not clearly recognizable, but Germer-Durand's ΣΥΝΦΟΡΙΑΝΩ does not seem possible, since a horizontal hasta between *rho* and *omicron-upsilon* at the top indicates that a *tau* is also included in this ligature. In any case, no alternative solution for the monogram can be suggested here. The presence of both *omega* and *omicron-upsilon* suggests that the name is in the genitive rather than in the dative case.

Laurent dates type I invocation monograms to the 7 or 7-8 c. According to R. Feind, *Byzantinische Siegelkunde*, 2010, 69 this type was current in mid-late 7 c. Also, the fact that the *beta* at the bottom does not touch the *theta* in the center can be taken as a hint for a date still in the 7 c.; the same would apply to a name in

the genitive on the reverse while the use of the dative would point to the transition from 7 to 8 c. (ibid. 132, 135). All this may point to a date from mid-late 7 c. for the seal under discussion.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 7, 1904, 194 no. 8 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Germer-Durand 194 no. 8.

WE/DK

Ship equipment

2378. Anchor with Greek letters, 6-7 c. AD

Rectangular anchor made of fine Kurkar, probably of local origin. Three holes cut into it, one for the rope attaching the anchor to the boat, two for wooden stakes to improve hold on the seabed. On one side a cross with two circles drawn at each end of the upright bar, and the letters Α Ω at each end of the crossbar.

Meas.: h 62, w 36, d 11.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Ashkelon, in the sea across from the Holiday Inn hotel.

Pres. loc.: IAA.

Α Ω

Beginning End.

Comm.: The two letters, very often used as a Christian symbol, date the anchor to the 6-7 c. AD (ed. pr.).

Bibl.: E. Galili - G. Finkielsztein - J. Ayalon - B. Rosen, Atiqot 71, 2012, 113-27 at 114 table 1 no. 5, 120 (Hebr.), 121* (E.S.) (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: E. Galili.



fig. 2378

WE

2379. Anchor with Greek letter

Rectangular anchor, made of fine-grained Kurkar. Two holes cut for the rope attaching the anchor to the boat; on one side a big letter resembling an H.

Meas.: h 29, w 53, d 15 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: North of Ashkelon in the sea.

Pres. loc.: IAA.

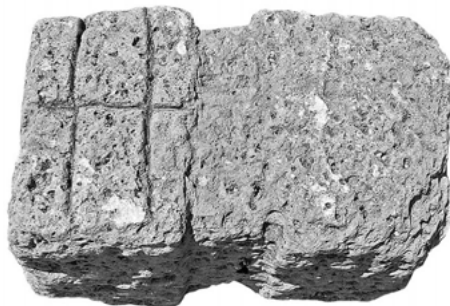


fig. 2379.1



fig. 2379.2

H

Comm.: The meaning of the sole remaining letter is unclear. Probably Late Antique.

Bibl.: E. Galili - G. Finkielsztein - J. Ayalon - B. Rosen, *Atiqot* 71, 2012, 113-27 at 115 table 1 no. 13, 122f. (Hebr.), 121f.* (E.S.) (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: E. Galili.

WE

2380. Anchor with Greek letters

Rectangular anchor made of fine Kurkar, probably of local origin. Two round holes cut for the rope attaching the anchor to the boat.

Meas.: h 27.5, w 49; d 15 cm; wt 36 kg (ed. pr.).

Findspot: In the sea near Ashkelon, north of the marina.

Pres. loc.: IAA, inv. no. 1999-1599.

ME
ΛHX



fig. 2380.1

Comm.: l.2: A in ed. pr., but the cross bar is missing; XH in ed. pr. It remains unclear whether a letter precedes *lambda*.

Whether or not the letters refer to the owner of the ship must be left open. A name beginning with Μεληχ-- is known; cf. Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnamen*; Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 211; P. Ross. Georg. IV 24 l.6 (710-725 AD); P. Sijp. 25 l.2 (698-713 AD).

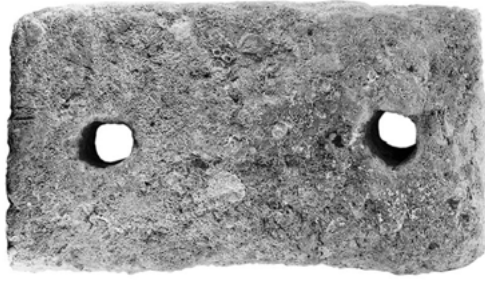


fig. 2380.2

Bibl.: E. Galili - G. Finkielsztejn - J. Ayalon - B. Rosen, *Atiqot* 71, 2012, 113-27 at 114 table 1 no. 7, 121 (Hebr.), 121* (E.S.) (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA.

WE/DK

2381. Anchor with Greek letters, 6-7 c. AD

Rectangular anchor of gray marble with rounded top; two square holes and a round one were cut into it, one for the rope attaching the anchor to the boat, two for wooden stakes to improve hold on the seabed.

Meas.: h 52, w 34, d 5.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: North of Ashkelon in the sea.

Pres. loc.: IAA.

XA

Comm.: Whether or not the letters refer to the owner of a ship must be left open. The first editors understood the two letters as abbreviation for "Christos Archon", i.e. "Christ the Ruler". The same letters can be read on a sounding-weight, no. 2384. 6-7 c. AD.



fig. 2381

Bibl.: E. Galili - G. Finkielsztejn - J. Ayalon - B. Rosen, *Atiqot* 71, 2012, 113-27 at 114 table 1 no. 4, 119f. (Hebr.), 121* (E.S.) (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: E. Galili.

WE

2382. Lead salvaging-ring with Greek inscription

Lead salvaging-ring with letters on the upper rim. NT in ligature.

Meas.: outer Ø 13-14.5, inner Ø 8.5-10 cm; wt 1.42 kg (ed. pr.).

Findspot: In the sea "off Ashkelon north beach (Ashkelon Mayumas)" (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: IAA.

+++XANT[--]



fig. 2382.1

Comm.: ANΣ ed. pr.

According to the editors the letters

and the ligature date the inscription to

the 6 or 7 c. This has yet to be proven. Cf. no. 2383, where the name Ἀντ(ωνίου) may have been written on a sounding-weight, with consequences for the dating of the piece.

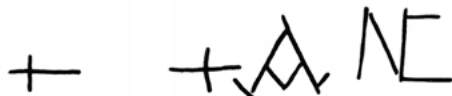


fig. 2382.2

Bibl.: E. Galili - B. Rosen, IJNA 37, 2008, 287ff. (ph. and dr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: Galili - Rosen 290 figs. 13 (ph.) and 14 (dr.).

WE

2383. Sounding-weight with Greek inscription

Sounding-weight, made of lead, with a hole in the lug. The letters on the body were incised with a sharp instrument after casting. The inscription is written horizontally on the body of the object. Ligature of *tau* and *nu*.

Meas.: h 19, w 9 cm; wt 6.5 kg (ed. pr.).

Findspot: In the sea north of Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: IAA.

+ANTNIKAN

+ Ἀντ(ωνίου) Νικάν(ωρος) (?)

(Property) of Antonius Nicanor (?).



fig. 2383.2



fig. 2383.1



fig. 2383.3

Comm.: The letter before ANT is unclear; perhaps a cross?

The letters on the body of the weight may refer to the owner of the ship. If a *nu* can be read after the ANT, the full name of this person would be Ἀντ(ώνιος) Νικάν(ωρ). But this can only be decided once the chronology of the weight can be safely established. The sounding-weight was used to prevent a ship from running aground, cf. no. 2384.

Bibl.: E. Galili - B. Rosen - D. Zviely, IJNA 38, 2009, 343-68 at 345 table 1 no. 33, 355 table 4 no. 33, 356f. (ph. and dr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: Galili - Rosen - Zviely 353 fig. 16 (ph.), 355 table 4 no. 33 (dr.).

2384. Sounding-weight

Sounding-weight, made of lead, with a hole in the lug. The letters on the body were incised with a sharp instrument after casting.

Meas.: h 14, w 10 cm; wt 4.55 kg (ed. pr.).

Findspot: In the sea, north of Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: IAA.

X
A



fig. 2384.1



fig. 2384.2

Comm.: What the letters mean remains unclear; perhaps they refer to the owner of a ship. The sounding-weight was used to measure the depth of the water, whether a ship could move without touching the sea ground. According to the editors the piece belongs to the Late Roman-Byzantine period. In E. Galili - G. Finkielsztein - J. Ayalon - B. Rosen, *Atiqot* 71, 2012, 113-27 at 119, 121* the two letters are understood as "Christ the Ruler"; see no. 2381.

Bibl.: E. Galili - B. Rosen - D. Zviely, *IJNA* 38, 2009, 343-68 at 345 table 1 no. 29, 355 table 4 no. 29, 356f. (dr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: E. Galili; Galili - Rosen - Zviely 355 table 4 no. 29 (dr.).

WE

2385. Sounding-weight

Sounding-weight, made of lead, with a hole in the lug. The letters, carved horizontally on the body, were made with a sharp instrument after casting.

Meas.: h 12.5, \varnothing (max.) 8.5 cm; wt 4.3 kg (ed. pr.).

Findspot: In the sea "off the northern suburbs of Ashkelon" (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: IAA.

[--]++IX++[--]

Comm.: The meaning is unclear.

Bibl.: E. Galili - V. Sussman - G. Stiebel - B. Rosen, *IJNA* 39, 2010, 126, 133f. (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: E. Galili.



fig. 2385

WE

2386. Lead fishing-net sinker from a shipwreck

Folded rectangular lead fishing-net sinker “with two crossed lines in the shape of a long X bordered by two parallel lines” (ed. pr.).

Meas.: h 9.2, w 3.4, d 2-2.3 cm; wt 46 g (ed. pr.).

Findspot: In the sea “off the northern suburbs of Ashkelon” (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: IAA.

On one end of the sinker: AH or ΛH; perhaps, HΥ, if reversed. On the other end: three lines containing altogether six unidentified letters.



fig. 2386.1

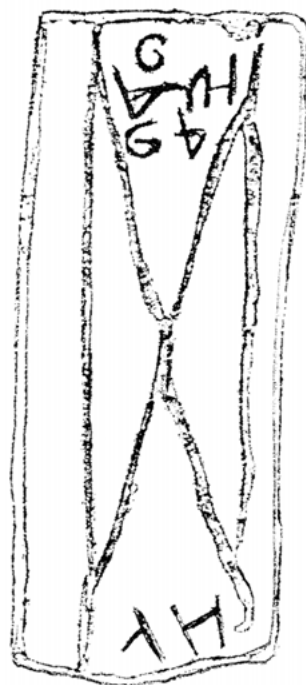


fig. 2386.2

Comm.: The meaning of the letters is unclear.

Bibl.: E. Galili - V. Sussman - G. Stiebel - B. Rosen, *IJNA* 39, 2010, 126, 132f. (ph. and dr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: Galili - Sussman - Stiebel - Rosen 133 fig. 13 (ph. and dr.).

WE

Ostraca, graffiti and dipinti

2387. Phoenician(?) ostracon

Three letters incised on a sherd of a storage jar.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition: Grid 50, Square 67, Layer 65, Bucket 68.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2011-1215.



fig. 2387.1

[--] ה ת ה [--]

Translit.: [--] tn h[--]

Comm.: The reading of this fragmentary inscription is highly conjectural. The letters may perhaps be in the late Phoenician script. The first editor notes a certain resemblance with texts from 'Umm el-'Amed. According to him, "the letter *he* is not used in Phoenician as a mater lectionis in the final position. Thus it is probably the article modifying a *nun*, or conceivably the theophoric element in a proper name."

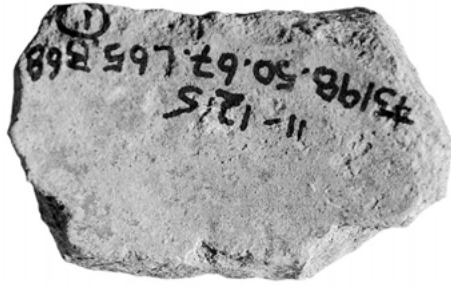


fig. 2387.2

Bibl.: F. Cross, in: L. Stager – J. Schloen – D. Master eds., *Ashkelon 1. Introduction and Overview* (1985-2006), 2008, 333-72 at 369 no. 4.1 (ed. pr.). – Cf. J. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 1968.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AY

2388. Greek graffito on amphora, Hellenistic period

Two letters incised on the shoulder of an amphora.

Meas.: Amphora: h (preserved) 58, \emptyset of mouth 3 cm; rim 11 cm.

Findspot: Chance find in the sand dunes south of Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, no inv. no., non vidi.

ΔI



fig. 2388.1 (detail)

Comm.: "The shape of the vessel and its reddish-brown clay mixed with a few gray inclusions indicate that the amphora is imported. Similar amphorae are known in the Hellenistic period, although their origin is unclear" (Nahshoni 117*). The inscription was read from the photograph. It is unclear whether it was incised before or after firing.



fig. 2388.2

Bibl.: P. Nahshoni, HA-ESI 114, 2001, 117*(e), 143f.(h) (ed. pr.).

Photo: P. Nahshoni, HA-ESI 114, 2001, 144 fig. 187.

AE

2389. Aramaic ostrakon, ca. 1 c. CE?

An ostrakon with two letters written in black ink on its convex(?) side.

Meas.: h ca. 5.5, w ca. 7.7 cm.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition: Grid 38, Square 74, Layer 100, Bucket 210.

Pres. loc.: IAA reg. no. 21397.

טל[-]

Translit.: ṭl[-]

Comm.: This may have been a jar inscription announcing the contents of the jar. Only the first two letters of a word survived, conjecturally restored by the first editor as ṭl[phyn], an Aramaic word meaning “lentils”. However, no remains of a long letter are detectable after the second letter.

According to Cross, the forms of the letters indicate a date “no earlier than late Roman times, probably in the first or second century AD.”



fig. 2389

Bibl.: F. Cross, in: L. Stager – J. Schloen – D. Master eds., *Ashkelon 1. Introduction and Overview* (1985-2006), 2008, 333-72 at 368 no. 3.4 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Cross 368 fig. 17.50.

AY

2390. Greek dipinto on amphora, late 2-early 4 c. CE

Three letters painted in black ink on the bottom of the neck of a “Keay Amphora type Ib” (Johnson 161; RADR, Dressel 30 - Keay 1B [M. Bonifay]). The mouth of the amphora is mostly blocked by a cement stopper (a hole ca. 2 cm wide drilled into it).

Meas.: letters 2 cm.

Findspot: In a Late Roman sewer of the 2-3 c. bath house (Johnson 222 fig. 6).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2012-760. Autopsy: 24 May 2012.

ΓΑΡ

γάρ(ον)

Garum (fish sauce).

Comm.: Johnson regarded this inscription as unreadable, but it seems that it is a commercial notation of contents – Garum, fish sauce. This type of amphora was probably produced in North Africa, Mauretania (Johnson 161), it has been suggested to carry either olive oil or wine (RADR, Dressel 30 - Keay 1B [M. Bonifay]). It seems that Garum was carried by this type of vessel as well. “Garum” noted in Greek on an amphora is known from a contemporary vessel from the Athenian agora (M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, Hd8).

Bibl.: Unpublished. – B. Johnson, *Ashkelon 2. Imported Pottery of the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, 2008, 162 no. 459.

Photo: AE; Johnson 162 no. 459 (dr.).



fig. 2390.1

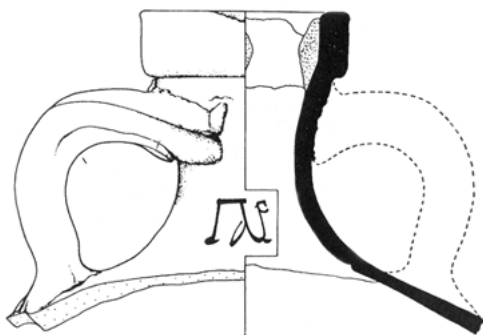


fig. 2390.2

AE

2391. Greek dipinti on amphorae, 3-6 c. CE

Inscriptions painted in red on the neck of an unclassified amphora. Inscriptions (a) and (b) are written on different sides of the handles. (a) lunate *sigma* extended with a horizontal stroke; (b) *nu* possibly written in subscript below *iota*.

Meas.: letters 1.5-2 cm.

Findspot: Within an Islamic-period sandy fill in the large Byzantine building in the southern part of the Tell (phase 2 in Grid 37, see: L. Stager et al., in: L. Stager - J. Schloen - D. Master eds., *Ashkelon 1*, 2008, 247).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2012-860. Autopsy: 24 May 2012.

- (a) ΑΓΑΣ
(b) [--]ΤΙΟΥ
ΙΝΒ

- (a) Ἀγαῖς or ἀγα(θός) (?)
(b) [--]τιου | ἐν(δικτιῶνος?) β'

- (a) *Agas* or *good* (?).
(b) *Of...tius. Second indiction*(?).



fig. 2391.1 (a)

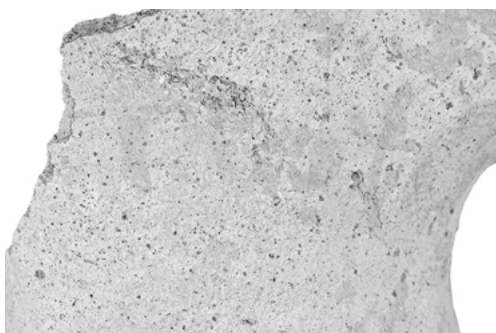


fig. 2391.2 (b)



fig. 2391.3 (b)

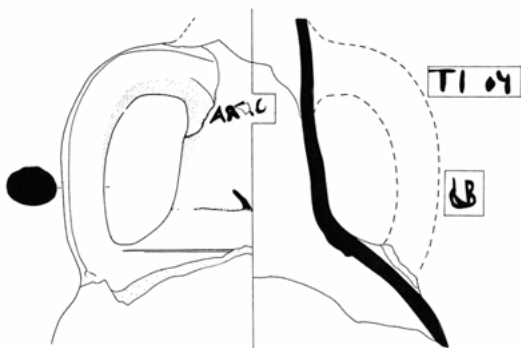


fig. 2391.4 (a and b)

Comm.: B. Johnson 188 left this inscription undeciphered, and the autopsy of the inscription had shown letters somewhat different than those in the published drawing. As inscription (b) seems to refer to a name in the genitive and a date (LGPV gives 187 different names with this ending), it is possible that inscription (a) refers to a commodity. Possibly the commodity is not named, but rather its quality noted with the word ἀγα(θός) (*good*).

It is also possible that inscription (a) refers to a name (LGPN gives 41 names beginning with these letters, including two instances of the name Ἀγᾶς), and then the word in the genitive in (b) is either a patronymic or a place name. If the reading of “indiction” is correct, this may be a tax notation (see M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, 82ff.). Also, if the indiction is really used, it means that the inscription should be dated from the fourth century onwards.

The abbreviation of the indiction with the letters *iota-nu*, is attested in Aviyonah, Abbreviations 72.

Bibl.: B. Johnson, *Ashkelon 2. Imported Pottery of the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, 2008, 188 no. 539.

Photo: IAA; Johnson, *Ashkelon 2*, 2008, 188 no. 539 (dr.).

AE

2392. Greek dipinto on amphora, 6 c. CE

Four letters painted in red on the body of a Late Roman amphoriskos. A line below the *alpha*.

Meas.: Vessel: h ca. 40 cm; letters 4-6 cm.

Findspot: Found in the “painted tomb” near Migdal Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Academic College.

TOPA



fig. 2392.1



fig. 2392.2

Comm.: Based on the line beneath the *alpha* (see drawing – not visible in photo) Di Segni read the final letter as a ligature of *delta*, *iota* and *lambda*, the *iota* lying horizontally, accordingly reading Τόρδιλ(ον) – the herb Tordylium, also used as a condiment (LSJ, s.v. τóρδυλον; Pliny NH 24,177). If the last letter is just an *alpha*, and the line at its bottom is disregarded, then it may be the name Τοῤῥᾶς (Preisigke, NB, s.v. – from the 3 c. BCE; for a 6 c. example see P. Ant.3.201, frA, 10) that may appear in the genitive Τοῤῥᾶ.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, Atiqot 37, 1999, 83-8 fig. 2 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AE; Di Segni, fig. 2 (dr.).

AE

2393. Greek inscription on a clay lantern, 6-7 c. CE

Four letters written in dots before firing on the top of a lantern, opposite to its opening. Letters on each side of the light window written in opposite directions. The letter *mu* written in a lower line, sideways on the right of the light window. Meas.: h 23.5, w 13, d 11 cm; letters 1.1-1.5 cm.

Findspot: Found in the “painted tomb” near Migdal Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1999-4182. Autopsy: 5 June 2012.

ΦΙΛΕ

Μ

φίλε μ(ου)

Oh my beloved!



fig. 2393.1



fig. 2393.2

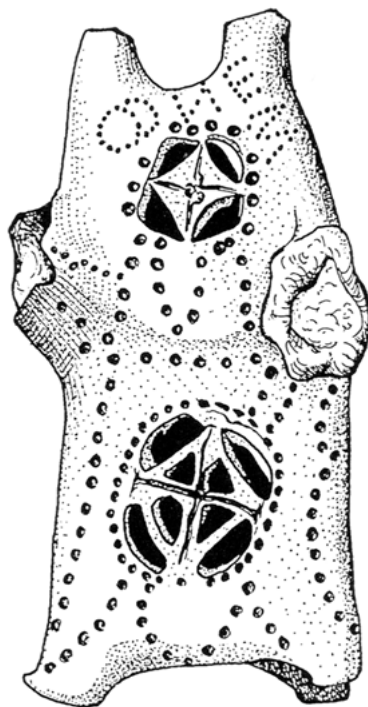


fig. 2393.3

Comm.: L. Di Segni had read this inscription as: $\Phi(\alpha\iota)\nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$ or $\phi(\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\sigma\omicron)\nu\mu\epsilon\iota$, meaning “shine on me” or “illuminate me”, reading the *iota* and *lambda* as an inverted *nu*, hence offering an interpretation based on known formulae on oil lamps (for formulae see S. Loffreda, *Lucerne bizantine in Terra Santa con iscrizioni in greco*, 1989). The reading suggested here sees the inscription as an apostrophe (in the masculine vocative) to a deceased man in the tomb, for whom this lantern may have been made.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, *Atiqot* 37, 1999, 83-8 fig. 1 (ed. pr.).

Photo: V. Naikhin, courtesy of Israel Museum; Di Segni, *Atiqot* 37, 1999, 83 fig. 1 (dr.).

AE

2394. Bowl with Greek inscription

Bowl of the Late Antique period (J. Magness, *Jerusalem Ceramic Chronology: Circa 200-800 C.E.*, 1993, 169f.). On the upper part, a Greek inscription was incised before the burning of the bowl; beginning and end of the inscription are missing.

Findspot: Found at Horvat Ḥaṣaṣ, an urban district of Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: IAA.

[--]ΑΝΙΓΟΥΜ[--]

[--]λαν(οῦ) or [--]μάν(ου) ἰγουμ[ένου] (= ἡγουμένου)



fig. 2394

Property of the abbott ...lanus/...manus.

Comm.: Mistakes in the transcription of the ed. pr. Proposed integration: [Σι]λαν(οῦ) or [Σαλα]μάν(ου) (reading and integration by L. Di Segni). If the interpretation of ΙΓΟΥΜ[--] = ἰγουμ[ένου] is right, the bowl belonged to the leader of a monastery in the Late Antique period.

Bibl.: P. Nahshoni, *Atiqot* 56, 2007, 81-97 at 90f. (dr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: P. Nahshoni, *Atiqot* 56, 2007, 91 fig. 14.1 (dr.).

WE

G. Varia

2395. Greek acclamation

Mosaic in a niche in the southern wall of a hall on an agricultural farm.

Findspot: Southeast of the city walls of Ashkelon.

ΑΥΞΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΕ

Αὕξι Τραιανέ

Advance Traianus.

Comm.: The architectural context does not point to a public audience; therefore it is very likely that Traianus is not the emperor, but a private person. Such acclamations to private people are not uncommon. Cf. for example IGLS 13,1, 9441: αὕξι, Δῶρε, μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ("advance, Doros, with your children"); Roueché, *Aphrodisias* no. 83 XV: αὕξι Ἀλβῖνος ὁ κτίστης καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ("up with Albinus, the builder of this work also"). See also Noy, *IJO I* Mac17 in a Jewish context. According to Yeivin the building belongs to the Roman period (this probably means before the end of the 3 c. AD).

Bibl.: S. Yeivin, *A Decade of Archaeology in Israel 1948-1958, 1960*, 35 (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, *MPI* 13 no. 6; SEG 37, 1471.

WE

2396. Entrance to a bath(?) with Greek inscription

“During the 5th-6th centuries CE the floor level of the bath was raised and the interior paved with opus sectile. West of the apse was a large area paved with small white tesserae and a plaster lined tub (2.5 x 2.8 x 1.6 m), with three steps leading down into it. Originally, this pool was covered by a canopy supported by four heart-shaped columns. On the outer face of the west wall of the pool was a painted tabula ansata containing a Greek inscription” (ESI 5, 1986, 5) in reddish-brown paint.

Findspot: South Tell, grid 38 (upper), in the vicinity of Lady Hester Stanhope’s basilica; for a plan of the building in phase 4 and 5 see Stager et al. 2008, 295 fig. 15.68; 296 fig. 15.69.



fig. 2396

ΕΙΣΕΛΘΕΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΟΝ
ΚΑΙ[--]Ε[--]

εἰσελθε, ἀπόλαυσον | καὶ [--]Ε[--]

Enter, enjoy, and ...

Comm.: l.2: Tzaferis questions his *epsilon*, because the other letters of the inscription are lunate letters; according to the parallels, some form of ὑγιαίνειν could be possible.

Tzaferis dates the inscription on “epigraphic grounds” to the mid 3 or early 4 c. AD, referring especially to the *upsilon* (which is not very clear on his photo); a later date, even one in the early 5 c. is certainly possible (and the archaeological context seems to be no problem for this; an even newer phase of the building, phase 3, was built after the 5 c.). Stager et al. 2008 note that the bath of phase 5, belonging to the 3 c., had a mosaic inscription, which was destroyed – but they believe that it carried the same text as this, the painted inscription of the later phase 4. Stager - et al. 2008 do not indicate the reasons for their dating of phase 5; but it seems that Tzaferis’ date of the phase 4 inscription is only barely possible. – Inscriptions like this one are especially frequent in the bathhouses of Late Antiquity. For a welcome at the

entrance, εἴσελθε χαίρων, see CIIP II 1333 with comm. (Tzaferis refers to Russell 1974 for examples of λοῦσαι καλῶς and derivatives; Russell 1987, 22–34). ὑγιαίνοντες ἀπ[ολαύετε, T. Mitford - I. Nicolaou, Salamis VI, 1974, 80 no. 51 (6 c. AD), to which BE 1976, 751 provides the necessary parallels, inter alia CIIP I 2, 796 (Jerusalem): ἐν ὑγία λουσάμενος ἀπολαύσις τῶν σὸν κτι(σμάτων); Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme I, no. 06/02/25: αἰδίῳν λουτρῶν ὄφρ' ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχοι. D. Feissel restored in SEG 28, 1404a (Oboda, Palaestina Tertia): καλῶς ἔκτισεν, ὑγιένω[ν] ἀπόλ[αυε]. Dunbabin 19f. on personifications of “Apolausis”.

Bibl.: L. Stager, BAR 17, 1991, 45 (ed. pr.). – ESI 5, 1986, 5; L. Stager et al., in: id. - J. Schloen - D. Master eds., Ashkelon I, 2008, 293; V. Tzaferis, in: ibid. 397f. fig. 20.1. – Cf. J. Russell, AS 24, 1974, 95ff.; L. Stager - D. Esse, IEJ 37, 1987, 72; J. Russell, The Mosaic Inscriptions of Ane-murium, 1987; K. Dunbabin, PBSR 57, 1989, 6ff.; Feissel, Chroniques 170 no. 539.

Photo: V. Tzaferis, in: Ashkelon I, 2008, 397 fig. 20.1.

WA

2397. Game token with Greek inscription

A circular token made of bone; obv.: three towers; rev.: inscription.

Findspot: At the site of a “stepped circular depression, later identified as the Well of Peace ... and Well(s) of Abraham [which] seems to be the best candidate for the ancient theater” (Stager 1993, 110).

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition, IAA inv. no. 1987-1567.

VIII
ΦΑΜΟΛΗΣ
Η



fig. 2397.1



fig. 2397.2

Eight - Phamoles - Eight.

Comm.: Stager interpreted this as a theater ticket, and thought that “Phamoles” was the name of a prominent local family; letter and number were thought to “designate the section of Ascalon’s theater reserved for this particular family.” The buildings are interpreted as “the architectural logo of the city” (ed. pr.). – For a similar game token, cf. CIIP II 1245 – with exactly the same towers on the obv., but a different inscrip-

tion on the rev.; cf. the comm. there for the probable date of these tokens and other details. On this type of token see the parallels in Alföldi-Rosenbaum 221f.; it belongs to the “Pamyles”-type, which is connected with the numerals VII, VIII and VIII; the spelling of the word varies; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 234f. XV nos. 64-9 provides the following variants: ΠΑΜΟΥΛΗΣ, ΦΑΜΟΛΗΣ, ΘΑΜΟΛΗΣ, ΠΑΜΟΛΗΣ. The transcription of an Egyptian word is in no case certain – but Alföldi-Rosenbaum 221 points to Plut. Mor. 355 E, where a festival for Osiris is described (with Dionysiac connotations): καὶ τὴν τῶν Παμυλίων ἑορτὴν αὐτῇ τελεῖσθαι Φαλληφορίοις ἐοικυῖαν. Lloyd refers to Hesych s. v. Παμύλης, who is described as Αἰγύπτιος θεὸς πριαπώδης, and continues: “The form of the name (definite article p3 + noun) suggests that it is simply an epithet of Osiris rather than the name of an originally independent god.” Alföldi-Rosenbaum believes that the structure on the obv. represents a shrine to the God, which would – perhaps – attest such a shrine in Alexandria.

Bibl.: L. Stager, BAR 17, 1991, 38 (phs.) (ed. pr.). – Cf. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, Chiron 6, 1976, 221f., 234f.; A. Lloyd, Herodotus Book II. Commentary 1-98, 1976, 223; L. Stager, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 110.

Photo: IAA.

WA

H. Fragments

2398. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a limestone slab, broken on all sides; the back is rough.
Meas.: h 13.5, w 19.5, d 5.5 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: Surface find in
Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv.
no. 1957-554/1. Autopsy: 20 May
2012 (AE).

[--]ΙΑΤ[--]
[--]ΕΚΑΤΟΝΖΑ[--]
[--]+ΠΙΟΡΕΝΔ+[--]



fig. 2398.1

[--]ΙΑΤ[---] ἑκατὸν ΖΑ[---]+πύρεν Δ+[--]

... hundred ... offered ...

Comm.: The epic aor. ἔπορεν/ πόρεν points to a dactylic epigram, as do the words ἑκατὸν ΖΑ[–] – unless differently spaced ([–]ΕΚΑ τὸν ΖΑ[–]) – fit a dactylic meter. – l.3: The triangular letter after πόρεν could be a *delta* (e.g. πόρεν δ[έ], cf. Hom. Z 168, Π 185, δ 617, ο 117) or an *alpha* (cf. Hom. ι 201), nor can a *lambda* be ruled out. For πόρεν in the context of a poem, see e.g. Roueché, Aphrodisias no. 53 (thanks are due to G. Petzl for advice).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; AE.



fig. 2398.2

WE

2399. Fragment of a marble plaque with Greek letters

Fragment of a marble plaque, broken on the left and right-hand sides, with a one-line inscription. *Kappa* is abbreviated with a small stigma attached to the diagonal leg. Meas.: h 6.5, w 33 cm; letters 2-6.5 cm.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition: Grid 9, Square 38, Layer 1 B17. This layer suffered some damage from modern agricultural plowing on the north Tell. An Islamic industrial building and a monumental Late Roman/Byzantine building stand above it. Islamic and mixed pottery context.

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition, reg. no. MC 42446-A93-5961.

[–] ΙΟΥΔΑΝΚΦΙΝ+[–]

[–] Ἰούδαν καὶ Φιν[–]



... *Iudas and Phin*...

fig. 2399

Comm.: It seems unclear if ΙΟΥΔΑΝ can be understood as the name Ἰούδαν (cf. Ilan, *Lexicon* I 120 n. 112); but if this is right, there should follow another name, beginning with Φιν[–]; cf. perhaps, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia* I a 10 (Zoora), μνημῖον Οὐβοδοῦς Φιναθέου; IGLS 4, 1319 (Apamea): ἐπὶ τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἀρχισυνα[γώ]γων Εὐσεβίου καὶ Νεμέου καὶ Φινέου.

Bibl.: Unpublished; information by R. Boehm (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

WE/WA

2400. Fragment of a marble architrave with Greek letters

Fragment of a white marble architrave, later reused with an inscription on the upper side of the architrave. A third time reused when a big cavity was carved in the opposite side of the architrave. Below the letters, a sign like a swastika. On the left side and on the top a hollow for clamps.

Meas.: h 66, w 34.5, d 54 cm (of the side with the inscription); letters 5.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Ashkelon Archaeological Park (stone depot), IAA inv. no. 1947-718. Autopsy: 21 March 2012.

EK Δ

Λ

εκ δ | λ



fig. 2400.1



fig. 2400.2

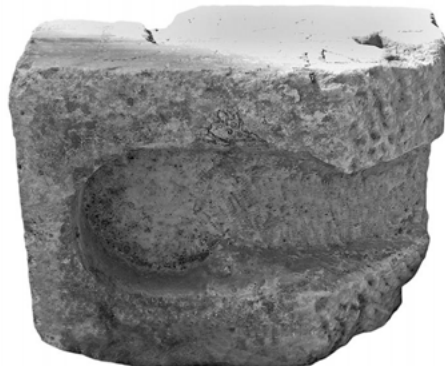


fig. 2400.3

Comm.: The letters do not point to a continuous text; perhaps they represent numbers instructing the builders where to insert the piece (see nos. 2337 and 2338).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

WE

2401. Fragment with Greek letters

Fragment of a marble tablet, broken on the right-hand side.

Meas.: h 45.5, w 56.5, d ca. 3 cm; letters 19.5-21.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Inserted in a wall inside the Ashkelon Archaeological Park. Autopsy: 21 March 2012.

AH[--]



fig. 2401

Comm.: Nothing can be made of this enigmatic fragment. If after H something else followed, must be left open.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

WE

2402. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a marble tablet broken on all sides except for the top, with a profile below the inscription.

Meas.: h 11.5, w 10, d 4.1 cm; letters 3.5 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA from Ashkelon?

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-2375 (depot); Autopsy: 19 March 2012.



fig. 2402.1



fig. 2402.2

[--]AOM/N[--]

Comm.: The original function of the marble tablet and the meaning of the inscription remain unclear.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; WE.

WE

2403. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a marble tablet, broken on all sides; the top was cut off and then rounded. Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 5.5, w 14, d 2.3 cm; letters at least 6 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA from Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-2376 (depot). Autopsy: 19 March 2012.



fig. 2403.1



fig. 2403.2

[--]+AΣ+[--]

Comm.: The original function of the piece remains unclear.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

WE

2404. Fragment of a marble slab with Greek letters

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides, except for the bottom; lunate *sigma*. Meas.: h ca. 10.2, w ca. 8, d ca. 2.4 cm; letters ca. 5 cm (according to the published scale).

Findspot: Ashkelon, discovered in the refuse pit no. 115.

[--]ΔΑΣ[--]



fig. 2404

Comm.: The letters belong to the last line of an inscription, where a name ending in -δας could have stood (cf. IGLS 21,5.1, 585), or the word πόδας (followed by a number) referring to the dimensions of a grave or of a donated object (see for example IGLS 4, 1329).

Bibl.: M. Haiman, HA-ESI 123, 2011 (e-version without pagination: http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1721&mag_id=118 [viewed: 4 March 2014]).

Photo: IAA.

WE

2405. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Marble.

Meas.: h 14, w 16.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1275.

[--]+EN[--]
 [--]IKOY[--]
 [--]+YE+



fig. 2405

Comm.: l.2 might be read as the ending of a name in the genitive. Clermont-Ganneau and Dussaud believed the letters of the third line to have been semitic.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 188 no. 72 (ed. pr.). – Dussaud, Louvre 73 no. 91.

Photo: R. Chipault, courtesy of Museum of Louvre.

WA

2406. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Upper right corner of an inscribed plaque; an oblique incision from an earlier use of the stone is visible, crossing the text.

Meas.: h 8.2, w 8.5 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA probably from Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-2377.

[--]MNH
 [--]



fig. 2406

Comm.: The museum's card understands this as the lower left corner and wants to read HNΩ[--]; while the interpretation of the fragmentary letter as a curiously

formed *omega* is not completely impossible, it is much easier to understand this as a part of a *mu* taking the fragment as an upper right corner.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WA/DK

2407. Fragment with Greek letters

Fragment of a slab with a rosette (all information from the IAA inv. card).

Meas.: h 19.5, w 17 cm.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no 1951-127 (lost according to the IAA inv. card).

[--]+ΟΡΟΣΤΟ[--]

Comm.: Until further information becomes available, the text must remain enigmatic. It would be sheer speculation to read, for example, [αὐτοκρά]τορος το'[--] or the end of name [--]ορος το[--].

Bibl.: Unpublished.

WE

2408. Fragment with Greek letters

Fragment of marble slab, broken on three sides, the back is smooth; remains of the last line of an inscription. Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 7.5, w 11.7, d 3.1 cm; letters 3-3.2 cm.

Findspot: Brought to the IAA in 1951, probably by Z. Yeivin, from the collection in the tower of the mosque in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1951-128. Autopsy: 25 May 2012 (AE).



fig. 2408.1



fig. 2408.2

[--]+ΟΣ+[--]

Comm.: Before the *omicron* there is either the lower part of a *tau* or of a *gamma*. After the *sigma* a round letter.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; AE.

WE/WA

2409. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a marble slab, the back is partly rough. OY appears twice in ligature, before the *kappa*, and above the *tau*. A short line under the *kappa*.

Meas.: h 10, w 17.5, d 3-4.5 cm; letters 3-3.5 cm.

Findspot: Brought to the IAA in 1951, probably by Z. Yeivin, from the collection in the tower of the mosque in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1951-130. Autopsy: 20 May 2012 (AE).



fig. 2409.1



fig. 2409.2

[--]+

[--]OYKTOY+[--]

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WE/WA

2410. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides; the back is rough. W-shaped *omega*. Meas.: h 14, w 13.5, d 5 cm; letters ca. 3 cm.

Findspot: Brought to the IAA in 1951, probably by Z. Yeivin, from the collection in the tower of the mosque in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1951-131. Autopsy: 25 May 2012 (AE).



fig. 2410.1



fig. 2410.2

[--]ΟΥ[--]
[--]ΟΠΩ[--]
[--]+[--]

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; AE.

WE/WA

2411. Fragment of a Greek inscription

“At every well a pillar shaft is placed on its side, and worn into furrows by the ropes, whilst a capital or base is used to tie the cord to. It was on one of these that we found the only fragment of inscription we could see anywhere, being carelessly written” (Conder).

[--]ΠΙΚΡΑ[--]

Comm.: The letters belong almost certainly to a name like Epicrates, Epicrateia; *πικρά* is poetic usage only.

Bibl.: C. Conder, PEQ 7, 1875, 155f. (ed. pr.).

WA

2412. Fragment of marble with Greek letters

Marble fragment broken on all sides except for the bottom. The back is blank.
 Meas.: h 6.3, w 12 cm; letters ca. 5.5 cm.

Findspot: Found in an Islamic (Fatimid) fill in an outdoor industrial area built inside ruins of a building which stood in the forum area in the Severan period.
 Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition.

[--]

[--]ΣΑ[--] or ΖΑ[--]

Bibl.: Unpublished (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.



fig. 2412

WE

2413. Fragment of marble with Greek letters

Fragment of white marble, worn out and broken on all sides.
 Meas.: h 8, w 7.7 cm; letters ca. 1.5 cm.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition: A16/85 Grid 41, Square 9, Layer 2: the Byzantine church, west of the Jerusalem gate, in an Islamic (Fatimid) fill.

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition, reg. no. MC 3545.

[--]+ΤΥΟ+[--]

[--]ΥΣ[--]



fig. 2413

Bibl.: Unpublished; information by R. Boehm (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

WE

2414. Fragment of marble with Greek letters

Fragment of white marble, broken on all sides, with the possible exception of the bottom. Most of the letters cannot be identified with any certainty.

Meas.: h 19.5, w 13 cm; letters 3.4 cm.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition: Grid 41, Square 9, Layer 2: the Byzantine Church west of the Jerusalem gate in an Islamic (Fatimid) fill.

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition; reg. no. MC 3816-A85-442.

[--]Υ+[--]

[--]+++X[--]



fig. 2414

Bibl.: Unpublished; information by R. Boehm (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

WE

2415. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Lower right or upper left corner of a marble slab with grooved border and sunk field; the back is rough; the stone was perhaps re-used, since there are incised guidelines which do not belong to this text.

Meas.: h 12.7, w 11.8, d 4 cm; letters 3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. S-2378. Autopsy: 19 March 2012 (WE).

[--]ΥΗ (cross)
or, less likely:
(cross) ΗΛ[--]



fig. 2415.2



fig. 2415.1



fig. 2415.3

Comm.: In the second case one might be tempted to expect something like ἡλ[ήεισον].

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

WA

2416. Fragment with Greek letters

Marble plaque, broken, as it seems, at the top; it is unclear if the left side is broken as well; small part of the frame is visible on the right-hand side. A ligature of *omicron* and *upsilon* in l.4.

Meas.: h 12, w 15 cm; letters 2.0-2.8 cm.

Findspot: Found in the excavation of the Leon Levy Expedition of a Late Roman/Byzantine fill associated with the construction of monumental Roman/Byzantine building inside the gate on the north of the Tell. Late Roman/Byzantine pottery context.

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition, inv. no. MC 43758-A93-5960.

[--]
[--]YZ
AYTH
OYAN (cross? or abbreviation mark?)

Bibl.: Unpublished; information by R. Boehm (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.



fig. 2416

WE/WA

2417. Fragment of Greek inscription

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on the right side and the bottom; the upper left corner is preserved. The back is rough; lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 15.5, w 13, d 5 cm; letters 5-5.5 cm.

Findspot: Brought to the IAA in 1951, probably by Z. Yeivin, from the collection in the tower of the mosque in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1951-133. Autopsy: 20 May 2012 (AE).



fig. 2417.1



fig. 2417.2

ΥΠ[--]
 ΕΑΣ[--]
 Β/Ρ[--]

‘Υπ[ἐρ? --] | ΕΑΣ[--] | Β/Ρ[--]

For ...

Comm.: The text could have begun with this; but the three letters at the beginning of l.2 are difficult to understand in connection with this.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA; AE.

WE/WA

2418. Fragment of a Greek inscription with the date 396/7 or 399/400 AD

Fragment of a limestone slab, broken on the left-hand side and at the bottom, the top and probably also the right-hand side are preserved; the back is rough. The letters are visible only in one line. The *eta* is written above the *mu*.

Meas.: h 15.5, w 14.5, d 5.5 cm; letters 5-6 cm.

Findspot: Brought to the IAA in 1951, probably by Z. Yeivin, from the collection in the tower of the mosque in Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1951-129. Autopsy: 20 May 2012 (AE).



fig. 2418.1



fig. 2418.2

[--]Σ/ΙΦΜΗ
 [--]

[-- ἔτους] ϕ' μη(δς) | [--] or less likely [-- ἔτους] γϕ' μη(δς) | [--]

... year 500 (of the era of Ascalon) in the month ... or ... year 503 (of the era of Ascalon) ...

Comm.: l.1: ΓΦ Di Segni. The traces of the first letter include an upper horizontal bar and small remains at the bottom of the line; a *sigma* is probable, a *gamma* not excluded, but less likely.

If the remains of the letter in front of Φ are those of a *sigma*, [ἔτους] could be restored; the number following it would be 500, perhaps of the era of Ascalon, which began in 104 BC (first year 104/3). This will date the inscription to 396/7 AD. If the first letter is a *gamma*, the year would be 399/400 AD. For MH as μη(νδς) followed by the name of a month and preceded by a year see no. 2470 this vol.: ἔτους χ' μ(ηνδς) Περιτίο[υ]. The *eta* written above *mu* is most often found in funerary inscriptions, but if the top of the stone is really preserved, this could also be some other type of text (the large letters are also not in favor of a funerary inscription).

Bibl.: Unpublished. – DGI no. 144.

Photo: AE.

WE

2419. Marble fragment with Greek letters

Fragment of a marble tablet, broken on all sides; the back is blank.

Meas.: h 9.3, w 7 cm; letters 3.5 cm.

Findspot: Found by the Leon Levy Expedition when cleaning the agora/forum area, and as a result lacking a stratigraphic context.

Pres. loc.: Depot of the Leon Levy Expedition.

[--]ΩΙΚ[--]

[--]Η+[--]



Bibl.: Unpublished (courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon).

Photo: R. Boehm, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon.

fig. 2419

WE

2420. Fragment with Greek letters

Fragment of a slab of white marble, broken on all sides. the back is roughly worked.
 Meas.: h 12, w 9.5, d 3.6 cm; letters 4.3 cm.

Findspot: Ashkelon area.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1995-5526. Autopsy: 14 October 2013.

[--]++[--]
 [--]EPA[--]



fig. 2420

Comm.: The letter forms, especially the *rho*, may point to the Hellenistic period (cf. nos. 2267, 2482).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

WE

2421. Two Greek fragments

Fragments of one or two inscriptions, both of them are broken on all sides. The letters are generally similar, but it seems that the letters of (a) are somewhat larger than the letters of (b). Clermont-Ganneau's drawing arranged the fragments as if (a) were the left, (b) the right part of the same stone; even if the fragments belong to the same inscription, we know nothing about their relation to each other – left and right, above or below.

Meas.: (b) w 18 cm.

Findspot: "Jôrah, near Ascalon" (Clermont-Ganneau).

- (a) [--]ΚΥΔ[--]
 [--]+ΕΑΙ[--]
 [--]ΑΣΚ[--]
 (b) [--]ΝΩΣ[--]
 [--]ΤΟΥΑ+[--]
 [--]ΝΑΠΑ[--]
 [--]ΝΟΥ[--]



fig. 2421.1 (a)



fig. 2421.2 (b)

Comm.: (a) l.3: Ἀσκ[αλωνίτης --] vel sim. Clermont-Ganneau; (b) l.1: adverb?
 [-- ἀγ]νῶς?? l.3: [-- ἀ]ναπά[ε --] vel sim.?

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 378 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Cf. B. Bagatti, SBF 24, 1974, 241.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 378 (dr.).

XVII. Hadaria

2422. Greek Christian dedication

Plaque of white marble broken in two joining pieces. Above the inscription, a Greek cross flanked on both sides by a pigeon. The plaque has three holes, one on each side of the cross, one below the inscription. In all holes a metal ring was once inserted, but only one is preserved.

Findspot: Hadaria, southeast of Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum (collection of the Wolff Family), Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1998-107.



fig. 2422

(cross) ΥΠΕΡΣΟΥΤΗΡΙΑΝΖΑΧΑΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΥΙΩΑΥΤΟΥ (palm branch)

Ὑπὲρ σουτηρίαν Ζαχαρίου | καὶ Στεφάνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ

For the salvation of Zacharias and Stephanus, his son.

Comm.: For the formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας with following names cf. for example CIIP II 1150; υἱῶ for υἱοῦ is clear proof for the interchangeability of ω for ου in late Greek, see Gignac I 208. Ὑπὲρ with the accusative of σωτηρία in IGLS 5, 2104. But it remains unclear if the inscription should commemorate father and son as living or after death. The inscription was perhaps fixed on an altar, as Y. Landau supposes;

if so, then the three holes were destined for fixing the slab with bronze “nails” (for such bronze “nails” for fixing a tablet see also R. Friggeri, *The Epigraphic Collection of the Museo Nazionale Romano at the Bath of Diocletian*, 2001, 143, 157 [without bronze remains], 168). But, as Joseph Patrich kindly reminds us, the inscription could also have belonged to a baptismal pond or a marble basin (see IEJ 19, 1969, 196), or even a secular context, such as a fountain.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Mentioned by R. Gophna, HA 18-19, 1966, 9 (Hebr.); Y. Landau, in: *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, 1971, 387f.; C. Dauphin, *La Palestine Byzantine*, 1998, 873; ph. showing part of the slab publ. in *Cradle of Christianity* 48f.

Photo: D. Mevorah, courtesy of Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

WE

2423. Greek funerary epigram

Marble slab, according to Landau. No further information or photo are available. The stone seems to be lost.

Findspot: Hadaria.

Κέκλυθι Μοῖραν ἄπιστον· ὁμοῦ | μετὰ πατρ(ὸς) Σαβεῖ[νου] |
Εὐφρόνι(ος) τεθνε[ώς — ∪ — ∪ ∪]

Listen, how unfair is Fate: together with my father Sabinus, ... Euphronius ... dead ...

Comm.: l.1: *μοῖραν* Landau; l.2: *εὐφρονῖ* Landau; the missing part of the pentameter e.g. [τῇνδε λέλογχα κόνιν] Staab (oral communication).

Landau gives the text cited above and does not report whether the inscription has been fully preserved or not. If the missing part of the pentameter is correctly restored, *Εὐφρόνι(ος)*, the son of Sabinus, complains that both he himself and his father are lying dead in the same grave. (Thanks are due to G. Petzl and G. Staab for their help).

Bibl.: Y. Landau, in: *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, 1971, 387-90 at 387f. (ed. pr.).

WE

XVIII. Ozem

2424.-2429. Church with mosaic floors

R. Gofna excavated in 1956 a small rural church, about 15 km east of Ashkelon; it belongs to the 5-6 c. AD. "Six Greek inscriptions are set into the mosaic floor, five of which are in the nave and the sixth in the north aisle" (Ovadiah, MPI); h of the complete mosaic: 390; w 360 cm (according to the IAA). On the church, see S. Yeivin, *A Decade of Archaeology in Israel 1948/1958*, 1960, 45; Ovadiah, *Corpus* 151 no. 151; Ovadiah, MPI 117 no. 199.

2424. A Greek invocation for Marcella on mosaic

Findspot: In the north aisle.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1956-1390.

ΚΥΡΙΕ
ΙΕΣΟΥΒΟΗ[.]
ΙΣΟΝΤΗΔΟ[...]
ΣΟΥΝΑΡΚΕΛ[.]
ΤΙΕ/Θ[--]ΗΕ/Θ
ΑΓ[--]
ΑΙΜ[--]
ΠΑΡΘ[--]

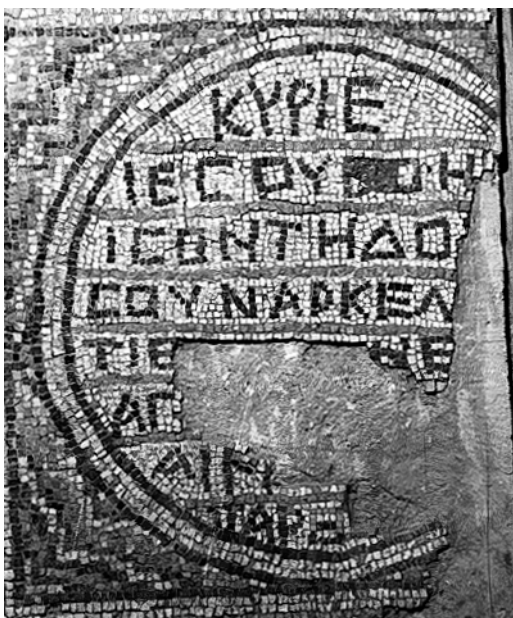


fig. 2424

κύριε | Ἰησοῦ, βοή[θ]ισον τῇ δο[ύλ]ῃ | σου Μαρκέλ[λα] | TIE/Θ[--]HE/Θ | ΑΓ[--] |
AIM[--] | ΠΑΡΘ[--]

Lord Jesus, help your servant Marcella ...

Comm.: κύριε | Ἰησοῦ, βοή[θ]ισον τῇ δο[ύλ]ῃ | σου Μαρκέλ[λα] | TIE[...]| Ἄγ(ίας) ΑΙ
... Μ(αρίας) | Παρθέ(νου) edd.

1.3: faint traces of the *upsilon* may still be present; 1.4: the letters are completely clear, but no name beginning with NAPKEA[seems to be known (νάρκη/narce seems no possible stem for a name); therefore, it seems best to assume either a mistake of the mosaicist or a phonological change *m* > *n* (not in Gignac). After the name, perhaps a stop and the start of a new invocation or prayer (the restoration of the edd. is in some places not in accord with the lay-out of the mosaic – and seems not really feasible): to place somebody among the saints? 1.7: αἱμνηστος? 1.8: At the end, παρθ[ένος] is possible, but something like αἱ|παρθ[ένος] is not excluded – and both terms need not refer to the virgin Mary, but can describe a nun, too.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 86 no. 544 (ed. pr.). – Cf. Ovadiah, MPI 117 no. 199; M. Aviyonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 311; Bagatti, Judaea 149.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2425. Mosaic with Greek inscription of Zonainus, the monk

Findspot: In the nave.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1956-1390.

ZO
NENOS
MONAZ·

Ζόν[ε]νος | μονάζ(ων)

Zonainus, the monk.



fig. 2425.1

Comm.: [-]ζόμενος Meimaris; “Zomnus the hermit” Bagatti. – On the personal name Zonainus, cf. no. 2445.

Bibl.: Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 233 no. 1162 (after Dept. of Antiquities, files, neg. no. 14649); Feissel, *Chroniques* 216 no. 691 (after Ovadiah, MPI, pl. 129,2) (edd. prr.). – Cf. Ovadiah, MPI 117 no. 199; M. Avi-Yonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 311; Bagatti, *Judaea* 149.

Photo: IAA; WE.



fig. 2425.2 (nos. 2425.-2428.)

WA

2426. Greek mosaic inscription of Nestabus, the reader

Three-line inscription bordered by the broad frame of the central mosaic panel (at the bottom) and a semicircle formed by four rows of tesserae (the inner and the outer row dark; partly merged with the framing of two neighboring medallions).

Findspot: In the nave.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1956-1390.

NEE
ΤΑΒΟΣ
ΑΝΑΓΝΩ.

Νέσ'ταβος | ἀναγνώ(στης)

Nestabus, the reader.

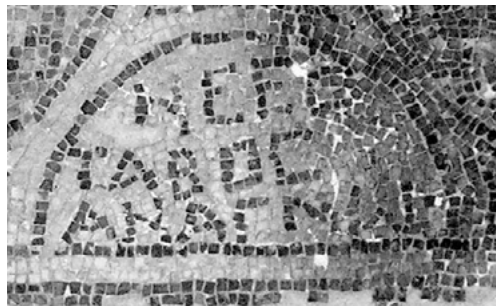


fig. 2426

Comm.: The name was not read by Meimaris; NEETABOΣ mosaic, corr. Feissel (perhaps there is a *sigma* [preferably] or an *omicron* after the second *epsilon*); cf. a similar mistake of the mosaicist in no. 2427. – On the name, cf. Sartre and the examples adduced by Feissel: Sozom. HE 5,9; Schneider (Wadi el-Kelt): Νέσταβος Ἀσκαλωνίτης).

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 253 no. 1265 (after Dept. of Antiquities, files, neg. no. 14648); Feissel, Chroniques 216 no. 691 (after Ovadiah, MPI, pl. 129,2) (edd. prr.). – Cf. A. Schneider, RQA 39, 1931, 318 no. 9; M. Sartre, Bostra des origines à l'Islam, 1985, 201; Ovadiah, MPI 117 no. 199.

Photo: WE.

WA

2427. Mosaic with Greek building inscription

“Inscription consisting of five lines within a circular frame recording the date of the completion of the building” (Ovadiah 117). The letters of each line are set on guidelines.

Findspot: In the nave.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1956-1390.

[--?]
ΕΤ[--]
Δ+[--]
ΔΥΣ+[--]
ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗ
ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑ



fig. 2427

[--?] | ἔτ[ους --] | Δ+[-- μνη(νός)] | Δύσ[τρου --] | ἐτελιώθη | ἐκκλησία

... (?) in the year ... month Dystros ... church was finished.

Comm.: 1.2: the *epsilon* started its life as a square *theta*; ἐπ[ι seems impossible; 1.3: second letter *chi*? One expects an indiction somewhere, but ἰνδ.] | δ, X[is not really attractive - and neither is (pace no. 2432) ἔτ[ους] | δχ.

Bibl.: Meimaris, Sacred Names 148 no. 764 (after Dept. of Antiquities, files) (ed. pr.). – Cf. Ovadia, MPI 117 no. 199.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2428. Greek mosaic inscription

“Dedicatory inscription of six lines between circles” (Ovadia).

Findspot: In the nave.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1956-1390.

IAIA
MHT
HP
AY
TO
Y

IAIA | μήτ|ηρ | αὐ|τοῦ

... *his mother*.



fig. 2428

Comm.: Preisigke, Namenbuch has Ἰαίειε. The αὐτοῦ might refer to the lector.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Cf. Ovadia, MPI 117 no. 199.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2429. Mosaic with cross and Greek inscription

The nave of the church is decorated with stylized plants and animals. On the western side a cross with inscription; on both sides of the cross a lion.

Findspot: In the nave.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1956-1390.

Above the arms of the cross: A Ω

Below the arms of the cross:

Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός)



Alpha - Omega. Jesus Christ.

fig. 2429

Bibl.: Ovadiah, Corpus 151f. no. 151 (ed. pr.). – Ovadiah, MPI 117 no. 199 pls. 129-31 (phs.). – Cf. M. Avi-Yonah - R. Cohen - A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 311; Bagatti, Judaea 149.

Photo: IAA.

WA

XIX. Ziqim

2430. Greek graffito on the base of a fine ware plate, 144-60 BCE

Two letters incised on the base of a black slipped, rilled rim plate, which is probably an Attic import. The head of the *phi* is an upside down triangle.

Meas.: letter 1.9 cm.

Findspot: Ziqim, in an underground columbarium.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2012-957. Autopsy: 24 May 2012.

Φ



fig. 2430.1

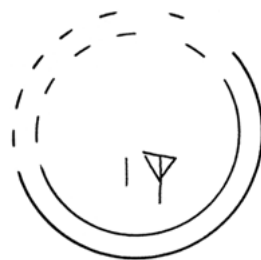


fig. 2430.2

Comm.: Probably an owner's mark. The drawing in the ed. pr. shows another letter preceding the *phi*, possibly a *iota*. This was not seen in the autopsy.

Bibl.: B. Zissu - S. Rokach, Atiqot 38, 1999, 65-9 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AE; Zissu - Rokach 69 fig. 4,5 (dr.).

AE

2431. Greek dipinti on Gazan jars, 6-beginning of 7 c. CE

Four red dipinti, cursively written sideways on the body of four amphorae of "Gazan Jar Type A" or "form 4" (Fabian - Goren 213). Inscriptions (a) and (b) are of three lines; (c) is composed of five lines, above the cross in this inscription there are two faded undeciphered letters or symbols; inscription (d) of two lines. W-shaped *omega* in (d). Several lines are closed with horizontal strokes, which may also be abbreviation marks: (a) l.2, (b) l.2 (the stroke curves downwards), (c) l.5, (d) l.3. More traces of paint may be discerned in (c) at the end of l.3.

Meas.: letters 2-6 cm; (c) cross: h 13 cm; undeciphered letters/symbols above cross: h 13 cm.

Findspot: Found in situ in a deposit of about 70 amphorae of this type, in a Late Antique warehouse excavated on a sand hill site called Ard el-Mihjar (on “Ziqim” Beach) located on the sea shore on the banks of the Shiqma River south of Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. nos.: 2005-1302 (a); 2010-2879 (b); 2010-2880 (c); 2005-1301 (d). Autopsy: 24 May 2012.

- (a) ΥΙ
X++API
ΘΕΟΦΑ+
- (b) ΥΙΙ
X+AN++
E++++ΦΦΧΙ
- (c) ++
(cross)
ΙΣΧ++ΣΑ
Π
ΜΑΤ
Σ
- (d) ΙΑ
ΜΑΤ++
ΛΜΕΩΘ or ΛΙΜΕΩΚ



fig. 2431.1 (a)

- (a) Υ Ι | X++API | Θεοφά(νους?)
- (b) Υ ΙΙ | X+AN++ | E++++ΦΦΧΙ
- (c) ++ | ἰσχ[ου]σα(?) | ΙΙ | μάτ(ια) | σ'
- (d) ια' | μάτ[ια] | ΛΜΕΩΘ or ΛΙΜΕΩΚ

- (a) Y ... 1 (property) of Theophanes?
- (b) Y ... 2 ... (numbers?)
- (c) ... containing 2 matia 200
- (d) 11 matia of...

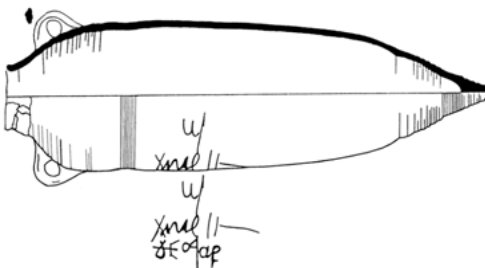


fig. 2431.2 (a)

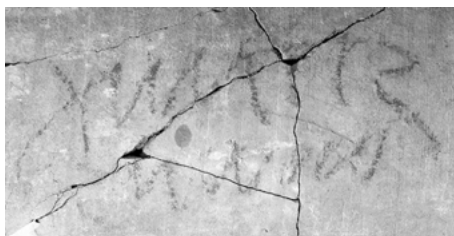


fig. 2431.3 (b)



fig. 2431.4 (b)



fig. 2431.5 (c)

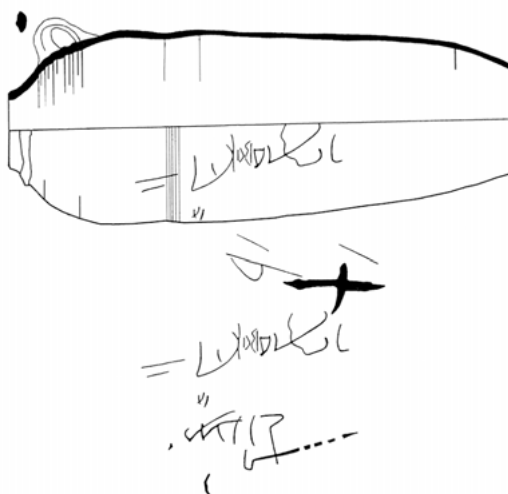


fig. 2431.6 (c)



fig. 2431.7 (d)

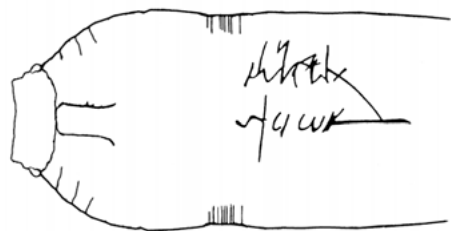


fig. 2431.8 (d)

Comm.: These are the only inscribed jars found in an assemblage of 70 "Gaza" type jars arranged in a storage room. Fabian - Goren left these inscriptions undeciphered, for they are written in a mostly illegible cursive script. Nevertheless some observations are possible:

The cross may indicate that at least a part of these inscriptions is Christian (e.g. M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, 1976, 87ff.), but it may also be a mark like the one on a Gaza Jar from Yavneh-Yam (see no. 2277).

ll.1 and 2 of inscriptions (a) and (b) seem to repeat the same formula: l.1: beginning with the letter upsilon followed by 1 [inscr. (a)] and 2 [inscr. (b)] tally marks. l.2: containing a repeated, undeciphered word beginning with the letter chi.

Inscription (a) l.3 seems to contain a name, possibly Theophanes (by far the most popular option for these letters in the LGPN).

The letters MAT appear twice in (c) l.4, where they are preceded by two tally marks in l.3; and in (d) l.2 where they are preceded by the number 11 in l.1. MAT may be the dry volume measure $\mu\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\nu$, usually 1/10 of an artaba, being 3.88 liters (see: R. Bagnall, in: R. Bagnall ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 2009, 187).

Gaza jars were mostly wine containers. Residue analysis of samples from this storeroom confirmed this to be the case here as well (see Fabian - Goren 213). Accordingly reading a dry measure on these jars is problematic. Perhaps these were the only inscribed amphorae in the storeroom exactly because they were singled out for their different contents (for dry goods in Gaza Jars see: P. Mayerson, in: L. Stager - J. Schloen - D. Master eds., *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview* (1985-2006), 2008, 472).

Bibl.: Unpublished. – P. Fabian - Y. Goren, *Atiqot* 42, 2001, 211-9.

Photo: IAA; Fabian - Goren 214 figs. 1-4 (dr.); AE.

XX. Tell Shekef

2432. Greek mosaic inscription on the foundation of a church, 6 c. AD

Floor of a church, decorated with mosaics. Only the western part of the floor could be recovered until now; three inscriptions are reported, but a photo was published only of the inscription in the center of the narthex; there is no information on the two others. On the floor is a large square, bordered with rows of black, yellow, red, and black tesserae; the inner part of the square is blue; in its corners are yellow leaves with black borders; a large circle is in the middle of the square, bordered by four rows of tesserae, yellow, black, red, black. The letters of the inscription are black, the background is yellow, the guidelines are red.

Findspot: Tell Shekef, in a Byzantine basilica (25x13 m).

Pres. loc.: In situ.

ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΛΗΜΣΕΩΣ
ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΧΡΗΣΤΩΝ
ΒΙΚΤΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΩΑΝ
ΝΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΣ ΕΘΗΜΕ
ΛΙΘΟΘΟΟΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙ
ΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΥ[.]
ΔΧ ΜΗ ΠΑΝΕΜΟΥ
ΗΙΝΔΗΚΤΣ Ζ
ΕΥΗΦΟΘΗΤΟΥ Ε[-]
ΙΧ ΜΗ[-]



fig. 2432

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας | καὶ ἀντιλήμσεως | τῶν φιλοχρήστων | Βίκτωρος καὶ Ἰωάννου
πατρικ(ίου) ἐθήμε|λιόθη ὁ οἶκος τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου ἔτου[ς] | δχ', μη(νός) Πανέμου |
η', ἰνδηκτ(ιώνος) ζ',| ἐψηφόθη τοῦ ἔ[τους]| ιχ', μη(νός) [--]

On behalf of the salvation and succor of the Christ-loving Victor and Ioannes, the patrician, was this church of St. John built in the year 604, Panemos 8th, indiction 6 (2 July 544 AD); it was paved with mosaics in the year 610, month ... (550 AD).

Comm.: l.1ff.: the formula is common in Syria, Palestine and Arabia. Baumann, Stifter 295 advises therefore against a too strict and theological explanation. Cf., too, Moralee 87: "Christian elites also looked to their God for earthly salvation in exchange for votive offerings ... The distinction ... between earthly and eschatological is not always clear, as Christian religious texts often show a striking ambiguity in the use of 'salvation'."

l.4: the name Victor, common in these regions, derives from St. Victor, who had a martyrion in the vicinity of Gaza (noted on the Madaba map, [τ]ὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Βίχτροπος, IGLS 21,2, 153, 121); on the frequency of this name in the Negev, see the collection of instances in *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia* I a, p. 349f.

l.4f.: Ioannes, the patrician, dedicates a church to St. John. Iust. Nov. 80 decreed that all *illustres* belonged to the rank of *patricius*. - Saliou n. 21 and 82 refers to this church, built under the bishop Marcianus – as was the church of nos. 2443ff.

l.10: τοῦ ἔ[τους --] and following number instead of τοῦ (number) ἔτους is not impossible in Palestine.

l.11: since the line starts with IX, it is quite improbable that there is a numeral lacking; to the right of the ligature μη(νός) are two small black points, directly connected with the line of red tesserae above, which is unusual but not without parallel in this mosaic; if these two dots belong to the name of a month, Ὑπερβερεταῖος is the most probable choice.

Bibl.: F. Mébarki - E. Villeneuve - S. Laurant, *Le Monde de la Bible* 134, 2001, 62 (ed. pr.). – Cf. C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 390ff.; J. Moralee, *For Salvation's Sake*, 2004.

Photo: F. Mébarki - E. Villeneuve - S. Laurant, *Le Monde de la Bible* 134, 2001, 62.

XXI. Erez

2433. Greek dedication of a statue of a griffin by a priest, 210/211 AD

Rectangular block with an inscription on the front side, used as a basis for a marble figure of a griffin, resting his right foreleg on a wheel.

Meas.: h 49, w 17, d 52 cm (of the basis and statue); basis: h 7, w 17, d 52 cm; letters 0.8-1.2 cm.

Findspot: Found in the Kibbutz Erez, between Gaza and Ashkelon.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem,
IAA inv. no. 1957-866. Autopsy: 15
March 2012.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΒΚΦ
ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ
ΙΕΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ

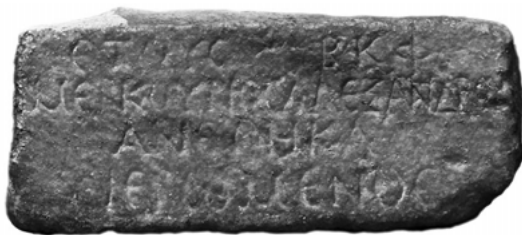


fig. 2433.1

ἔτους βκφ' | Μερκούριος Ἀλεξάνδρου | ἀνέθηκα | ἱερώμενος

In the year 522 during my priesthood, I Mercurius son of Alexander dedicated (the statue).

Comm.: Date: year 522 of the Seleucid era = fall 210-fall 211 AD. Mercurius son of Alexander was a priest of an unknown god or goddess. His name makes it obvious that – just one year before the issue of the constitutio Antoniniana – he did not yet possess the Roman citizenship. The text does not tell us where he exercised his temporary priesthood during which he dedicated the statue of the griffin. The griffin has to be understood as symbol of the goddess Nemesis. For ἱερώμενος as holder of a priesthood see e.g.



fig. 2433.2

SEG 9, 161; C. Welles, Gerasa. City of the Decapolis, 1938 no. 123: Ἀσκληπιόδωρος Γοργίου ἱερώμενος ἐφιλοτιμήσατ[ο] τὸ ἄγαλμα (cf. nos. 121 and 122).

Bibl.: J. Leibovitch, IEJ 8, 1958, 143 fig. B (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 19, 923; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 57 no. 1; M. Hornum, Nemesis, the Roman State, and the Games, 1993, 227 no. 135; A. Ovadiah - S. Mucznik, Worshipping the Gods. Art and Cult in Roman Eretz Israel, 2009, 152. – On Nemesis, cf. H. Herter, RE XVI 2, 1935, 2338-80; P. Karanastassi – F. Rausa, LIMC VI 1, 1992, 733-70; P. Linant de Bellefonds, *ibid.*, 770-3; Hornum, *esp.* 24ff. on Nemesis and the griffin.

Photo: V. Naikhin, courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem; WE.

WE

2434. Fragment with Greek letters

Plaque of limestone, broken on all sides except the bottom. The back is smooth. *Iota* and *omega* in ligature.

Meas.: h 15.2, w 22, d 4.8 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA records near Kibbutz Erez.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 2005-370. Autopsy: 29 November 2012 (A. and N. Graicer).

[--]++ΟΥΣ[--]

[--]ΑΣΙΩΙΔ+[--]

[--]ΑΤΡΟΥ[--]

Comm.: In l.1 either an *iota* or a *tau* before the ΟΥ; l.2: either an *omicron* or an *omega* follow the *delta*. In l.3 the letter between the *alpha* and the *rho* is not clear; but only *tau* seems plausible. Or could it be a ligature like in nos. 2585-2587? [--]ασιωι is perhaps the end of a name.



fig. 2434

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WE

2435. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides except for the bottom; a molding above the letters suggests that it was used to cover an object.

Meas.: h 14, w 10, d 5.5 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA from Dimra, vicinity of Kibbutz Erez.

Pres. loc.: Museum Kibbutz Erez, IAA inv. no. 1994-5494. Autopsy: 9 August 2008 (A. and N. Graicer).

[--]NHΔ[--]



Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

fig. 2435

WE

2436. Opistograph with Greek or Latin letters

Small fragment of marble slab, broken on all sides; letters on both sides. An overstroke on side (b).

Meas.: h 6.5, w 5, d 1.8 cm; letters (a) 4.5, (b) 3.6 cm.

Findspot: Vicinity of Kibbutz Erez.

Pres. loc.: Museum Kibbutz Erez. Autopsy: 9 August 2008 (A. and N. Graicer).

(a) [--]P[--]

(b) [--]+II[--]



fig. 2436.1 (a)

Comm.: Either a Greek *rho* or a Latin P on side (a); on side (b) there could be a Roman number; only an L is possible before II. To read the second vertical hasta as part of a V seems excluded, since there is a vacat after the hasta.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.



fig. 2436.2 (b)

WE

XXII. Or ha-Ner

2437. Greek funerary inscription, 4 c. CE

Two lines of Greek painted in red above a door in a burial cave. *Alpha* with straight cross-bar; curved *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; serifs (Tsafrir; photo).

Meas.: w 38 cm; letters 6-7 cm (Tsafrir).

Findspot: Burial cave near Kibbutz Or ha-Ner.

Pres. loc.: In situ.

ΕΙΣΕΛΘΕΟΥΔΙΣ

ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ

Εἰσελθε, οὐδὲς | ἀθάνατος

Go in, no one is immortal.

Comm.: The tomb containing this inscription was discovered in 1922 near Khirbet Umm Tabun (south of Kibbutz Or ha-Ner), excavated in 1941 by

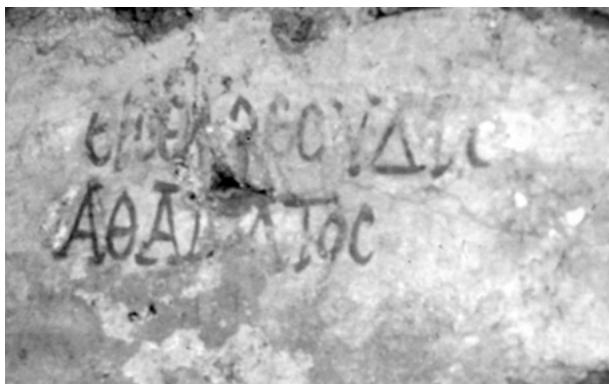


fig. 2437

J. Ory, mentioned briefly by Glueck in 1943 and published fully by Tsafrir in 1968. The tomb consists of a main vaulted room, with four vaulted burial chambers; the walls are decorated, including medallions with portraits (on the pictorial program see Michaeli). The inscription was painted above a door on the north wall. The formula was used by pagans, Christians and Jews, see J. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions*, 2000; M. Bockmuehl - G. Stroumsa eds., *Paradise in Antiquity*, 2010; R. Goldenberg, in: H. Obayashi ed., *Death and Afterlife*, 1991; L. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism*, 1998, 157-70; and see the commentaries by Ameling at IJO II, 236 and at CIIP II 1515.

Dating to the 4 c. CE is based on finds in the tomb and the style of the wall paintings.

Bibl.: N. Glueck, *AJA* 47, 1943, 125-31 at 129; Y. Tsafrir, *IEJ* 18, 1968, 170-80 at 170-4 (edd. prr.). – *HA* 17, 1966, 33 (Hebr.); Y. Tsafrir, *Qadmoniot* 2, 1969, 61-5 (Hebr.); Keel - Küchler 75f.; L. Di Segni, in: N. Arbel ed., *Ascalon. 4000 and Forty Years More* 1, 1990, 67-90 at 72 (Hebr.); T. Mi-

chaeli, Assaph 3, 1998, 37-76 at 38; id. Visual Representations of the Afterlife, 2009, 84-130 figs. 100a-154.

Photo: T. Michaeli 2009, fig. 104.

JJP

XXIII. Beit Lahiya

2438. Hellenistic lead weight inscribed in Greek, 149/48 BCE

Square lead weight, having on the reverse “a network of small lines crossing one another as to form lozenge-shaped compartments” (Clermont-Ganneau). Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: wt 144 g.

Findspot: Allegedly found at Khirbet Lakijah (Beit Lahiya?).

ΛΔΞΡΑ
ΓΟΡΑΝΟ
ΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ

(Ἔτους) δξρ' ἀ|γορανο|μουῦντος | Δικαίου

Year 164, Dicaius being agoranomos.

Comm.: In 1893, Clermont-Ganneau published a short note on an inscribed lead weight found “near Gaza”. The description of the item was communicated to him by one of his former pupils. The measurements of the weight were not indicated; nor was there a photograph, only a schematic drawing of an inscription in four lines. Present whereabouts of the object are unknown.

The findspot of the weight was said to be Khirbet Lakijah. Clermont-Ganneau (306 n. 1) suggested to identify it as Beit Lahiya, about six-seven kilometers north of Gaza. However, if this identification is correct, the findspot would imply at least the same, if not shorter, distance from the ancient city of Anthedon. The attribution of the weight to Gaza thus cannot be considered final.

Clermont-Ganneau assigned the weight to the year 164 of the Roman era of Gaza (61 BCE), i.e. 103/4 CE. However, the network pattern on the reverse leaves little doubt that the weight belongs to the Hellenistic period and that its date should be counted from the Seleucid era of 312 BCE (Kushnir-Stein). The correct date of 149/8 BCE was given by H. Seyrig already in 1950, albeit without further comment. The weight of the item, 144 g, would suit the Hellenistic period well, since it amounts to one fourth of the Seleucid mina (550-600 g).



fig. 2438

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 25, 1893, 305f. (ed. pr.). – H. Seyrig, Notes on Syrian Coins, 1950, 32; SEG 28, 1409; A. Kushnir-Stein, ZDPV 113, 1997, 88-91; SEG 47, 1976.1; BE 2000, 671.

Photo: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 25, 1893, 305 (dr.).

AKS

XXIV. Anthedon

Introduction

Pliny asserts that Anthedon is an inland town,¹ but that is contradicted by all other sources.² Sozomenus (fifth century) specifies that it is a maritime city at a distance of about twenty stadia (approximately 3,700 m) from Gaza. Theodosius, The Topography of the Holy Land, says: “Between Ascalon and Gaza are two cities: Anthedon and Maiuma” (i.e. Gaza Maiumas).³ The name Anthedon is recorded by various others, in addition to Josephus and those already mentioned: Ptolemy,⁴ and Stephanus Byzantinus who describes it as “near Gaza, on the sea-shore.”⁵ It similarly appears as one of twenty-two cities in the list of Hierocles (sixth century, reign of Justinian) for Palaestina Prima and in that of Georgius Cyprius (AD 600-610).⁶

While there may have been predecessors of the town with another name, Anthedon as such clearly is a Hellenistic foundation. There was a city of that name in Boeotia, said to have derived its name from a nymph Anthedon.⁷ Anthedon in Palestine is first mentioned as a city conquered by Alexander Jannaeus at the same time as Raphia.⁸ Pompey presumably took it from the Jews, like other coastal cities, although it is not mentioned in this connection by Josephus.⁹ Gabinius re-found-

1 Plin. NH 5,13,68: *intus Anthedon*.

2 Jos. AJ 13,396 which lists Anthedon as one of the towns on the coast held by Jews under Alexander Jannaeus; 18,158-159 which states that Agrippa set sail from Anthedon (see the introduction to the entry on Iamnia); BJ 1,416: Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν παράλιον; Ptol. 5,16,2, listed among coastal cities; Stephanus Byz. 96,15 s.v. ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις πλησίον Γάζης πρὸς τῷ παραλίῳ μέρει. Sozomenus, HE 5,9,7: ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἀνθηδόνα πόλιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀφεστῶσαν Γάζης ὡς εἰς σταδίους εἴκοσι, παραπλησίως δὲ τηνικαῦτα τῷ Ἑλληνισμῷ χαίρουσαν, καὶ περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν ξοάνων ἐπτοημένην.

3 Theodosius, de Situ Terrae Sanctae 138,19, CCSL 175, 116: *De Ascalona usque ad Gazam milia XX. Inter Ascalonam et Gazam civitates duas, id est Antedona et Maioma*.

4 Ptol. 5,16,2 lists Ἀνθηδών after the Port of Iamnia, Ascalon and Azotus. It is also mentioned in 4,5,12 as marking the boundary between Egypt and Judaea, near Rhinocolura.

5 Stephanus s.v.: ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις πλησίον Γάζης πρὸς τῷ παραλίῳ μέρει.

6 Hierocles, Synecdemos, 719,1 (ed. Parthey, p. 42); Georgius Cyprius, 1011 (ed. Honigsmann, p. 67). It appears also in the list of bishoprics of Nilus Doxapatrius 145 (ed. Parthey, p. 281; twelfth cent.).

7 Paus. 9,22,5,1: ... καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδών· γενέσθαι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀνθηδόνοιο νύμφης ... λέγουσιν. The Boeotian city is mentioned also by Stephanus. Cf. RE 1, col. 2360f. (Hirschfeld); 8, col. 66 (Stein); Schürer 2, 104; TIR 63.

8 Jos. AJ 13,357; BJ 1,87; AJ 13,395.

9 For other coastal cities: Jos. AJ 14,75; BJ 1,156.

ed and resettled it, as he did with Raphia.¹⁰ Augustus added it to Herod's realm, like other coastal cities: Gaza, Jaffa and Straton's Tower.¹¹ According to Josephus, Herod renamed Anthedon Agrippias or Agrippeion in honor of Agrippa,¹² a name that failed to make its impact over time, unlike the new names of settlements that were actually built up and settled by Herod, such as Caesarea, Sebaste and Antipatris.¹³ Its status following Herod's death until the First Revolt is not altogether clear. It is, however, quite possible that, like Iamnia, it became imperial property. When Agrippa intended to set sail from Anthedon the procurator Capito had the authority to send soldiers to Anthedon in order to prevent Agrippa's departure,¹⁴ even though Anthedon was south of Ascalon and Iamnia north of it. In that war Jewish forces are said to have razed Anthedon and Gaza while many villages in the vicinity of both towns were pillaged.¹⁵ Perhaps "razed" is more than what actually happened.

Sozomenus reports that Anthedon was, like Gaza, "favorable to paganism and devoted to idolatry."¹⁶ Bishops of the town appear in the acts of the church councils at Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451) and Jerusalem (518 and 536).¹⁷

Anthedon minted coins under Elagabal and Severus Alexander; also, possibly – but not certainly, under Caracalla. Coins of Anthedon are rare, problematic as far as dates are concerned and usually in a bad state of preservation. No comprehensive study exists as yet.¹⁸ The usual legend on coins is ANΘΗΔΟΝΟC, but on a coin under Severus Alexander it appears as ANT(oniniana) ANΘΗΔΟΝΟC.¹⁹ This may suggest steps taken under either Caracalla or Elagabal. Anthedon might have received the status of a *polis* in this period, but this is a conjecture.

Alla Stein has reattributed to Anthedon a famous weight previously assigned to Gaza (below, no. 2581), and yet another weight, also of the Roman period (no. 2580). The problem is that some items (not only weights) allegedly coming from

10 Jos. AJ 14,88: καὶ ἀνεκτίσθησαν ... Ἀζωτος καὶ Σκυθόπολις καὶ Ἀνθηδών καὶ Ῥαφία ... τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων πειθομένων οἷς ὁ Γαβίνιος προσέταττε, βεβαίως οἰκηθῆναι τότε συνέβαινε τὰς πόλεις, πολὺν χρόνον ἐρήμους γενομένας.

11 Jos. AJ 15,217; BJ 1,396.

12 Agrippias: Jos. AJ 13,357; BJ 1,87; Agrippeion: BJ 1,416: ἀνακτίσας δὲ καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα τὴν παράλιον καταρριφθεῖσαν ἐν πολέμῳ Ἀγρίππειον προσηγόρευσε.

13 See Pliny, Ptolemy, Sozomenus, Stephanus, and Hierocles, Synecd. 44, cited above and the coins, cited below.

14 Above, n. 2.

15 Jos. BJ 2,460.

16 Above, n. 2.

17 M. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, vol. 3, 1740 (reprint 1958), 631.

18 BMC Palestine 103, Y. Meshorer, City-coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman period, 1985, nos. 66-68; H. Yashin, From Ascalon to Raphia, 2006, nos. 517-519; M. Rosenberger, The Rosenberger Israel collection I, 1972, 32f., 68. These references represent practically all that has been published.

19 Meshorer (n. 18) no. 68.

Gaza may well be from Anthedon, but it is not easy to determine such matters with any certainty.

Anthedon is probably to be identified with Khirbet Teda on the coast in the north of the Gaza Strip.²⁰ This site has been under excavation from 1994 until 2005, but the results have not been published properly.²¹ The site is said to have been inhabited in the Iron Age (with a substantial quantity of imported Greek pottery), and in the Persian period. The Hellenistic period is represented by houses with wall paintings. A town wall and gate date to the first century BC to the second century AD according to the report. The excavations further are said to have uncovered sumptuous houses of the Roman period, a sanctuary of the mid-third century as well as remains of a quay. The site apparently was occupied also in the Byzantine and (Early?) Islamic periods. Byzantine tombs are located in the vicinity. No documentation of all this has been published so far.

BI

20 F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de Palestine*, 3rd ed. 1967, 244f.: "A 2 km. environ du mouillage actuel de Gazzé on rencontre une falaise farcie de tessons qui s'appelle *el Blahīye* ou *Iblahīye* que suit au nord d'une colline basse portant encore le nom de *Tida*. L'endroit paraît avoir été contigu à Aioumas de Gaza, si bien qu'Idrisi appelle Tida ou Taida le port de Gaza." For the site, see W. Pythian-Adams, PEQ 55, 1923, 14-7. Anthedon Harbour appears on the tentative list of World Heritage Sites of the UNESCO for the State of Palestine. Coordinates: N32 17 E35 11 (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5719/>, viewed 4 March 2014).

21 J.-B. Humbert - Y. Abu Hassuneh, *Fouilles d'Anthedon (Blakhiyeh)*, *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 240, 1999, 46-51; see also the website: <http://www.orient-mediterranee.com/spip.php?article163&lang=fr> (viewed 4 March 2014) of Unité Mixte de Recherche, UMR 8167, Orient & Méditerranée.

Inscriptions

2439. Fragments of a Greek inscription, perhaps a letter of a Hellenistic king

Three fragments of a thick gray-blue marble block, two of them joining; fragment (a) is broken on all sides except for the top; the original back seems not to have been preserved; the two joining pieces (b) are broken on all sides. The letters stand very close to each other; guidelines. The material is identical to that of no. 2440.

Meas.: (a) h 8, w 9, d 5 cm; letters 1.5 cm; interlinear space 1.5 cm. (b) h 31, w 24, d 13.5 cm; letters 1.5 cm; interlinear space 1.5-1.8 cm.

Findspot: Found in 1995 during an excavation at Blakhiyah, which is situated on the sea shore to the north of modern Gaza, ancient Anthedon; fragment (a) was found together with no. 2440 in a Hellenistic context; fragment (b) was reused in the foundation of a wall, built perhaps after 58 BC, during the reconstruction of the city under Gabinius.

- (a) [--]ANTIOX[--]
 [--]+AION[--]
 (b) [--]ΟΣΙΩΝΚΑΙ+[--]
 [--]ΟΣΙΩΝΗΜΙΚΡΩΠΠΛΕΙΟΝ[--]
 [--]ΟΜΕΝΔΕΤΟΥΤΩΝΣΤΕ[--]
 [--]ΣΙΟΥΧΡΥΣΟΥΣΠΕΝΤΑΚ[--]
 [--] *vacat* ΓΕΝΕΣΘΩ *vacat* [--]



fig. 2439.1 (a)

- (a) [--] Ἀντιοχ[---]+Αἰών[--]
 (b) [--]οσίων καὶ +[---]οσίων ἢ μικρῶι πλείον[---]ομεν δὲ τούτων στε[---]σίτου
 χρυσοῦς πεντακ[οσίους? ---] Γενέσθω [---]

Comm.: (b) l.3: e.g. [κελεύ]ομεν ed. pr.

The two fragments and no. 2440 were found during the 1995 excavations in Anthedon. At first sight they look very similar: gray-blue marble and the same type of letters. However, the contexts are slightly different for fragments (a) and no. 2440, which were found in an Hellenistic context, and fragment (b) which was found reused in the foundations of a wall built, perhaps, during the reconstruction of the city under Gabinius. However, albeit found together with their upper edge preserved, fragment (a) and no. 2440 could not have belonged to the same inscription: for reasons of content, the first line in each fragment could not have stood in the same line with the other; furthermore their interlinear space differs: in fragment (a) it is 1.5 cm, whereas in no. 2440 it is 2 cm; nor is their respective

letter-height compatible: it is 1.5 cm in (a), but 2 cm in no. 2440. On the other hand the interlinear space in fragment (b) is 1.5-1.8 cm and the letter-height is 1.5 cm, which makes fragments (a) and (b), despite the different contexts in which they were found, belong to one and the same inscription.

Saliou's commentary attempts an interpretation of the remaining words. It is tempting to understand Ἀντιοχ[--] in fragment (a) as the name of a Seleucid king called Antiochus (cf. P.-L. Gatier [BE]); Saliou's proposal that [--]+ΑΙΩΝ[--] in the following line could be the end of the name of a city like Γαζάων seems reasonable. If the original upper edge of fragment (a) has been preserved, the fragment could

contain the beginning of the inscription. The text of fragment (b) probably dealt with financial matters as implied by χρυσοῦς πενταχ[οσίους?]. Γενέσθω in 1.5 of fragment (b) could refer to a familiar formula in royal letters of the Hellenistic period (Saliou 276 n. 6 and 7). For a letter of the Seleucid king Antiochus V, see Isaac, *Near East* 3ff. = no. 2267 this vol.



fig. 2439.2 (b)

Bibl.: C. Saliou, *RB* 115, 2008, 275-9 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – J. Humbert, *Le monde de la Bible* 127, 2000, 8 (ph.) (only mentioned); P. Gatier, in: Haldimann et al., *Gaza* 111 (ph. only); *BE* 2008, 565; *SEG* 58, 1745.

Photo: D. Licher (dr.); DK (dr.).

WE

2440. Fragment of a Greek inscription

Fragment of a gray-blue marble slab, broken on all sides except for the top; the original back is not preserved. The letters stand very close to each other; guidelines. The material is identical to that of no. 2439. It is not certain whether or not the beginnings of both lines are preserved.

Meas.: h 9.8, w 11, d 7 cm; letters 2 cm; interlinear space 2 cm.

Findspot: Found in 1995 during an excavation at Blakhiyah, which is situated on the seashore to the north of modern Gaza, ancient Anthedon, in a Hellenistic context.

[--?]ΗΠΙΟ[--]

[--?]ΑΡΞΑ[--]

?Η πό[λις --] | ?ἄρξα[ντα --] or ἄρξα[ντος --]

The city of... being in charge of...

Comm.: According to Saliou the beginnings of the two lines at the left-hand side of the inscription are preserved as well as the original upper edge of the stone. The fragment could therefore be the beginning of a text honoring or a text published under a magistrate/archon.

For its resemblance to the two fragments in no. 2439, see there.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 115, 2008, 279f. (ph.) (ed. pr.). - Mentioned by J.-B. Humbert, *Le monde de la Bible* 127, 2000, 8 (ph.); P. Gatier, in: Haldimann et al., *Gaza* 105-17 at 111 (ph. only).

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).



fig. 2440

WE

2441. Cup with a Greek blessing

A cup with a painted word and a dotted painted line (Saliou, relying on photos and a facsimile supplied by Jean-Baptiste Humbert).

Meas.: h 9.4, Ø 8.8 cm.

Findspot: Perhaps at Blakhiyah, ancient Anthedon, near Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, Gaza, inv. no. JKC 1167.

ΕΥΠΛΟΙ

εὐπλόι

Have a fair journey.

Comm.: The first editor took the letters to be “a form of the personal name Εὐπλους or the verbal form εὐπλόι”: “have a fair journey”. The blessing εὐπλοια “a fair journey” is often attested, especially in funerary inscriptions, referring to the journey of the



fig. 2441

dead to the underworld. Thus, although the cup with the blessing could be a gift to someone about to set off on a journey, it is more likely that the context is funerary, e.g. SEG 42, 924 (Ravenna): a funerary inscription with the blessing $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\lambda\acute{o}\iota$ and an image of a ship.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, in: Chambon, Gaza 128f. (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).

WE

2442. Cup with Greek letters

Cup with one word painted on it (Saliou, relying on photos and a facsimile made by Jean-Baptiste Humbert).

Meas.: h 9.4, \varnothing 8.8 cm.

Findspot: Perhaps at Blakhiyah, ancient Anthedon, near Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, Gaza, inv. no. JKC 1167.

EIAI[-] or EIM[-]

Comm.: The first editor suggests to read EIAE[-] and to understand this, if correctly read, as a form of $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ = pity; the form is seldom attested in inscriptions; see for example E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din sec. IV-XIII descoperite în România*, 1976 nos. 29 and 59. But EIAI[-] or EIM[-] seem a more likely reading.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, in: Chambon, Gaza 128f. (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).



fig. 2442

WE

XXV. Jabaliya

2443.-2459. Church of el-Mkheitim

A church with adjoining baptistery was found in Jabaliya, at a place called el-Mkheitim, about three kilometers north-west of Gaza. Most of the upgoing parts of the buildings are lost, but the ground plan is perfectly clear and most of the pavements are preserved. Only one of the inscriptions can be securely dated to the 5 c. (no. 2443); most of them belong to the 6 c. and allow to distinguish three phases, viz. 528-30 (a), 549 (b), and the end of the 6 c. (c). To phase (a) of the 6 c. belong nos. 2444-2448; all of them are in the central nave of the church, none of them is inserted into a medallion; to phase (b) belong nos. 2449-2454; to phase (c) belong nos. 2455-2459. A single text, no. 2456, shows that the church was still used in the late 8 c. AD and that the ecclesiastical organisation was still in place in this time.

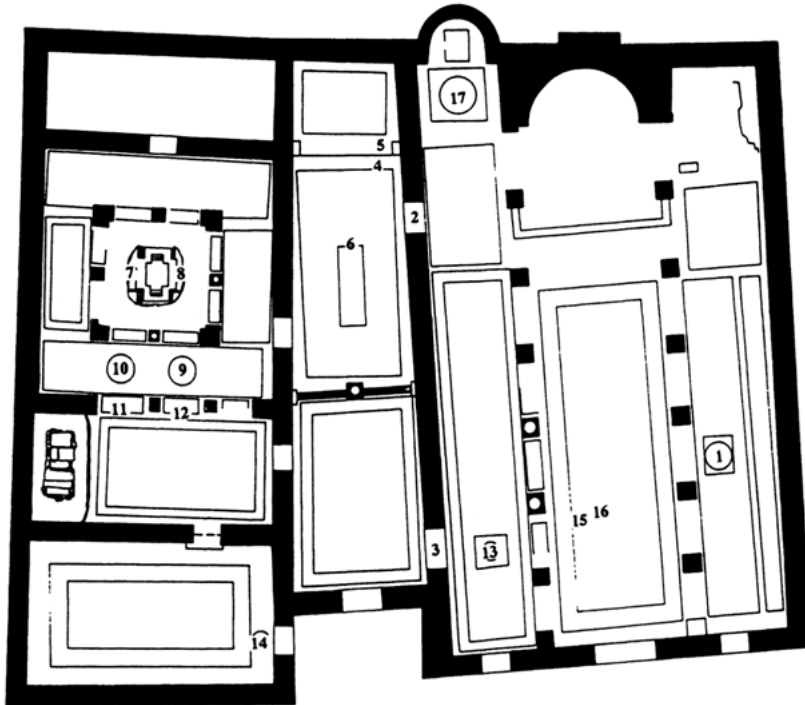


fig. 2443 (C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 393 fig. 1)

It is not always possible to give a clear idea of the whereabouts of the mosaics on Saliou's plan 393 fig. 1 – even though a locus is given for every mosaic. A first publication of the

mosaics with photographs was made by S. Arafat el-Mobid, An-nasraniyah wa-atraha fi-Gazah wa-ma hawlaha, 1998, 148-70 (Arab., non vidi). The edition by Saliou was made with the help of photographs and facsimilia; the height of the letters is given by her according to the facsimilia. All mosaics seem to be still in situ, under the authority of the Département des Antiquités et du Patrimoine culturel palestinien (DACH).

2443. Greek inscription commemorating the completion of a mosaic, 496/7 AD

Medallion, white background, letters made of multi-colored tesserae.

Meas.: letters 10 cm.

Findspot: Locus 2, see plan
(Saliou no. 1).

ΕΠΙΖΗ
[.]ΟΒΙΟ[.]ΟΥ
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΚΑΙ
ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΖΟ
ΝΑΙΝΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕ
ΡΟΙΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ
ΤΟΥΖΝΦ
ΕΤΟΥΣ



fig. 2443.1

ἐπὶ Ζη|[ν]οβίου[ν]+ΟΥ | ἐπισκόπου καὶ | Δωροθέου καὶ Ζο|ναίνου πρεσβύτε|ροι
ἐψηφώθη | τοῦ ζνφ' | ἔτους

The mosaic was laid under bishop Zenobius and under Dorotheus and Zonainus, priests, in the year 557 (= 496/7 AD).

Comm.: 1.1f.: Ζη|[ν]οβίου[ν] τοῦ Saliou; 1.3: ἐπισκόπου, but Pleket apud SEG notes that the second vertical hasta is far from certain; 1.5f.: grammatically incorrect, but it seems most probable that Dorotheus and Zonainus were both priests. On the personal name Zonainus, see no. 2445.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 392f. no. 1 pl. 1a (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1480. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

2444. Greek mosaic inscription on behalf of the reader Hilarion, 528 AD

Red tesserae on white background. A border is only indicated by the orientation of the tesserae.

Meas.: letters 8 cm.

Findspot: Central nave,
Loci 5-8 (Saliou no. 2), see
introduction and plan.

ΥΠΕΡΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕ
ΩΣΙΛΑΡΙΩΝΑΝΑ+[-]
ΤΟΥΕΝΜΕΝΙΞΑΝΘ
ΟΥΕΞΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥΗΠΦΕΤΟΥΣ

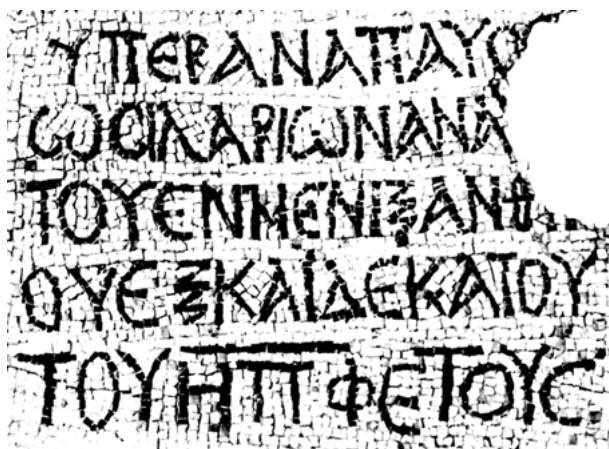


fig. 2444

ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσε|ως. Ἰλαρίων ΑΝΑ+[-]|ΤΟΥ ἐν μενὶ Ξανθικ|οῦ ἑξ καὶ δεκάτου | τοῦ
ηπφ' ἔτους

On behalf of the rest. Hilarion ... (died) on Xanthikos 16th, year 588 (= 6 April 528).

Comm.: St. Hilarion was one of the saints who had lived and were venerated in the vicinity of Gaza (see Jerome's life); his monastery on the Madaba map, IGLS XXI 2, 154-24 (and cf. this vol. no. 2531). On the spread of the name, SEG 8, 298 (Beersheba); 20, 482 (Elusa); Alt, GIPT nos. 104, 110, 111; C. Kraemer, Excavations at Nessana III, 1958 no. 149.

l.1f.: cf. no. 2446, where a ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας is followed by a nominative.

l.2f.: ἀνα[γνώσ]|του Saliou, but – as D. Kossmann observed – there is not enough space for these letters (cf. the indication of the border on the right side). The last traces of a letter belong perhaps to a *lambda* or an *upsilon*, but certainly not to a *gamma*. There seems to be no father's name.

l.3f.: the other dated inscriptions from this complex mention only month and year; only this one mentions a specific day – very probably the date of Hilarion's death.

l.4: δεκάτου instead of δεκάτη.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 393f. no. 2 pl. 1b (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1481. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

2445. Greek inscription with a donation of a floor, 529-30 AD

Black letters on white ground.

Meas.: letters 6.4-7.6 cm.

Findspot: Central nave, loci 6/9 (Saliou no. 3), see introduction and plan.

ΚΕΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΕΤΗΝ
ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΝΒΑ
ΡΑΧΩΝΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ
[.]ΑΙΖΟΝΑΙΝΟΥΑΔ
[.]ΦΟΥΚΑΙΑΙΑΜ
ΟΝΑΖΟΝΥΙΟΥΑΥ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΠΩΑΝΗΝΥΙ
ΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΦΕΤΟΥΣ

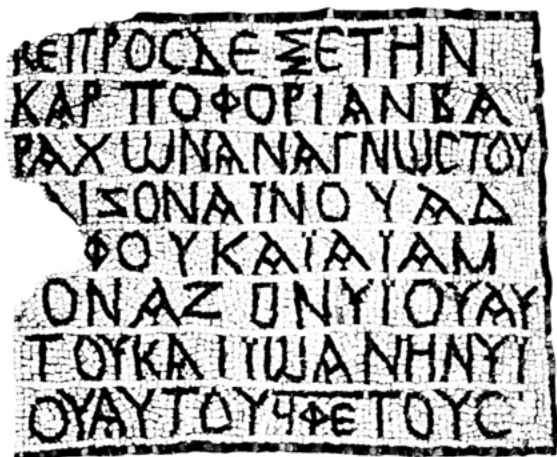


fig. 2445

κ(ύρι)ε, πρόσδεξε τήν | καρποφορίαν Βα|ράχων ἀναγνώστου | [χ]αί Ζωναίνου ἀδ[ελ]-
φοῦ καὶ Αἰα μονάζον, υἱοῦ αὐ|τοῦ, καὶ Ἰωάνην υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. ρφ' ἔτους

Lord, receive the offer of Barachon, the reader, and of Zonainus, his brother, and of Aia, the monk, his son, and of Ioanes, his son. In the year 590 (= 529/30 AD).

Comm.: l.2f.: The personal name Barachon is treated as not declinable; on personal names starting with βαραχ-, see Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 33.

l.4: on Zonainus, cf. esp. Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 51; since Wuthnow, the number of epigraphic instances of this name has multiplied, nos. 2425, 2469, 2546 this vol. The explanation by Alt, GIPT 19 is still valid: “ein arabischer Diminutivname; er könnte von Zann, verkürzt aus Zann-’êl, abgeleitet sein: Zunain.” The name is especially frequent in the Negev, cf. *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia* I a, p. 216.

l.5: Aia is either an aberrant genitive of Αἷας (cf. Sozom. HE 7,28,4; SEG 37, 1494) or the semitic name Aias (Piccirillo 1994, 244ff. nos. 2, 5; Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 14 cites examples from Preisigke, NB).

l.6: on μονάζων, not declined, cf. Itin. Eger. 24,1 (on Jerusalem): *omnes monazontes et parthenae, ut hic dicunt*. Cyrill of Jerusalem, cat. 4,24; 16,22 (PG 33,485 b; 949 e). Cf. CIIP I 2, 841; use of μονάζων in other places: Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 231 no. 1146; 233 no. 1162; 234 no. 1167; SEG 37, 1494; Piccirillo 1989, 209 no. 5.

l.7: accusative instead of genitive.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 394f. no. 3 pl. 2a (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1484. – Cf. M. Piccirillo, Chiese e mosaici di Madaba, 1989; id., Umm er Rasas I, 1994; Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2446. Greek dedication of a floor, 528-30 AD

Red tesserae.

Meas.: letters 7.2 cm.

Findspot: Central nave, Locus 8 (Saliou no. 4), see introduction and plan.

ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ
ΠΑΥΛΟΣΟΥΛΠΙΑ
ΝΟΥΜΩΝΑΖΩΝΚ[Φ]
ΛΑΙΑΚ[ΜΑΡΥΑ

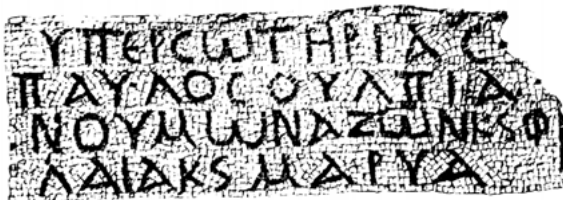


fig. 2446

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας. | Παῦλος Οὐλπία|νοῦ μωνάζων κ(αὶ) Φ|λαία κ(αὶ) Μαρύα

On behalf of the salvation. Paulus son of Ulpianus, monk, and Flavia, and Marya.

Comm.: For Paulus and Marya, see no. 2454.

l.1: cf. no. 2444, where ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως is followed by a nominative.

l.3f.: μονάζων Saliou, corr. Tybout apud SEG. – On the loss of the intervocal stop, cf. inter alia RECAM IV 77 (Ikonion) – a double example: Φλαῖα Ὁκταῖα; Alt, GIPT nos. 10 (καὶ Φ]λαίας συμβ.) and 34 (= Meimaris, Sacred Names 153 no. 805; both from Beersheba and most probably the same person); SEG 31, 1132 (Antiochia Pis.): Γ. Φλαίου Βα[ι]βιανοῦ; 56, 786 (Thessaloniki): Φλαῖα Εἰούστα.

Flavia is attested only here, and it is not sure that one can use her name – at this date – to establish her as a member of Gaza's high society. Marya is attested as the sister of Paulus, and the possibility cannot be excluded that Flavia was a relative, too.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 396 no. 4 pl. 2b (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1483. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2447. Greek inscription with a donation of a floor, 528-30 AD

Letters in black tesserae on a white background; the inscription is framed by a black border.

Meas.: letters 8 cm.

Findspot: Central nave, Locus 7 (Saliou no. 5), see introduction and plan.

[--]ΔΕΞΣΤΗΝ
ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΝ
ΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΕΙΝΙΚΟΤΩΝ
[.]ΥΛΟΥΚΑΙΜΑΡΙΑΣ



fig. 2447

[κ(ύρι)ε, πρόσ]δεξ'ε' τήν | καρποφορίαν | τῶν προσεινικότων | [Πα]ύλου καὶ Μαρίας

Lord, accept the offering of the donators Paulus and Maria.

Comm.: For the formula cf. e.g. no. 2445. – l.3: either a perfect participle or a wrong spelling of the aorist participle. – For donations by Paulus and Maria, see no. 2454.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 396 no. 5 pl. 3a (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1484. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2448. Greek inscription commemorating the completion of a mosaic under bishop Marcianus, 530 AD

The letters are made of red tesserae.

Meas.: letters 6-6.4 cm.

Findspot: Central nave, Locus 8 (Saliou no. 6), see introduction and plan.

ΕΠΙΤΟΥ
ΘΕΩΦΙΑΙ
ΣΤΑΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΑΓΙ
ΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ
ΗΜΟΝΜΑΡ
ΚΙΑΝΟΥΦ
ΕΤΟΥΣΦΕ



fig. 2448

ἐπὶ τοῦ | θεωφιᾶ | στατου | καὶ ἀγιωτάτου | ἐπισκόπου | ἡμῶν Μαρ|κιανοῦ, ρφ' |
ἔτους ΦΕ

Under our most god-loving and most holy bishop Marcianus, year 590 (= 530 AD).

Comm.: Saliou 398: “Dans l’ensemble constitué par les inscriptions 2 à 6, le texte mentionnant l’évêque Marcianos, intégré à un panneau figuratif et signalant la responsabilité éminente de l’évêque sur les travaux plutôt qu’il ne commémore un financement venant de lui, occupe une position exceptionnelle. Les quatre autres se répartissent en deux groupes: deux dédicaces sans vœu, en noir, de formulaires presque identiques, et deux dédicaces votives en rouge.”

l.8: Saliou discusses the possibility to read the *koppa* as a *stigma*, giving 446 AD, but this would not suit the known time of Marcianus; l.9: Φε(βρουαρίου) seems unattested in similar texts. – ἔτους φε', i. e. year 505 (445 AD) seems impossible.

Bibl.: C. Humbert, in: M. Piccirillo - E. Alliata eds., *The Madaba Map Centenary*, 1999, 209 pl. XI (ed. pr.). – C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 397f. no. 6 pl. 3b (ph.); SEG 50, 1485. – Cf. Feissel, *Chroniques* 229 no. 731; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., *Gaza* 182.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2449. Greek mosaic inscriptions from the baptistery

Black tesserae.

Findspot: Baptistery, Locus 11 (Saliou nos. 7, 8), see introduction and plan.

- (a) ΓΕ[...]
(b) ΦΙΣΩΝ

- (a) Γέ[ων]
(b) Φίσων

- (a) *Geon*.
(b) *Phison*.



fig. 2449.1 (a)



fig. 2449.2 (b)

Comm.: Saliou noted that one has to add (c) Εὐφράτης and (d) Τίγρις. The four streams of paradise are often used as symbols of baptism. Cf. SEG 31, 1454, 1472; 44, 1410; 45, 1905a.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 399 nos. 7-8 pl. 5a, b (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1486; Felle, *Biblia epigraphica* 572 no. A900. – Cf. J. Humbert, in: M. Piccirillo – E. Alliata eds., *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897-1997*, 1999, 216ff. with ph. and dr.; R. Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements*, 2009, 181f. figs. VIII-1 and VIII-2.

Photo: R. Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements*, 2009, 182 fig. VIII-2c.

WA

2450. Greek inscription commemorating the completion of a mosaic, July-August 549 AD

Inscription in a round medallion, white background, letters on guidelines in multi-colored tesserae.

Meas.: letters 6-7.6 cm.

Findspot: Locus 11 (Saliou no. 9), see introduction and plan.

[...]Τ[.]
 ΟΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΥΚ
 ΑΓΙΟΤΑΤΟΥΗΜΩΝ
 ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΜΑΡΚΙ
 ΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΚΥ[...]
 ΑΚΟΥΧΩΡΟΕ[...]
 ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗ[...]
 ΥΣΘΧΜΗΛ[...]
 ΟΥ



fig. 2450

[ἐπὶ] τ[οῦ] | ὀσιοτάτου καὶ | ἀγιοτάτου ἡμῶν | ἐπισκόπου Μαρκε|ανοῦ καὶ
 Κυ[ρι]|ακοῦ χωροε[πισκ(όπου)] | ἐψηφώθη [ἔτο]|υς θχ', μη(νὸς) Λ[ώ]|ου

Under our most sainted and most holy bishop Marcianus and the country bishop Cyriacus this mosaic was done in the year 609, month of Loos (July-August 549).

Comm.: l.1f.: the title is quite usual for a bishop; Lampe quotes the nice saying of Pallad, v. Chrys. 10 (PG 47,34): μὴ γίνου πρεσβυτέρου πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἐπισκόπου ὀσιώτερος. l.5f.: The bishop Marcianus is best known through the two orations in his honor by Choricus. He was bishop of Gaza in 530 (no. 2448), in 536 (ACO III p. 188, 24), and is attested here in 549. His last known predecessor, Ambrillius, was in office in 518 (ACO III p. 80, 19).

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 399f. no. 9 pl. 4a (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1487. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2451. Greek inscription with a donation by the priest Paul

Mosaic medallion, surrounded by several circles of tesserae; the letters in black, standing on black guidelines.

Meas.: letters 5.2-6 cm.

Findspot: Locus 11 (Saliou no. 10), see introduction and plan.

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ
 ΟΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ
 ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΟΥΥΙΟΣ
 ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤ(Τ)ΩΘΩΚΤ(Τ)
 [...]|ΙΣΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΑΙΡΙΑΣ
 [...]ΤΟΥΚΑΙΥΠΕΡΑΝΑ
 [...]ΣΕΟΣΜΑΡΙΑΣΑΔΕΛ
 [...]ΥΤΟΥΑΙΠΑΡΘ
 [...]ΨΗΦΩΣΕΝ
 [...]ΙΟΝΦΩ
 [...]ΣΜΑ



fig. 2451

Παῦλος | ὁ πρεσβύτερος, | Οὐλπιανοῦ υἱός, | εὐχαριστ(ῶν) τῷ θε(ε)ῷ κα(ὶ) τοῖς |
 [ἁγίο]ις ὑπὲρ σωτairίας | [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνα|[παύ]σεως Μαρίας ἀδελ|[φῆς α]ὐτοῦ
 ἀιπαρθ|[ένου ἐ]ψήφωσεν | [τὸ ἄγ]ιον φώ|[τι]σμα

Paulus, the priest, son of Ulpianus, giving thanks to god and the saints, adorned the holy (baptismal) font with mosaics on behalf of his salvation and on behalf of the rest of his sister Maria, eternal virgin.

Comm.: On Paulus and Maria, cf. no. 2454.

l.4: a space of about four letters seems to be free in front of the *epsilon*, but the photo gives no indication of any letter.

l.6f.: ἀνα|[παύ]σεως Saliou, corr. Tybout apud SEG.

l.7f.: This is the only text in which Maria is called the “sister” of Paulus – clearly not in a monastic sense, but as a sibling. On the other hand, ἀειπάρθενος is used either, theologically, for Beata Maria Virgo or “of persons vowed to perpetual virginity” (Lampe s.v. 1). Here, then, is the proof that Maria had been a nun (cf. for the use of the word in inscriptions Feissel 1983, 42 no. 23 [Edessa]: [μημ]όριον Καλιμέρας κα(ὶ) Ἀκυλίνας κα(ὶ) Ἀπαντίας ἀειπαρθένου; 64 no. 60 [Beroia]: μήτηρ παρθένων εὐσεβῶν καθηγεμόν, ... ἀειπάρθενος; Mastrokostas 188 [Acarmania; cf. BE 1972, 240]: Θεοπρεπία ἀειπάρθενος καὶ διακ(ονί)σσα).

l.8: [--α]ὐτοῦς Saliou, corr. Tybout.

l.10f.: φώτισμα, font, see Lampe s.v. 6, citing John Mosch., prat. 214 (PG 87, 3105 C). – For the qualification as ἅγιος cf. SEG 29, 1589 (Apamea Syr.): τοῦ ἁγί[ου] φοτισ[τηρίου]; IGLS 21,2, 80, 138; SEG 31, 1476 (all from Arabia).

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 400f. no. 10 pl. 4b (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1488. – Cf. E. Mastrokostas, AAA 4, 1971, 183ff.; D. Feissel, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle, 1983; Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2452. Greek inscription with a signature of mosaicists, 548/9 AD

A square field, dark border and dark letters.

Meas.: letters 5.6-6.4 cm.

Findspot: Loci 11/12 (Saliou no. 11), see introduction and plan.

ΕΡΤΟΝΥΗΦΟ
ΘΕΤΩΝΑΣΚΑ
ΛΩΝΙΤΩΝΒΙ
ΚΤΩΡΟΣΚΚΟΣ
ΜΑΑΣΚΑΛΩ
ΝΙΤΕΤΟΥΣΒΝΧ



fig. 2452

ἔργον ψηφο|θετῶν Ἀσκα|λωνιτῶν Βί|κτωρος κ(αί) Κοσ|μᾶ, Ἀσκαλω|νιτ(ῶν) ἔτους βνχ'

Work of the mosaicists Victor and Cosmas from Ascalon; in the year of the Ascalonites 652 (= 548/9 AD).

Comm.: l.1ff.: On mosaicists' signatures like ἔργον τ. δ., cf. Donderer 1989, 16 and nos. A 1 (no. 2547 this vol.), 27, A 25; Ovadia 2004; Donderer 2008, 44: "Die Berufsbezeichnung tritt hier redundant zu der Signierformel mit dem Substantiv ἔργον"; he remarks, too, that ethnica are a rarity among mosaicists' signatures.

l.2f.: the mosaicists from Ascalon were in a prominent enough position to use the era of their hometown, not the era of Gaza.

l.3f.: Victor was a local saint; cf. his shrine on the Madaba map, IGLS XXI 2, 153-121; the name is very common in Nessana, Colt nos. 72, 74, 89, 121, but can be found elsewhere in Palestine, too.

l.4f.: on the name of Cosmas, cf. Meimaris, Sacred Names 190 no. 947; 234 no. 1164; 256 no. 1276; CIIP I 2, 1010; 1073; II 1123.

l.5f.: the specific mention of the Ascalonitan era follows the rule that such precise statements are normally used in a region not subject to the era in question.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 401 no. 11 pl. 5c (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1489; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike 2, 2008, 43 pl. 3,1. – Cf. H. Colt ed., Excavations at Nessana I, 1962; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung, 1989; Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731; A. Ovadiah, in: Studi di Archeologia in onore di G. Traversari II, 2004, 693ff.; S. Mucznik - A. Ovadiah - Y. Turnheim, Art in Eretz Israel in Late Antiquity, 2004, 88.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2453. Greek donation of Paulus on his behalf and on behalf of the deceased Maria

Some letters in l.4 are lost due to a repair of the mosaic. The distribution of the last words in l.4 is a clear indication that the mosaicist started work without the help of an outlay.

Meas.: letters 8 cm.

Findspot: Loci 11/12 (Saliou no. 12), see introduction and plan.

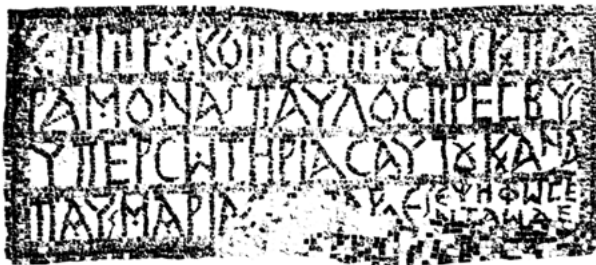


fig. 2453

ΕΠΙΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΚΠΑ
 ΡΑΜΟΝΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥ
 ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΝΑ
 ΠΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ [.] ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ ΕΨΗΦΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΩΔΕ

ἐπὶ Προκοπίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ παρὰ ραμοναρίου Παῦλος πρεσβύτερος | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύσεως Μαρίας [αἱ] παρθένου ἐψηφωσεν τὰ ὧδε

Paulus, the priest, paved these (places) here with mosaic under the priest and administrator Procopius on behalf of his salvation and the rest of Maria, eternal virgin.

Comm.: l.1: for a rhetor Procopius in Gaza, see PLRE III Procopius 1; the name is quite frequent in Caesarea, where a martyr of this name was venerated.

l.2: παραμονάριος: “The paramonarius, who in most cases was the presbyter of a remote church, or a cleric of lower rank in the absence of a presbyter, was entrusted by the bishop to serve as bailiff and guardian of a church”, Meimaris, Sacred Names 259; for other examples of a πρεσβύτερος καὶ παραμονάριος see his nos. 1289f., 1293, 1297.

l.3f.: For donations by Paulus and Maria, see no. 2454.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 401f. no. 12 pl. 6a (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1490. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2454. Greek inscription with a donation on behalf of Paulus and others

Mosaic medallion; letters in black tesserae, standing on a double dividing line in black.

Meas.: letters 4-7.6 cm.

Findspot: Locus 6 (Saliou no. 13), see introduction and plan.

ΥΠΕΡ
ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥ
ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΥΠΕ
ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΑΙΣ ΜΑ
ΡΙΑ[--]
[--]



fig. 2454

ὕπερ | σωτηρίας | Παύλου πρεσβυ(τέρου) | Οὐλπianoῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ(ρ) | ἀναπαύσαι(ως)
Μαρία[ς --|--]

On behalf of the salvation of Paulus, the priest, son of Ulpianus, and on behalf of the rest of Maria ...

Comm.: Paul and Maria are known from nos. 2446, 2447, 2451 and 2453, too; the series of donations started with no. 2447 (Paul and Maria are both alive), continues with no. 2446 (both are alive and Paul is a monk), and ends with nos. 2451, 2453 and 2454 (Maria is dead and Paul has become a presbyter). The filiation is clearer in no. 2451. Saliou 402 emphasizes the location of these inscriptions and the way they announce the donations to the public: “Paul et Marie sont omniprésents dans l’édifice, et leurs dédicaces figurent aussi bien dans l’église que dans le groupe central et le baptistère.”

l.4: “le ρ de ὑπέρ est remplacé par une simple ligne de tesselles noires placée au bord du cercle” Saliou; l.6f.: Μαρία[ς ἀπαρθέ(νου)]? cf. no. 2453; there is no room for a supplement along the lines of no. 2451: Μαρία[ς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαρθέ(νου)].

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 404f. no. 14 pl. 7a (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1492. – Cf. BE 2001, 502; Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2455. Greek inscription for the completion of a mosaic, March-April 594 AD

Inscription in a medallion; a lozenge above the first line; white background, but multi-colored tesserae are used for the letters.

Meas.: letters 6.4-7.2 cm.

Findspot: Locus 13 (Saliou no. 14), see introduction and plan.

ΕΠΙΤΟΥΘΕΟ
ΦΙΛΣΑΛΑ
ΟΝΟΣΠΡΕΣΒ[Κ]
[.]ΓΟΥΜ[ΕΨΗΦΩ]
[.]ΑΟΔΕΜΗΞΑΝΘΙ
ΤΟΥΔΑΝ[...]
ΙΝΔ[...]



fig. 2455

ἐπὶ τοῦ θεο|φιλ(εστάτου) Σαλα|ονος πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) | [ῆ]γουμ(ένου) ἐψηφώ(θη) |
[τ]ὰ ὅδε μ(η)νὶ Ξανθι(κῶ) | τοῦ δ(ν)χ' [ἔ]τους | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [ιβ']

Under the most god-loving priest and abbot Salaon were these (things) furnished with mosaic, in the month of Xanthikos, year 654, indiction 12 (= March-April 594).

Comm.: 1.2f.: Salaon seems to be an unattested Semitic name, but Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnennamen* 102f. quotes many examples of names from the same root. – SEG 55, 1694 (Saddiquin/Phoen.): Ἐπὶ τοῦ ... εὐλαβ(εστάτου?) Σαλαωνί(ου) περιοδ(ευτοῦ).

1.7: ιβ' – if the date on the mosaic is correct.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 404f. no. 14 pl. 7a (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1492. – Cf. BE 2001, 502; Feissel, *Chroniques* 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2456. Greek inscription commemorating the completion of a mosaic, 732 AD

Round medallion; differently colored letters, partly made of glass, on white background (1.1f: blue; 11.3-6: black; 1.7f.: red).

Meas.: letters 4.4-7.6 cm.

Findspot: Locus 4 (Saliou no. 15), see introduction and plan.

(cross) ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΤΟΠΑΝΕΡ
ΓΟΝΤΗΣΧΑΜΩΨΗΦΟΣΕΟΣ
ΤΑΥΤΗΣΕΠΙΣΕΡΓΙΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΓΙΩΤΗΜΩΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ
ΑΖΗΣΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΘΩ[.]
ΑΠΕΡΚΑΙΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΕΝΜΗ
ΛΩΟΥΤΟΥΒΩΨ
ΕΤΟΥΣΙΝΔΙΕ (cross)



fig. 2456

ἐγένετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς χαμωψηφόσεως | ταύτης ἐπὶ Σεργίου τοῦ | ἀγιωτ(άτου)
ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου | Ἀζῆς καὶ Στεφάνου Θω[μ]ᾶ περ(ιοδευτοῦ) καὶ ἡγουμένου ἐν
μη(νὶ) Λῶου τοῦ βρψ' | ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'

The whole work of this mosaic on the floor was completed under our most holy bishop of Gaza, Sergius, and under Stephanus son of Thomas, periodeutes and abbot, in the month of Loos, year 792, indiction 15 (25 July-23 August 732).

Comm.: This is the latest dated inscription from Gaza (cf. Schick 171, 175 on Gazan christianity in Islamic times).

1.2: *χαμοψήφοσις* is here attested for the first time; cf. *χαμοκέντησις*, on which see Bruneau 58.

1.5: cf. Stephanos of Byzantium p. 193, 21f. ed. Meineke: Γάζα ... ἐκλήθη καὶ Ἀζα. καὶ μέχρι νῦν Σύροι Ἀζαν αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν; it is astonishing that Stephanos is characterized by his father's name.

1.6: "The *periodeutes* was not a clerical order, nor a honorary distinction, but a title allotted by a bishop of a particular diocese to a cleric of any rank, of a small, remote country community, able to represent him in the community and serve as a channel of communication between the bishop and the people", Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 254; as such, the *periodeutēs* is supposed to be the successor of the *χωρεπίσκοπος*. This explanation is not without problems (and Meimaris' idea why the *periodeutēs* was called *periodeutēs* is to be discounted; he derived the term from Galen 12,844, Steph. in Hp. 2.457 D, where a medical practitioner is called *periodeutēs*, and concluded: "He was one who practiced as a spiritual physician"). But the legal texts of the 6 c. AD make it virtually certain that the *periodeutēs* was a cleric and that he stood above a simple priest, but below a bishop (CJ 1,3,38,2: ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἢ χωρεπισκόπων ἢ περιδευτῶν ἢ κληρικῶν κτλ.; 41,19: ἔτι θεσπίζομεν, καθὰ τοῖς θεοῖς διώρισται κανόσι, μήτε ἐπίσκοπον μήτε χωρεπίσκοπον μήτε περιδευτὴν μήτε πρεσβύτερον μήτε ἄλλον οἰασθήποτε ἀξίας κληρικὸν ἐπὶ δόσει χειροτονεῖσθαι). There is, of course, a certain problem with this interpretation: the title is often used together with another clerical rank, and mostly together with rather low ranks: In Meimaris' collection there is no example of a *periodeutēs* καὶ ἡγούμενος, and only one of a *periodeutēs* καὶ πρεσβύτερος (but this combination can be found at other places, too: IK Pessinous 40; MAMA 8, 303; Dagron - Feissel no. 117; SEG 32, 1442 [Apamene]; 37, 1255 [Anazarbos]; 1466 [unknown provenance]; 51, 2040 [Bostra]. SEG 31, 1390 [Hawwa] is read: ἐπὶ Σ(υ)μ(ε)ώ(νου) η̅περ̅ – and the editor Piccirillo thought of ἡ(γουμένου) περ(ιοδευτοῦ)).

Some inscriptions support the interpretation of the Codex and show the *periodeutēs* at exactly the same place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy as the Codex (where not otherwise indicated, the texts come from the Apamene): IGLS 2, 389 (Fafir-tin): [ἐπὶ Ἀ] <ν>τιόχ[υ] τοῦ <ἐπ>ισ[κόπου]. Μάρις περιδευ[τής]; SEG 29, 1589: ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠσι[ωτάτ]ου [ἀρχι]επισκό(που) ἡμῶν [...] + α[.... καὶ Π]έτρου περιωδ[ευτοῦ κα]ῖ Σεργίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) [καὶ] διακόνο(υ); 37, 1415: Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιοτάτου ἀρχιεπισκό(που) ἡμῶν Φωτίου καὶ Δωροθέου περιωδ(ευτοῦ) καὶ Στεφάνου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Συμεωνίου διακό(νων); 1509 (Nahariya): [(cross) Ἐπὶ τοῦ] <ὁ>σ(ιωτάτου) ἐπισκό(που) ἡμῶν Φωτίν[ου.....] καὶ εὐλ(αβεστάτου) Κωσ[μᾶ.... τοῦ] περιωδ(ευτοῦ) ; 40, 1760: τῷ εἰπεμένου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ (καὶ) περιεδευτ(οῦ) ἐμὸν Θωμᾶ (καὶ) πρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζαχχέου (καὶ) διακό(νων) Ἀψωβονίου (καὶ) Ἰσακίου (καὶ) Ἰωάννου; 1766: [Ἐπὶ τοῦ -- καὶ θε]οσεβεστάτου ἐπισ[κόπου] ἡμῶν -- κα]ῖ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου -- περιωδ(ευτοῦ) καὶ τοῦ εὐλ[α]βεστάτου -- πρεσβ(υτέρου) Νόννος; 1773: ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Εἰωάνους περιωδευτοῦ κέ Ἀντιόχου

πρεζβυτέρου κὲ Στεφάνου διακόνου κὲ Βενιάμην ψάλτου κὲ Θαλασσίου οἰκονόμου; 44, 1315: Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἐπιφανίου καὶ Ἀντιόχου περιοδευτοῦ καὶ πρεσβ(υτέρου) Ἀβρααμί; 46, 1773: Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁσιωτ(άτου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ἡμῶν Στεφάνου καὶ τοῦ θεωφ(ιλεστάτου) περιοδ(ευτοῦ) Μάλλχου; 49, 1998 (Epiphania): Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Δόμνου καὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ περιοδευτοῦ Ἐπ<ι>φ[ανίου κα]ὶ το[ῦ εὐ]λαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου Οὐαλέντος; 54, 1809 (unknown provenance): Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ ὁσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν Στεφάνου καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου Ἰωάννου περιοδευτοῦ (καὶ) τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) Ἰουλιανοῦ (πρεσ)β(υτέρου); 55, 1694 (Saddiquin/Phoen.): Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἀθηνόγηνους (καὶ) τῶν χωρεπισκόπων Διονισίου καὶ Θεοφίλου (καὶ) τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου?) Σαλαωνί(ου) περιοδ(ευτοῦ); IEJ 16, 1966, 209 (Tyrus): [ἐ]πὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτ[ά]του κὲ θεοφι(λεστάτου) ἀρχι[ε]πι(σκόπου) ἡμῶν Λονγίνου κὲ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) χωροεπ(ισκόπου) Πολυχρονίου κὲ τῶν ε[ὐ]λ[α]β(εστάτων) περιοδε(υτῶν) Γαιανοῦ κὲ Δωροθέου καὶ Βάσσου. There could be added texts where the περιοδευτής is named before the πρεσβύτερος.

It seems clear that – despite the geographic limits – these inscriptions do not merely attest to the presence of the clerics at e.g. consecration of the church, but that there is definite proof here, if proof is needed, that the περιοδευτής was a high-ranking cleric – placed right below the bishops.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 405f. no. 15 pl. 7b (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1493. – Cf. G. Dagron – D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, 1987; Ph. Bruneau, JS 1988, 3ff.; R. Schick, *The Christian communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic rule*, 1995; Feissel, *Chroniques* 229 no. 731; S. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish society*, 2001, 286; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18-19, 2006/7, 113ff.; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., Gaza 181; D. Quintern, in: K. Aydin ed., Gaza, 2010, 114 fig. 7.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2457. Greek inscription with a prayer for help, 732 AD

Letters in blue tesserae. Above the first line, there seem to be some ornaments. Meas.: letters 7.6 cm.

Findspot: Locus 4 (Saliou no. 16), see introduction and plan.

[--]+ΣΧΣΒΟΗΘΙΑ/Λ/Δ[--]
[--]+++++[--]



fig. 2457

[--]+Σ Χ(ριστὸς) βοηθία(?) [--]+++++[--]

... *Christ, the help* ...

Comm.: Made at the same time as no. 2456, therefore 732 AD.

l.1: the letter before *sigma* was either *upsilon* or *chi*; both letters had a line above them to indicate an abbreviation; Saliou thinks of X(ριστὸς) X(ριστὸς) βοηθία, comparing Meimaris, Sacred Names 46 no. 249 (ΙΣ ΧΣ ΧΣ), or of [Ἰησο]ῦς with a wrongly placed abbreviation mark. – The last letter is *alpha*, *lambda* or *delta*; Saliou read βοηθί +[-] as in βοηθί δ[ούλω]. This makes the nominative at the beginning a bit odd, but she cites Meimaris, Sacred Names 41 no. 216; 43 no. 231; 56 no. 331; cf., too, SEG 46, 1985, 7 (H. Rafid). – l.2: only a horizontal bar can be seen, marking either another nomen sacrum or a number.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 406 no. 16 pl. 8a (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1494. – Cf. Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 731; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., Gaza 180ff.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2458. Greek inscription “for the salvation of Victor”

Mosaic pavement, a circle set in a square; below the last line an ornament (cross?); the letters are mostly formed by black tesserae.

Meas.: letters 10 cm.

Findspot: Locus 5 (Saliou no. 17), see introduction and plan.

ΥΠΕΡΕΣΩΤ
ΤΡΙΑΣΒΙΚΤΩΡ
ΣΑΛΑΗΑΝΟΥΚ
ΣΑΛΑΜΘΑΓΥΚΟ
ΕΙΠΙΣΑΛΑΝΟΣΔΙ
ΑΚΟΜΟΥ (palm branch)
(cross?)



fig. 2458

ὑπερὲ σωτ|τ(αι)ρίας. Βίκτωρ | Σαλαηανου κ(αί) | Σαλαμθα ΓΥΚΟ | εἰπὶ Σαλανος
δι|ακόμου

On behalf of the salvation, Victor son of Salaeanus, and Salamtha GYKO, in the times of Salan, deacon.

Comm.: “La réfection du panneau par un mosaïste illettré l’a rendu ... difficile à interpréter” Saliou, who does not mention when this “réfection” took place – in antiquity or in modern days.

1.1: for ὑπερέ cf. SEG 30, 1741 (Latopolis) and the more common ὑπερί. Cf. no. 2446 for a ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας followed by a nominative.

1.1f.: a few examples of τ > ττ at Gignac I 161; *ibid.* 243 on interchange of η and ε (αι) before a liquid.

1.2: Saliou took the curious second letter as a ligature or abbreviation of AI. Cf. for the name no. 2452.

1.3: was Σαλαμανου intended? There are numerous similar names, e.g. Σαλαμανης, Σαλαμάνιος, Σαλαμανις, Σαλαμανος, Σαλαμάνος, Σαλαμᾶς; Saliou cites a number of examples, but cf. Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 104f.

1.4: γυ(ναι)κό(ς)? Saliou. Salamtha: cf. Marcus Diaconus, *vita Porph.* 98: Σαλαφθα, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐλληνιστὶ Εἰρήνη with the note of the editors H. Grégoire - M.-A. Kugener on p. 141: “Salaphtha est une altération du mot syriaque shelamthâ qui, il est vrai, signifie ‘La Parfaite’ et non ‘La Paix’. La transcription correcte eût été Σαλαμθά.” There are some related names, e.g. Σαλαμαθ, on which see CIIP I 1, 435 (Jerusalem) with comm.; SEG 32, 1435 (Antiochia); 35, 1505 (Palmyra). Even though the resolution of ΓΥΚΟ as γυ(ναι)κό(ς) seems implausible, there is little doubt that Victor and Salamtha belong together, most probably as husband and wife.

1.5: εἰπί is either a mistake made during “la réfection du panneau”, or it is ε > ει, Gignac I 256f., but this case does not really fit into most of Gignac’s categories for this kind of change; for the name cf. the Σαλαονος in no. 2455.

1.5f.: δι|ακόμου – the *mu* is either a mere fault of the mosaicist (as Saliou thought, who saw other faults), or it simply reflects the fact that the phoneme /m/ is ordinarily represented by both *mu* and *nu* (cf. e.g. Gignac I 178).

Bibl.: C. Saliou, *RB* 107, 2000, 407 no. 17 pl. 8b (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1495. – Cf. Feissel, *Chroniques* 229 no. 731.

Photo: M. Heimbach (dr.).

WA

2459. Greek inscription for the salvation of Hilarion, 6 c. AD

Roughly a third of an octagonal table top made of gray-white marble (Quintern); Saliou is more diffident about the identification of the object: “La face inférieure n’est que grossièrement travaillée, et devait être encastrée dans une maçonnerie,

vraisemblablement assez près du niveau du sol. La face supérieure comporte en son centre un disque surélevé et recreusé, percé d'un orifice, et auquel devait être adapté un élément vertical aujourd'hui disparu (porte-cierge, jet d'eau?). Le plateau est en outre percé de petits trous. Dans l'un d'entre eux un fragment d'un tige de métal est encore visible. Le long du bord court une inscription". Humbert comments: "La fonction de cet objet exceptionnel est encore énigmatique. Sa face inférieure devait être encastrée dans une maçonnerie, vraisemblablement assez près du niveau du sol. Un élément vertical (chandelier?) ... devait être fiché dans la disque central." Meas.: letters 1.5 cm.

(cross)

ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤ(ΗΡΙΑΣ) Ἰλαρίωνος ΠΡ[--]

ὑπὲρ σωτ(ηρίας) Ἰλαρίωνος πρ[--]

*On behalf of the salvation of
Hilarion ...*

Comm.: Dated to the 6 c. AD by Humbert. πρ[εσβυτέρου] or e.g. Πρ[οκοπίου] Saliou. On a Hilarion in the same context, see no. 2444. The use of Hilarion as a name is not surprising in Gaza and its vicinity; cf. e.g. Alt, GIPT 35 no. 104; 36 no. 110f. (Ruhebe).

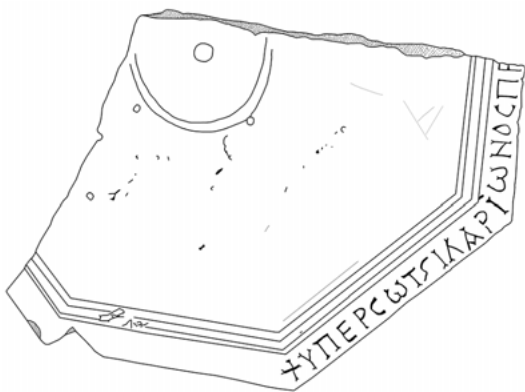


fig. 2459

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 107, 2000, 408f. no. 18 (ed. pr.). – SEG 50, 1496. – Cf. J. Humbert, Gaza méditerranéenne, 2000, 75 (ph.); D. Quintern, in: K. Aydin ed., Gaza, 2010, 99 fig. 5.

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).

WA

XXVI. Gaza

Introduction

Ancient Gaza is situated on Tell Harube, the highest point of the modern city, in the north-eastern part of it, 5 km from the seashore and separated from it by high sand dunes.¹ The coastal plain here is the widest, about 25 km, very fertile and rich in water sources. A road linked the city of Gaza with the site of the ancient port town of Gaza, which developed into an urban centre, known in the Byzantine period as Gaza Maiumas, on which more below.² In the twentieth century a landing-stage was built here on the shore. Gaza lies on the old main highway between Egypt and Syria called in Ex 13,17 “the road towards the Philistines” and later “the Way of the Sea,” the Via Maris (Is 8,23-9,1).³ Another road linked it with Petra.⁴ These two roads, combined with the port, allowed it to play a significant role in the trade, production, import and export of goods to and from Southern Arabia, all of Palestine and various Mediterranean ports.

The name of the city appears first in Karnak in annals of Thutmose III (1468 BC).⁵ From the text it is clear that the city was controlled by the Egyptian crown. It became the capital of the Egyptian province of Canaan. It recurs several times as “Hazati” in the Amarna Tablets.⁶ When the Philistines settled in the region, Gaza was the southernmost town of the Philistine Pentapolis,⁷ and as such it appears in the book of Joshua.⁸ Moreover, some of the most famous episodes of Samson’s story are located there (Jgs 16). In the eighth century Gaza became tributary to the Assyrians.⁹ It first appears in a tribute list of 738, in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III

1 For the topography, see Glucker, Gaza, ch. 1; P. Figueras, *From Gaza to Pelusium*, 2000.

2 Ptol. 5,15,3 and Strab. 16,2,30: ὁ τῶν Γαζαίων λιμήν. Jerome, *vita Hilarionis* 2,7: *Gazae emporium*; Marcus Diaconus, *vita Porphyrii*: τὸ παράλιον μέρος τῆς Φαζαίων, ὃ καλοῦσιν Μαιουμᾶν. For Maiumas, see below.

3 See also the introduction to Raphia for the road and the location of the boundary between Egypt and Judaea/Palaestina. For Gaza and the regional road-system, see Glucker, Gaza 26-30.

4 The importance of this route for the trade with Southern Arabia in the Hellenistic period is attested by Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo* 87 and Diodorus 16,4,18 (776). For the archaeological evidence from the Petra-Gaza road, see: Z. Meshel - Y. Tsafrir, *PEQ* 106, 1974, 103-18; 107, 1975, 3-21; R. Cohen, *Biblical Archaeologist* 45, 1982, 240-7.

5 J. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with suppl., 1969, 235. See also p. 258. Cf. H. Katzenstein, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 2, 912-5.

6 S. Mercer - F. Hallock eds., *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, vol. 2, 1939, 710, 718f., 720f., 735.

7 Jo 13,3: Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gad, Ekron, cf. the introductions to Azotus and Ascalon.

8 Jo 10,41; 11,22; 13,3; 15,47.

9 N. Na’aman, *ZDPV* 120, 2004, 55-72.

(745-727).¹⁰ The war between Egypt and Babylonia toward the end of the seventh century is the context in which Gaza is first mentioned in a Greek source:

“(Pharao Necos, i.e. Neco II) ... also made war by land upon the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolus, after which he made himself master of Cadytis, a large city of Syria.”¹¹

“Syrians” refers in this context to the Chaldaeans,¹² and the reference is to Necho’s victory over the forces of Nebuchadnezzar II on the eastern frontier of Egypt in 601-600 BC. Magdolus undoubtedly is Migdol near Pelusium, while Cadytis is Gaza. After a brief Egyptian interlude Nebuchadnezzar occupied Gaza.¹³ An inscription from his reign mentions the King of Gaza as one of those held in Babylon.¹⁴ With Cyrus’ conquest of Babylon in 539 all of Palestine, Gaza included, became part of the Persian Empire.¹⁵ Following Cambyses’s conquest of Egypt in 525 Gaza’s location as the southernmost harbour and road-station in Palestine enhanced its importance again.¹⁶ It was in this period that Herodotus passed through.

“Now the only entrance into Egypt is by this desert: the country from Phoenicia to the borders of the city Cadytis belongs to the people called the Palestine Syrians; from Cadytis, which it appears to me is a city almost as large as Sardis, the marts upon the coast till you reach Jenysus are the Arabian king’s ...”¹⁷ While Herodotus

10 Hanno, king of Gaza: Pritchard (n. 5) 282f.

11 Herodotus 2,159: καὶ Συρίοισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδῶλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἶλε.

12 D. Asheri et al., A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV, 2007, 359. For the identification of Cadytis with Gaza, see 402f. Cf. Schürer 2, 99 n. 61. See: Jer 47,1-7.

13 H. Katzenstein, Transeuphratene 7, 1994, 35-50.

14 Pritchard (n. 5), 308.

15 U. Rappaport, IEJ 20, 1970, 75-80; H. Katzenstein, Transeuphratene 1, 1989, 67-86; A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 464-7; P. Giroud, Gaza à l’époque perse, in: J.-B. Humbert ed., Gaza Méditerranée, 2000, 40-6.

16 Gaza’s role during Cambyses’ expedition gave rise to a misunderstanding of the name. Since “gaza” was known to mean “treasury” in Persian it was assumed that the city owed its name to the fact that it served as such during Cambyses’ campaign: Pomponius Mela, de Chorographia 1,64: *ceterum in Palaestina est ingens et munita admodum Gaza: sic Persae aerarium vocant, et inde nomen est, quod cum Cambyses armis Aegyptum peteret, huc belli et opes et pecuniam intulerat*. Servius, comm. ad Verg. Aen. 1,119. This is frequently echoed by Jerome, eg.: Comm. in Isaiam 11,39. Stephanus Byz., Ethnika, s.v., ed. Meineke, p. 193 has a related version: Gaza was founded by Zeus who left his own treasure there; cf. below, n. 18.

17 Herodotus 3,5,1: Μοῦνη δὲ ταύτῃ εἰσι φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρις οὐρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος ἢ <γῆ> ἐστὶ Συρίων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων• ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῶ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρις Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι τοῦ Ἀραβίου. Cf. Asheri (n. 12) 401ff., who observes, at 403: “The comparison with Sardis indicates direct knowledge; but it does not show that Herodotus, in writing this paragraph, was necessarily thinking of an Ionian audience.” The identification of Ienysus is uncertain. Khan Iunis has been proposed: BMC Palestine lxvi, n. 1.

is the first Greek author to mention the city, its great antiquity was well known, as illustrated, for instance, by Stephanus of Byzantium: “Gaza, a city of Phoenice, now of Palaestina, before Egypt, also called Aza ... Some say it was founded by Zeus ...” He goes on to identify the local god Marnas with Cretan Zeus.¹⁸ Marnas (Aramaic Marna = lord) is regarded as the Hellenistic version of Dagon, god of rain, grain and fertility.¹⁹

In 332 Gaza, with its Persian governor, Batis, was the only Palestinian city to resist Alexander. It took him two months to capture it, following fierce fighting.²⁰ The men all fell in battle, the women and children were sold into slavery. Polybius notes the loyalty of the people of Gaza and their unique resistance.²¹ Arrian confirms the bravery and united action of the men.²² Alexander re-populated it with people from the vicinity, not with Macedonian settlers, nor did he re-name it Alexandria, as he did so often elsewhere, but used it as a garrison-city for the war.²³

Arrian describes the city as follows: “Gaza is about 20 stades from the sea, and the way up to it is over deep sand, while the sea by the city is nothing but shoals. Gaza was a large city, built on a high mound, with a strong wall around it. It was the last town on the edge of the desert on the road from Phoenicia to Egypt.”²⁴ “Nothing but shoals” ignores the fact that Gaza had a functioning harbour.²⁵ Plutarch calls it “the greatest city of Syria”²⁶ and notes that Alexander “sent a good deal of spoils to Olympias and Cleopatra and to his friends as well as to Leonidas his tutor

18 Stephanus Byz., *Ethnika*, s.v., ed. Meineke, pp.193f.: Γάζα, πόλις Φοινίκης, νῦν δὲ Παλαιστίνης πρὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. ἐκλήθη καὶ Ἀζα. καὶ μέχρι νῦν Σύροι Ἀζαν αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ Ἀζωνος τοῦ παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους. μυθολογοῦσι δέ τινες ὑπὸ Διὸς κτισθῆναι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν γάζαν, οὕτω τῶν Περσῶν τὰ χρήματα καλοῦντων. ... ἔνθεν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κρηταίου Διὸς παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃν καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκάλουν Μαρνᾶν, ἐρμηνευόμενον Κρηταγενῆ. τὰς παρθένους γὰρ οὕτως Κρήτες προσαγορεύουσι Μαρνάν.

19 For the Marnas cult: Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 235-47.

20 Arrian, *An.* 2,25,4-27,7; Quintus Curtius 4,6,6-31; Plutarch, *Alexander* 25; Hegesias *apud FGrH* 2. B 142.Fr.5 with Jacoby’s comments; Diodorus 17,48,7.

21 *Pol.* 16,22a; cf. F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 2, 1967, 527f. On Batis and the legendary aspects of the story of the siege of Gaza by Alexander, see W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, vol 2, 1948, 265-70.

22 *Arr. An.* 2,27,7.

23 *Arr.*, loc. cit.

24 *Arr. An.* 2,26,1: Ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Γάζα τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἴκοσι μάλιστα σταδίου, καὶ ἔστι ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἄνοδος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα. μεγάλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γάζα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ χώματος ὑψηλοῦ ὤκιστο καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ ὀχυρόν. ἐσχάτη δὲ ὤκειτο ὡς ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰόντι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου.

25 See also *Diod.* 20,73-74, where Gaza is mentioned as a place from where Demetrius could set sail (in 306 BC), in contrast to Raphia, “a city which affords no anchorage.” Cf. the introduction to Raphia.

26 *Plut.*, *Alex.* 25.2: Γάζαν... τῆς Συρίας μεγίστην πόλιν.

five hundred talents of frankincense and a hundred of myrrh ...”, an indication of the wealth which the city derived from the caravan trade with Southern Arabia via Nabataea. Strabo also emphasized this (see below).

After Alexander’s death, during the wars between Ptolemy Lagus and the other Diadochi over the control of Coele Syria, Gaza was a focus of conflict and switched hands frequently. In 320 it was conquered by Ptolemy, who then lost both Ioppe and Gaza again to Antigonus Monophthalmus in 315.²⁷ Three years later he recaptured it from Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, in the battle of Gaza.²⁸ This battle apparently took place along the coast road, between Gaza and the Naḥal Besor/Wadi Ghazza.²⁹ Later in the same year, however, Ptolemy abandoned all of Coele Syria and razed to the ground its most significant strongholds, Acco, Ioppe, Samaria as well as Gaza.³⁰ Antigonus then controlled Gaza until 301, when Ptolemy took possession again of the region.

The importance of Gaza as a trade centre under the Ptolemies, already described above, is brought out also by the Zeno archive.³¹ It is worth noting that according to these documents (260/259 BC) an “officer-in-charge of frankincense” was established there.³² Gaza was an essential hub for the trade with Arabia Felix and the Land of Punt on the Somali coast, both of which produced commodities such as resin, dyes, aromatic essences, ginger, pepper, and balsam.³³ The harbour of Gaza is mentioned in some papyri.³⁴ Merchandise was brought from Gaza to

27 Diod. 19,59,2; M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1, 1974, 174f. no.60 observes that Ptolemy had presumably ruled over Palestine for some five years, i.e. since its conquest by his forces in 320 BC.

28 Diod. 19,80,5; 19,84,8; Hecataeus of Abdera apud Jos. c. Ap. 1,184, Stern (n. 27), vol. 1, 1974, 25 no.12, with comments on p. 40. The battle of Gaza has been discussed extensively, but the subjects under consideration do not concern the location or the terrain as such. See I. Kertész, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1, 1974, 231-41; A. Devine, *AC* 27, 1984, 31-40; id., *Ancient World* 20, 1989, 29-38; P. Wheatley, *ZPE* 144, 2003, 268-76 on the question whether the date is 313/12 or 312/11 and arguing in favour of the latter.

29 See Diod., loc.cit; 279 stades from Azotus: Diod. 19,85,1. For the location, cf. B. Bar Kochva, *The Seleucid army*, 1976, 129-31, in connection with the battle of Raphia.

30 Diod. 19,93,7. Gaza is mentioned also in connection with events in 306 BC: Diod 20,73-74.

31 See V. Tscherikover, *Mizraim* 4-5, 1937, 9-90; Schürer 2, 100 with n. 69. See now: X. Durand ed., *Des Grecs en Palestine au III^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ. Le Dossier syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos (261—252)*, 1997 (C. Zen. Palestine), inaccessible to me. I am grateful to Dr Uri Yiftah for references in the following notes.

32 PSI VI 628, ll.3f.: παρὰ Διοδώρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ[ς] λιβανωτικῆς. P. Zen. 52009 is a fragment that contains a short and mutilated list of incense articles, where the name of Gaza appears twice in five lines.

33 Cf. Tscherikover (n. 31).

34 P. Cair. Zen. I 59006 = C. Zen. Palestine 9 (259 BCE[?], Syria) l.63a: εἰς Γαζαίων λιμένα; V 59804 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 38 = C. Zen. Palestine 44, also partly edited as P. Col. III 3, PSI VI 602, PSI VII 863g (258 BCE, Philadelphia) l.2: ἐκ τοῦ Γαζαίων λιμένος; see also P. Zen. I 59001 (274-273 BCE, Pitos, Memphites) l.5, also partly published in PSI IV 321, SB III 6707 and Sel. Pap. I 66.

Tyre and transhipped there.³⁵ Commodities mentioned are slaves and rugs (from Ioppe); olive oil, wheat and other grains, fish, wines, and dry fruits.³⁶ Also in Gaza duties were collected and provisions bought by traders.³⁷ Gaza was the place where Zeno waited for the ship to bring him home to Egypt (PSI IV 322), and caravans to Sidon and Egypt were equipped there (P. Zen. Col. 2).

From 218-217 BC Gaza with the rest of Palestine was held by Antiochus III, but following the battle of Raphia in 217, it reverted to Ptolemaic rule.³⁸ This lasted until a year-long siege in 201 BC.³⁹ Then the battle of Paneas in 200 gave the Seleucids control over the whole of Palestine.⁴⁰

During the internal war between the Seleucids Demetrius II and Tryphon, the guardian of Antiochus VI (145-143 BC), Jonathan the Hasmonaeen, an ally of Tryphon, marched on Gaza since the latter refused to join Antiochus. Jonathan responded by ravaging and burning the surrounding countryside and investing the city. Gaza sued for peace and gave hostages.⁴¹ Sometime after the war between Ptolemy Lathyrus and his mother Cleopatra,⁴² in about 95/4 BC, Alexander Janinaeus took Raphia, Anthedon and Gaza, the last after a siege of a year's duration. This was the second time within a short period when a siege of Gaza is reported to have taken that long.⁴³ Josephus, like Polybius before him, tells of the fierce and courageous resistance of the citizens. In the end five hundred councilmen who had taken refuge in the temple of Apollo were killed on the spot.⁴⁴

Strabo's reference to Gaza has been cited frequently in the modern literature: "Then, near Ascalon one comes to the harbour of the Gazaeans. The city of the Gazaeans is situated inland at a distance of seven stadia;⁴⁵ it became famous at one time, but was razed to the ground by Alexander and remains uninhabited."⁴⁶ Strabo, it has been shown, confused Alexander of Macedon with Alexander Jan-

35 P. Cair. Zen. I 59009 = C. Zen. Palestine 19-21 (ca. 259 BCE, Palestine), in particular frg. B.2 l.2; IV 59537 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 40 = C. Zen. Palestine 43 (after 6.9.258 BCE, Gaza), l.7; PSI IV 322 = C. Zen. Palestine 11 (260-258 BCE, Philadelphia) l.6; VI 616 = C. Ptol. Sklav. II 149 = C. Zen. Palestine 28 (258-256 BCE, Philadelphia) l.21. See Tscherikover (n. 31) 68-72.

36 P. Cair. Zen. I 59093 = SB III 6720 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 41 (after 30.7.257 BCE, Syria) l.11.

37 Tscherikover (n. 31) 26.

38 Pol. 5,80; cf. the introduction to Raphia.

39 Pol. 16,18,2; 16,22a (40); 29,12. Cf. Walbank (n. 21) 523.

40 Bar Kochva (n. 29) 146-57. For the coinage of Gaza under the Seleucids, see below.

41 1 Macc 11,61-62; Jos. AJ 13,150-153.

42 Jos. AJ 13,352; 357 (107 BC?).

43 Jos. AJ 13,358-364; BJ 1,87; cf. AJ 13,395. For the date and for the era of Gaza, see below, on the coinage.

44 Jos. AJ 13,364.

45 Seven stadia from Gaza to the sea: This is incorrect. The distance was about twenty stadia, as Arrianus states (An. 2,26).

46 Strab. 16,2,30 (759): Εἰθ' ὁ τῶν Γαζαίων λιμὴν πλησίον· ὑπέρκειται δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις, ἔνδοξός ποτε γενομένη, κατεσπασμένη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ

naeus, the Hasmonaean. It is clear that the Alexander referred to cannot have been the Macedonian, for Strabo says that Gaza remained in ruins until his own time. The evidence cited above shows that Gaza was a prosperous and important city in the third and second centuries BC.⁴⁷ The Alexander referred to by Strabo should therefore be identified with Alexander Jannaeus. The information supplied by Strabo seems to derive from a source reflecting the conditions prevailing in the first half of the first century BC.

In 63 Gaza and Idumaea, “rich in palm plantations”, are listed among the countries that sent help to Pompey.⁴⁸ Gaza was one of the coastal cities, with Ioppe, Dora and Straton’s Tower, which Pompey “set free and annexed to the province (of Syria)”.⁴⁹ Gaza is reported to have been re-settled by Gabinius in 57-55, like many other Palestinian cities. As in the case of the other cities, there is no evidence that Gabinius actually carried out any building project.

In this connection an additional problem should be discussed, namely the reference to an “Old” or “deserted Gaza” and a “New Gaza” in various sources (ἡ παλαιὰ Γάζα,⁵⁰ παλαιόγαν,⁵¹ ἡ ἔρημος Γάζα and ἡ νέα Γάζα).⁵² One decisive point, ignored in modern literature, is that there seem to be no convincing sources that mention both an old, abandoned, and a new Gaza as separate, coexisting sites.⁵³ One anonymous fragmentary text⁵⁴ seems to confirm the existence of two Gazas. However, this passage seems related to the numerous references in Jerome’s commentaries on the prophets, where he attempts to reconcile the prediction of the

μένονσα ἔρημος. ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ὑπέρβασις λέγεται χιλίων διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα σταδίων εἰς Αἴλανα πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ μυχῶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου κειμένην.

47 Cf. Stern (n. 27), vol.1, 1974, 293, comm. on Strab. 16,2,30.

48 Lucan. 3,214-7: *accedunt Syriae populi; desertus Orontes et felix, sic fama, Ninos, uentosa Damascus Gazaque et arbusto palmarum diues Idume et Tyros in stabilis pretiosaque murice Sidon.*

49 Jos. AJ 14,76: Γάζαν δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ Ἰόππῃ καὶ Δῶρα καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον, ... πάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέραις καὶ προσένευεν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ; BJ 1,156: ἡλευθέρωσεν.

50 Diod. 19,80,5.

51 Eus., *Chronicon*, ed. Schoene, 1. coll. 249f.: Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ... ἐλθὼν εἰς Παλαιόγαν... According to the apparatus Cod. B has παλαι γάζην. In any event, there is nothing in the text suggesting that he came to a ruin.

52 See Gucker, Gaza, 13-8, for a discussion of the possible meaning of these references; see also Schürer 2, 101f. n. 77. V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine. Judée*, vol. 2, 1869, 202-5, rejects the theory, but it is widely accepted, a.o. by F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 3rd ed. 1967, vol. 2, 403.

53 A παλαιὰ πόλις could, in principle mean a deserted or ruined city, but it can equally well refer to an old, existing city, cf. Plut., *de proverbiiis Alexandrinorum* 4,1: Τύρον τὴν παλαιάν; Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 18,4,1; Malalas 199.

54 J. Hudson, *Geographiae Veteris Scriptores Graeci Minores* 4, 1717, 39, which is inaccessible to me (cited by Schürer 2, 102 n. 77 and Gucker, Gaza 13): μετὰ τὰ Ῥινोकόρουρα ἡ νέα Γάζα κεῖται πόλις οὐσα καὶ αὐτή, εἴθ’ ἡ ἔρημος Γάζα, εἴτα ἡ Ἀσκαλὼν πόλις.

destruction of Gaza with the existence of a major city in his days. One of these references of Jerome's is found even in Klostermann's edition of the Onomasticon. "Even today it is an important city in Palestine. It is questioned how in a certain prophecy Gaza is said to be an everlasting tomb in the future. It is answered thus: the site of the ancient city scarcely shows traces of its foundations as it fell down, but what is now to be seen elsewhere was built in its place."⁵⁵ There is no parallel text in the Greek original by Eusebius.⁵⁶

There can be little doubt that ἡ ἔρημος Γάζα, here reflects a common mis-interpretation of Acts 8,26: καὶ πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. This is a reference to a desert road, not to an abandoned town. It would be absurd to describe a road as leading to a ruined city and we know that Gaza was seen as the gateway to the Negev.⁵⁷ According to Jerome, Hilarion settled in the desert, seven miles east of Maiumas.⁵⁸ The Jerusalem Talmud declares that Gaza is a lovely region, but the passage as a whole emphasizes that it is near the desert.⁵⁹ In the Islamic period the N.-W. Negev was part of the province of Gaza.⁶⁰

Jerome obviously made an effort to clear up the paradox that there was a prosperous major city in his days that was supposed to have been destroyed according to the prophets. Elsewhere, when speaking of Gaza in the present, Jerome is unambiguous.⁶¹ He does not really state that there was an old, ruined Gaza to be seen anywhere. We must combine this with the fact that reports of Gabinius' rebuilding of Gaza, like that of so many other cities in Judaea, represent a combination of ancient exaggeration and modern mis-interpretation.

55 Transl. G. Freeman-Grenville - R. Chapman III - J. Taylor, *The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea*, 2003, 41.

56 Jerome, On. 63,19-23: *quaeritur autem quomodo in quodam profeta dicatur Gaza futura in tumulum sempiternum. quod solvitur ita: antiquae civitatis locum vix fundamentorum praebeere vestigia, hanc autem, quae nunc cernitur in alio loco, pro illa, quae corruit, aedificatam.*

57 A Talmudic source referring to a polluted ruin is not relevant in this context: Tos. Negaim 6.1: "And R. Leazar b. R. Simeon says, 'A place was on the border of Gaza, and the called it, A Quarantined Ruin [Horvata Segiratah]'", transl. J. Neusner.

58 Jerome, *vita Hilarionis* 2,7: ... *solitudinem quae in septimo milliario a Maiuma Gazae emporio, per litus euntibus Aegyptum ad laevam flectitur* ...

59 yT Shebiit 6:1 [36c]. Transl. J. Neusner: "But indeed, Gaza, [which is in this territory,] is a lovely region! [Why then did the sages not ordain that it is unclean as part of the land of the Gentiles?] Pishpashah said in the presence of R. Yose, 'I asked R. Aha [concerning Gaza], and he permitted it [as clean].'"

60 See below, with n. 114.

61 Comm. in *Prophetas Minores*, in Ioelem 2, 18-20 (CCSL 75, p. 187): *Mare autem novissimum, hoc quod ad occidentem est, et quod ducit in Aegyptum, in cuius litore Gaza, et Ascalon, Azotusque et Ioppe, et Caesarea, et ceterae urbes maritimae sitae sunt.*

There is thus no sound reason for accepting the existence of two Gazas, one an old abandoned site and the other a new city.⁶² “Old” may be taken as a description of Gaza as a venerable old city, just as one may call Rome “old” in our days without claiming that its ruins lie at some distance from a new Rome. Decisive against the theory that there was an “old” site, side by side with the later city, is a passage in Marcus Diaconus’ *Life of Porphyrius*: “So we went to the bishop’s house, which was founded by the aforementioned saint Irenion, the bishop, together with the holy church that is called Irene (Peace). Concerning the occasion whereby it received its name there are two tales. For the people of Gaza say that when the city was taken by Alexander the Macedonian, the war by a certain covenant was there brought to an end, whence the place was called Peace. This place the blessed Irenion found to be held in honor by the Gazaeans, and therein founded the church.”⁶³ This is a clear indication that the inhabitants of Gaza in the fourth century⁶⁴ did not subscribe to a tradition that their city was located at some distance from the town besieged by Alexander. As a remnant of Old Gaza was seen to be located in New Gaza, the two apparently were identical.

In 30 BC Augustus gave Herod control over Gaza, Anthedon, Ioppe and Straton’s Tower, cities that Pompey had transferred from the Jewish realm to the province of Syria.⁶⁵ Herod appointed an Idumaeen dignitary, Costobar, as governor of Idumaea and Gaza. The latter afterward married Herod’s sister Salome,⁶⁶ but this arrangement did not last long because Costobar quarrelled first with Herod and then with Salome.⁶⁷ It may have made sense to combine Idumaea with its main port, Gaza, as an administrative unit. In any case Herod kept the city under the

62 Modern interpreters, such as Schürer and Glucker, do not doubt that there were two distinct sites: Old and New Gaza.

63 Marcus Diaconus, *vita Porphyrii* 18 (ed. H. Grégoire - M.-A. Kugener, 1930, p. 15f. [collection Budé] with comments on p. 94f.): Ωρμήσαμεν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον, ἐκτίσεν ὁ προνομασθεὶς ἐν ἁγίοις Εἰρηνίων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆς καλουμένης Εἰρήνης. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἔχειν κατὰ δύο τρόπους. Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Γάζης, ὅτε παρελήφθη ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα, κατὰ τινα σύμβολον ἐκεῖ καταπαῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον Εἰρήνην. Τοῦτον τὸν τόπον εὐρὼν ὁ μακάριος Εἰρηνίων τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Γαζαίων ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Transl. G. Hill, 1913.

64 Irenion took part in the council in Antiochia in 363.

65 Jos. AJ 15,217: Ἡρώδης δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Καίσαρί τε μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν ὡς ἤδη φίλος καὶ μεγίστων ἡξιώθη. τῶν τε γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν δορυφορούντων Γαλατῶν τετρακοσίοις αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ πάλιν, ἣν δι’ ἐκείνης ἀφηρέθη. προσέθηκεν δὲ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἴππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι δὲ τῆς παραλίου Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόπην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον. BJ 1,396. Anthedon is not mentioned here, but presumably was included as well.

66 AJ 15,254: Ἡρώδης παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Γάζης ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸν Κοστόβαρον καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλώμην.

67 AJ 15,255-59. See Schürer 1, 303-5; also: 289, 291 n. 9; Glucker, Gaza 39f.

authority of an Idumaeen. Moreover, it has been noted that Herod is not on record as having included Gaza in his ambitious building projects that benefited so many other cities.⁶⁸ After Herod's death Gaza, as well as Gadara and Hippos "were among the Greek cities which Caesar detached from his (i.e. Archelaus') authority and allocated to Syria",⁶⁹ no doubt because of their Hellenic character, particularly well-known in the case of Gadara.⁷⁰ Augustus trusted Herod, but not Archelaus, to administer properly genuine Greek cities.

In the reign of Claudius the geographer Pomponius Mela described Gaza as "an immense city, well-fortified".⁷¹ In about the same period the Elder Pliny lists "Rhincolura and inland Raphia, Gaza and inland Anthedon and Mount Argaris".⁷² Pliny also indicates the role played by Gaza in the trade in frankincense from South Arabia: "Their capital (sc. of the Gebbanitae) is Thomna, which is 4436 miles distant from the town of Gaza in Judaea on our coast; the journey is divided into 65 stages with halts for camels."⁷³ Thomna is usually identified with Tamna, the capital of ancient Qataban, modern Hajar Kuhlan in Yemen.⁷⁴ The distance between S. Arabia and Gaza over land is in fact about 1800 km.

Josephus reports about the actions of the Jewish rebels in 66: "Neither Sebaste nor Ascalon withstood their attacks; they burnt them to the ground and then razed Anthedon and Gaza. In the vicinity of each of these cities many villages were plundered and there was innumerable slaughter of the people captured."⁷⁵ Doubt has

68 Ibid. 40.

69 Jos. AJ 17,320: Γάζαν γὰρ καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἴππον, Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶν πόλεις, ἀπορρήξας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως Συρίας προσθήκην ποιεῖται. BJ 2,297.

70 B. Isaac, Attitudes toward Provincial Intellectuals, in: E. Gruen ed., Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean, 2011, 491-518 at 492, 494f. In Gaza in this period we know of at least one philosopher: Olympicus, philosopher of the Academy, mid 1 c. BC, (Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques 4, 2005 no.13); J. Geiger, The Tents of Japhet, 2012, 251 (Hebr.).

71 See above, n. 16.

72 Plin. NH 5,68: *Oppida Rhinocolura et intus Rhaphea, Gaza et intus Anthedon, mons Argaris*. As noted by Stern (n. 27), comm. ad loc., vol. 1, 1974, 472f., there are various inaccuracies here. Raphia was not inland. Pliny implies that Gaza was situated on the seaboard, which it was not (as distinct from Gaza Maiumas), while Anthedon, on the contrary, had an anchorage. Mons Argaris clearly refers to Mount Gerizim which is in Samaria, far away from the cities with which it is listed.

73 Pliny, NH 12,64: *caput eorum Thomna abest a Gaza, nostri litoris in Iudaea oppido, [XIII] LXXXVII D p., quod dividitur in mansiones camelorum LXV*; cf. Plin., NH 6,153. Cf. A. Beeston, Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 2, 1972, 4-8.

74 RE Suppl. 11, s.v. Uranios, cols. 1278-92 at 1283; Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, Map 4, C2; Brill's New Pauly, s.v. Thumna; s.v. Qataban.

75 Jos. BJ 2,460: ἀντέσχον δὲ οὔτε Σεβαστὴ ταῖς ὀρμαῖς αὐτῶν οὔτε Ἀσκάλων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύταις πυρποληθείσαις Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαπτον. πολλὰ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀνηρπάζοντο κῶμαι, καὶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀνδρῶν φόνος ἦν ἄπειρος.

been expressed whether these actions could have been as devastating as described, given the size and strength of the city of Gaza that withstood lengthy sieges by major armies for extended periods.⁷⁶ In 70 Titus marched from Pelusium to Caesarea. He “rested at Rhinocorura, whence he advanced to his fourth station, Raphia, at which city Syria begins. His fifth camp he pitched at Gaza ...”⁷⁷

With the transformation of Judaea into a separate province, Gaza was allocated to it, rather than to Syria, of which it had been part so far.⁷⁸ This is clear from at least three geographical sources. The first is Ptolemy: “The border of Palaestina or Judaea on the north and the east is Syria along the line referred to above; on the south it is bordered by Arabia Petraea along a line drawn from the eastern terminus in the confines of Syria to the terminus in the confines of Egypt ...” (Then the coastal cities are mentioned:) “Ioppe, the Harbor of Iamnia, Azotus, the Harbor of Gaza, Ascalon, Anthedon ...”⁷⁹ Further on are listed: “In Judaea (sc. in the narrow and proper sense) toward the west of the river Jordan: ... Raphia, Gaza, Iamnia, Lydda.”⁸⁰ Next, the location of the border follows from Eusebius’ location of it at Bethaffu.⁸¹ The Madaba map also clearly locates Gaza on the Palestinian side of the border between the two provinces. The reason for this is clear:⁸² until the First Revolt Judaea was a part of the province of Syria under its own equestrian prefects.⁸³ Gaza had not been made part of Judaea, but was subject to the legate of Syria without intermediaries. When Judaea became a separate province with its own senatorial legate there would have been no sense in keeping Gaza part of the province of Syria. Hadrian’s visit in the region in 129/130 is said to have resulted for Gaza in the

76 Schürer 2, 102; Glucker, Gaza 40f.

77 Jos. BJ 4,662: μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Ῥινοκουρούροις ἀναπαύεται, κάκειθεν εἰς Ῥάφειαν προελθὼν σταθμὸν τέταρτον, ἔστι δ’ ἡ πόλις αὕτη Συρίας ἀρχή, τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Γάζῃ τίθεται στρατόπεδον.

78 For the boundary of Judaea/Palaestina, see the introduction to Raphia.

79 Ptol.5,16,1 (= 5,15,1 ed. Didot): Ἡ Παλαιστίνη (Συρία), ἥτις καὶ Ἰουδαία καλεῖται, περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων Συρία κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεθειμένην γραμμὴν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν καὶ μεσημβρίας Ἀραβία Πετραία κατὰ γραμμὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Συρία ἐωθινοῦ ὁρίου μέχρι τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πέρατος, Ἰόππη ... ξε γο λβ ιβ Ἰαμνείτων λιμὴν ... ξε 20ιβ λβ Ἀζωτος ... ξε δ λα 20γ Γαζαίων λιμὴν ... ξε λα 20γ Ἀσκαλῶν ... ξε λα γο Ἀνθηδῶν ... ξεδ 20γ λα γο.

80 τῆς δὲ Ἰουδαίας, ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ, Ῥάφεια ... ξε λα 20 Γάζα ... ξε ιβ λα 20δ Ἰάμνεια ... ξε γο· λβ Λύδδα ... ξε λβ.

81 Eus. On. 50,18: Βηθαφοῦ (Jos 15,53). φυλῆς Ἰούδα. κώμη ἐπέκεινα Ῥαφίας σημείοις ἰδ εἰσιόντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ἥ καὶ ὁρίον ἐστὶ Παλαιστίνης. See the introduction to Raphia. Gaza is mentioned by Eusebius as a road-station 49,19; 168,24, and a geographical orientation point: 10,6; 24,24; 130,8. The lemma at 62,20-26 notes: μένει δὲ εἰς ἔτι νῦν πόλις ἐπίσημος τῆς Παλαιστίνης.

82 Cf. A. Kasher, in: Anchor Bible Dictionary, s.v. Gaza: “Later, in the days of Vespasian, Gaza was annexed to the province of Judaea, but the reason for this is not known.”

83 This is the current, usual view, e.g. Schürer 1, 357; for a different view, cf. Stern (n. 27), vol. 2, 1980, 75.

establishment of a πανήγυρις Ἀδριανή, a festival in honor of Hadrian.⁸⁴ However, the evidence is unreliable, contradictory and probably even worthless.

An inscription from the Portus Augusti at Ostia records a dedication by the people of Gaza to Gordian III.⁸⁵ Gaza is described there as *ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος*. While this indicates some form of privileged status, the precise content of these privileges cannot be determined.⁸⁶ The dedication was made by order of “the ancestral god” who must be Marnas, through the agency of the curator of his temple. In addition it contains several honorific titles for the city: *πιστὴ <καὶ> εὐσεβής, λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλη*, i.e. *felix, pia, splendid, and great*. There are two other inscriptions from elsewhere that mention Gaza. A second-century list of soldiers serving in the legion III Augusta from Lambaesis mentions a legionary, Severus, from “Gazza”.⁸⁷ A third-century inscription from the temple of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis honors a rhetor Ptolemaios from Gaza, the son of Serenus, Phoenicarch.⁸⁸ The Nessana papyri mention Gaza frequently. It appears once as *ἡ τῶν Γαζέων καλλιπολις*.⁸⁹ The Nessana papyri frequently mention loans in imperial *solidi* “according to the Nessana standard”.⁹⁰ At an unknown date, but clearly after the reign of Gordian III, perhaps under Valerian or Gallienus, Gaza received the status of a Roman colony. It is mentioned as such on at least one lead weight.⁹¹ Further proof of this status is the fact that Jerome mentions a *duumvir* of Gaza in connection with chariot races in the city⁹² and the appearance of the Greek equiva-

84 Chronicon Paschale, ed. Dindorf, 474, assigned the establishment of the festival to 119, which cannot be correct, nor can the statement in the chronicle that it had its origin as a slave market for the sale of Jewish prisoners taken during the Second Revolt. See the discussions by C. Wallner, ZPE 135, 2001, 125-35; Belayche, Pagan Cults 253.

85 IG 14, 926 = IGR 3, 387: Ἀγα<θ>ῇ τύχῃ. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Ἀντώνιον Γορδιανὸν Εὐσεβῇ Εὐτυχῇ Σεβαστὸν τὸν θεοφιλέστατον κοσμοκράτορα, ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Γαζαίων ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος, πιστὴ <καὶ> εὐσεβής, λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλη, ἐξ ἐν<κ>ε<λ>ε<υ>σεως τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ, τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην, διὰ Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Παπειρίου ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

86 As observed by Schürer 2, 94. See Glucker, Gaza 75f., who argues that Gaza will have had the status of a *civitas libera* while remaining *stipendiaria* and therefore liable to taxation.

87 CIL 8, 18084, l.22. Cf. Schürer 2, 98 n. 59.

88 OGIS 596; Meyer, History, no. XXXV.

89 P. Ness. 26, l.15; cf. N. Litinas, APF 41, 1995, 85, arguing that it is not an epithet or a title, but a substantive.

90 E.g. P. Ness. 21, l.33; 26, l.16; 46, ll.4-5.

91 Below, no. 2617: Κολωνίας Γάζης. Cf. the comments in IGR 3, 1212. For the possible date, see Wallner (n. 84) 135.

92 Jerome, *vita Hilarionis* 11,3 (ed. Morales, Sources Chrétiennes 508, p. 242): *Sed Italicus, eiusdem oppidi municeps christianus adversus Gazensem duumvirum, Marnae idolo deditum, circenses equos nutriebat*. For the chariot races, the “consualia”: Belayche, Pagan Cults 253ff. They were held in honor of Consus, the god of stored grain.

lent of duumviri, στρατηγοί, in Sozomen's work.⁹³ A Hellenistic weight dated to year 164 of the Seleucid era (149/8 BC) mentions an agoranomos named Dikaïos.⁹⁴

The early-fourth century traveller Theophanes, who spent time in Raphia and Ascalon during his journey from Egypt to Antiochia and back, did not stay in Gaza.⁹⁵ But in the fourth century Ammianus knew Gaza as a venerable, old city, one of the splendid towns of Palestine: "The last region of the Syrias is Palestine, extending over a great extent of territory and abounding in cultivated and well-kept lands; it also has some splendid cities, none of which yields to any of the others, but they rival one another, as it were, by plumb-line. These are Caesarea, which Herod built in honor of the emperor Octavianus, Eleutheropolis and Neapolis, along with Ascalon and Gaza, built in a former age."⁹⁶ Also in the fourth century Julius Honorius lists several cities; in Judaea he mentions Ptolemais, Caesarea, Ascalon, Gaza, Ostracine, and Scythopolis.⁹⁷ Again, in the middle of the fourth century, the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, in its discussion of the cities in the region, observes: "Ascalon and Gaza are distinguished cities full of commercial activity and having everything in abundance. They export an excellent wine all over Syria and Egypt."⁹⁸ This is merely one passage praising wine from Gaza, that is: wine from Gaza and elsewhere in the region, shipped from Gaza.⁹⁹ Marcus Diaconus says that there were numerous Egyptian wine merchants in Maiumas¹⁰⁰ and its wine is frequently mentioned for its high quality. Jerome, in his life of Hilarion, describes

93 Sozomen, HE 5,3; Marcus Diaconus, *vita Porphyrii* 95 mentions πρωτεύοντες.

94 Below, no. 2438.

95 See the introductions to Ascalon and Raphia; J. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 2006.

96 Amm. 14,8,11 (Stern [n. 27], vol. 2, 1980, no. 505): *Vltima Syriarum est Palaestina per interualla magna protenta cultis abundans terris et nitidis et ciuitates habens quasdam egregias, nullam nulli cedentem, sed sibi uicissim uelut ad perpendicularum aemulas: Caesaream, quam ad honorem Octauiani principis exaedificauit Herodes, et Eleutheropolim et Neapolim, itidem que Ascalonem Gazam aeuo superiore exstructas.*

97 Julius Honorius (c4) (Stern [n. 27], vol. 3, 1984, no. 567): *Ptolomais oppidum, Caesarea oppidum, Ascalona oppidum, Gaza oppidum, Ostracine oppidum, Scythopolis oppidum. It is not quite clear why Ostracine is included here.*

98 *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* 29 (ed. Rougé, p.162): *Similiter aliae civitates. Ascalon et Gaza, in negotiio eminentes et abundantes omnibus bonis, mittunt omni regioni Syriae et Aegypti vinum bonum.* For the date, see Rougé, 9-26.

99 See Glucker, Gaza 93f. See also H. Grégoire in the comments on the *Vie de Porphyre*, collection Budé, 124ff.

100 Marcus Diaconus, *vita Porphyrii* 58: πλείους γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς παραλίου διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίους ἐμπόρους οἴνων. Such elements of concrete, local information are not affected by the discussion about the authenticity of this work, see: Z. Rubin, *Porphyrius of Gaza and the Conflict between Christianity and Paganism in Southern Palestine*, in: A. Kofsky - G. Stroumsa eds., *Sharing the Sacred*, 1998, 31-66; J. Childers, *Studia Patristica* 35, 2001, 374-84.

monks cultivating vines near their monasteries in the region.¹⁰¹ It was exported as far as Gaul. Sidonius Apollinaris (fifth-century Gaul) says that the three excellent wines that he does not drink are from Gaza, Chios, and Falernian.¹⁰² Cassiodorus, another western source, notes in the sixth century: "The wine, to which Antiquity gave the name of praise, Palmatiana, must be selected not of a rough but sweet kind. Though last [in geographical position] among the wines of Bruttii, it is by general opinion accounted the best, equal to that of Gaza ..."¹⁰³ Again, in the sixth century, Venantius Fortunatus from the Veneto praises Gazan wine.¹⁰⁴ Still in this period Corippus mentions the excellent wine from Gaza: "Meanwhile the happy emperor with his holy wife had begun to partake of the blessed joys of the imperial table, the royal banquet and the sweet gifts of Bacchus, which wild Sarepta and Gaza had created, and which lovely Ascalon had given to her happy colonists ..."¹⁰⁵ Finally Gregory of Tours singles out the wine from Gaza for its strength.¹⁰⁶ The last of this string of authors, in the seventh century, is Isidore of Seville: "wine from Gaza refers to the region from where it is imported, for Gaza is a city of Palestine."¹⁰⁷

Archaeological evidence also shows that local wine from Gaza and Ascalon was exported widely, from the mid-fourth century AD onward and particularly in the fifth and sixth centuries, as indicated by references in papyri and by numerous jars, manufactured locally and discovered in sites as far as London, Trier, and the Crimea.¹⁰⁸ As shown by Mayerson, the so called 'askalonia' and 'gazitia' storage

101 Jerome, *vita Hilarionis* 17,5-8.

102 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 17,15: *vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia Falerna quaeque Sarepteno missa bibas.*

103 Cassiod. *variae epistolae* 12,12: *id enim (sc. vinum Palmatianum) reperitur et Gazeto par, et Sabino simile, et magnis odoribus singular.* Transl. Th. Hodgkin.

104 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini*, 2,80-85 (ed. F. Leo, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctorum Antiquissimorum* vol. 4.1): *Falerna, Gazaque, Creta, Samus, Cypros, Colofona, Seraptis, lucida perspicuis certantis vina lapilis vix discernendis crystallina pocula potis.*

105 Corippus, in *Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, 3,86-88 (ed. and transl. A. Cameron, 1976, pp.63, 104): *interea laetus sacra cum coniuge princeps coeperat Augustae felicia carpere mensae gaudia, regales epulas et dulcia Bacchi munera quae Sarepta ferax, quae Gaza crearat, Ascalon et laetis dederat quae grata colonis.* Wine from Tyre, Meroe, Memphis and Cypros is also mentioned.

106 Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* 7,29: *misitque pueros, unum post alium, adquirenda potentiora vina, Laticina videlicet, atque Gazitina.*

107 Isidorus, *Etymologiarum* 20,3,7: *Gazeum vinum vero regio, unde defertur. Gaza enim oppidum est Palaestinae.*

108 P. Mayerson, *IEJ* 62, 1992, 76-80; reprinted in: id., *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens*, 1994, 347-55. See also: id., *BASOR* 257, 1985, 75-80, reprinted in id., *op.cit.*, 250-5. For the jars: S. Oked, "Gaza Jar", a Chronicle, and Economic Overview, in: A. Sasson - Z. Safrai - N. Sagiv eds., *Ashkelon. A City on the Seashore*, 2001, 227-50 (Hebr.), concluding that the use of the jars reached its peak in the late fifth to the sixth century when they were found all over the ancient world. See now B. Johnson -

jars contained not only wine, but a variety of products, such as cheese, fish, fish sauce (*garum*) and beans.¹⁰⁹ The importance of the market of Gaza is also shown by Talmudic sources:

“Came R. Yose b. R. Bun, Abba bar Hana in the name of R. Yohanan: They prohibited a fair only in the case of one of the character of that at Botnah. And it has been taught along these same lines in a Tannaitic tradition: “There are three fairs, the fair at Gaza, the fair at Acre, and the fair at Botnah, and the most debased of the lot of them is the fair at Botnah.”¹¹⁰

Another reference may be found in the Babylonian Talmud: “What may be regarded as outside it? [i.e. outside the town] – Said R. Simeon b. Lakish, such as, for example, the bazaar of Gaza. Some report this as follows: R. Simeon b. Lakish asked of R. Hanina. How about the market-place of Gaza? – He replied: Have you never gone to Tyre and seen an Israelite and an idolater placing two pots on the same stove? And the Sages did not mind.”¹¹¹ The context here is whether Jews may trade in a city where idolatry is practiced. The answer is that they may not, but it is permitted to do so outside the city limits, for the idolatry takes place inside and not outside the town, as stated in the Mishnah.¹¹² In the case of Gaza it is possible that a distinction was made between Gaza proper and Gaza Maiumas. Gaza, but not Maiumas, is listed by Hierocles (sixth century, reign of Justinian) for Palaestina Prima and so it is by Georgius Cyprius (AD 600-610).¹¹³

After the Islamic conquest Gaza became the provincial capital of a province which included the North-West Negev with cities such as Elusa.¹¹⁴

Christianity came to Gaza gradually and fairly late.¹¹⁵ It has been suggested that the first bishop was Philemon, the addressee of a letter from Paul, but there is no real evidence for this.¹¹⁶ Gaza, in fact, plays no role in the New Testament. The

L. Stager, *Byzantine Period Wine Jars and their Distribution*, in: L. Stager – J. Schloen – D. Master eds., *Ashkelon 1. Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, 2008, 479-87.
 109 P. Mayerson, *IEJ* 43, 1993, 79f. = id., *Monks, Martyrs ...* (n. 108) 350f. See also Glucker, *Gaza* 94f., for trade in other agricultural produce; for other economic activities: 96ff.

110 *yT Abodah Zarah* 1:4, 11b, transl. J. Neusner, *The Talmud of the Land of Israel. A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, vol. 33. Botnah means Terebinth and may refer to the fair near Hebron. The context here is that Jews are permitted to trade at fairs where idolatry is practiced, an exception being the fair at Botnah, according to one opinion, and three fairs according to Tannaitic tradition.

111 *b Abodah Zarah* 11b, transl. I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud*, vol. 4, 61.

112 *Mishnah Abodah Zarah* 1.4: “If there was an idol inside a town it is permitted [to have business with them] outside it.” Transl. H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, 437.

113 Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 719,8 (ed. Honigmann, p. 42, ed. Parthey, p. 44) lists under Palaestina Prima: Anthedon, Diocletianoupolis, Sykamazon, Ono (Onous), Sozousa, Ioppe, Gaza, Ra(m)phia, Ascalon, Ariza, Bitule. Georgius Cyprius 1010 (ed. Honigmann, p. 67). Cf. Glucker, *Gaza* 26, for Bethlelea and Bitylion.

114 E.g. P. Ness. 60, ll.9f.; 61, l.11; 62, l.12; 63, l.7; 64, l.8.

115 See J. Hahn, *Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt*, 2004, 195ff.

116 M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. 3, 1740 (reprint 1958), 603-22 at 603.

first recorded bishop is Silvanus in the reign of Diocletian, who was banished to the mines at Phainon and later executed.¹¹⁷ Several other martyrs are recorded for this period such as Timotheus, Agapius and Thecla.¹¹⁸ A martyrium was erected later for some of those.¹¹⁹ Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, was present at the council at Nicaea in 325.¹²⁰ In 341 Asclepas, the founder of the “Old Church” to the west of the city was involved in the conflict between Arians and Athanasians.¹²¹ This was also the period of the activities of Hilarion (291/2-371), the man who, more than anyone else, established monasticism as a movement in Palestine.¹²² He was born in the village of Thabatha or Thavatha near Gaza, about five miles to the south.¹²³ Like many others from distinguished families in Gaza he went to study in Alexandria.¹²⁴ He returned and settled in the desert about seven miles east of Maiumas.¹²⁵ Among his various activities he is reported to have been energetic in his attempts to convert the pagans of Gaza and vicinity. Whatever his success in these endeavours, he certainly was effective in his introduction of monasticism in the area.¹²⁶

In the reign of Constantine a split developed between the city of Gaza and Maiumas which had developed into an urban centre in its own right. Theodosius, *The Topography of the Holy Land*, says: “Between Ascalon and Gaza are two cities: Anthedon and Maiuma (i.e. Gaza Maiumas). From Gaza to Rafia, 24 miles.”¹²⁷ The inhabitants of the latter converted in large numbers to Christian-

117 Eus. HE 8,13; de martyr. Palaest. 13,4-5,10 and references in G. Bardy ed., Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. 3, 1993, 29 n. 6.

118 Eus. de martyr. Palaest. 3,8.

119 Marcus Diaconus, *vita Porphyrii*, 20 (ed. Grégoire - Kugener, with comments on p. 97f.).

120 Le Quien (n. 116) 605-9. He also attended the Arian council in Tyre in 335. See Hahn (n. 115) 193-222 on the process whereby Gaza came to be dominated by Christians.

121 Marcus Diaconus, *vita Porphyrii* 20; Socrates, HE 2,15; 23; Sozomen, HE 3,8.

122 Jerome, *vita Hilarionis* (ed. E. Morales, *Sources Chrétiennes* 508; PL 23); Sozomen, HE 3,14,21-2. Cf. Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 253f.; Hahn (n. 115) 198-202; B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky, *The Monastic School of Gaza*, 2006, 8-13.

123 Jerome, *vita Hilarionis*, 2,1 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 508, p. 214; PL 23, col. 29f.); Sozomen, HE 3,14,21. Cf. Y. Dan, *SCI* 5, 1979/80, 258-62. Dan has shown that there are two sites: a) Migdal Tuta (or Tauatha), a single estate in the last decades of the fifth century and b) Tavatha, a free village, which was Hilarion's birth place, the site of which is unknown.

124 On the close links between Gaza and Alexandria: Glucker, *Gaza* 51.

125 *Vita Hilarionis*, 2,7: *solitudinem quae in septimo milliario a Maiuma Gazae emporio per litus euntibus Aegyptum ad laevam flectitur, ingressus est*. Sozomen, HE 3,14,23-24.

126 Jerome, *vita Hilarionis*, 7-18.

127 Theodosius, *de Situ Terrae Sanctae* 138,19 (CCSL 175, p. 116): *De Ascalona usque ad Gaza milia XX. Inter Ascalonam et Gazam civitates duas, id est Antedona et Maioma. De Gaza usque ad Rafia milia XXIII*.

ity and Maiumas was duly awarded the status of an independent city named Constantia.¹²⁸ Julian reversed this decision.¹²⁹ The civic institutions were united, but Maiumas kept its own bishop for some time.¹³⁰ In the reign of Julian hostility toward the Christians in the city of Gaza resulted in violence. Hilarion's monastery was destroyed while he himself was absent. It subsequently was restored.¹³¹

The official adoption of Christianity in Gaza, imposed by the emperor, was the result of a process of active lobbying by Porphyry, appointed bishop in 394. His secretary and biographer, Marcus Diaconus, describes part of the process and the result: the destruction, in 402, of all pagan temples on imperial orders, including the Marneion, the temple of the chief deity of Gaza, Marnas,¹³² a raingod, identified with Zeus.¹³³ Instead of the Marneion a large church was built, the Eudoxiana, named after the empress Eudoxia who had financed the project.¹³⁴ The Life of Porphyry provides some information about other temples and churches in the city as well. The sanctuaries listed besides the Marneion are those of Helios, Aphrodite, Apollo, Kore, Hecate, a Heroeion(?), and Fortuna (a Tychaion).¹³⁵ Churches mentioned are the Irene, for which see above, the "Old Church", west of the city, founded by Asclepas, and the martyrium of Timotheus. Another point that is clear from this text is the fact that the majority of the well-to-do citizens of Gaza were Hellenized pagans, while the Christian minority had its foothold in the poorer sections.¹³⁶ The text also gives a lively impression of the sort of conflicts between the two groups that preceded the Christian victory.¹³⁷ In this connection several local functionaries are attested who represent an active municipal government: the

128 Sozomen, HE 2,5; 5,3,6; Eus. vita Constantini 4,38 (ed. and transl. A. Cameron - S. Hall, Eusebius, Life of Constantine, 1997, 327f.).

129 Sozomen, HE 5,3,7.

130 For the bishops of Gaza Maiumas: Le Quien (n. 116) 622-6. Georgius Cyprius and Hierocles do not include Maiumas in their lists of bishoprics.

131 Jerome, vita Hilarionis 23.6: *urbs enim gaza, postquam profecto de palaestina hilarione iulianus in imperium successerat, destructo monasterio eius, precibus ad imperatorem datis et hilarionis et hesychii mortem impetrauerat, amboque ut quaererentur toto orbe scriptum erat*. Sozomen, HE 3,14; 5,9.

132 Marcus Diaconus, vita Porphyrii (above, n. 119) 32-4; 37-54. Cf. Glucker, Gaza 47f.; M. Blume, CE 66, 1991, 237-44; R. Van Dam, Viator 16, 1985, 1-20; Hahn (n. 115) 202-22.

133 Marcus Diaconus, vita Porphyrii 19; cf. also above n. 18.

134 Ibid. 75-79; 84; 92.

135 Ibid. 64, cf. ed. Grégoire - Kugener, comments on pp. 126f. The nature of a τετράμφοδον, also mentioned, is not clear, cf. Glucker, Gaza 48 and n. 124; Belayche, Pagan Cults 247ff.

136 Marcus Diaconus, vita Porphyrii 63: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πλείους τῶν πλουσίων τῆς πόλεως.

137 Ibid. 21; 25; 32; 40; 95.

demekdikoi,¹³⁸ irenarchs and proteuontes,¹³⁹ as well as the obvious bouleuterion and bouleutai.¹⁴⁰

The best known bishop of Maiumas was the Iberian (Georgian) prince who became a monophysite theologian, Peter the Iberian, appointed in 451.¹⁴¹ In this period the area was already an established centre for cenobitic monasticism.¹⁴²

Gaza is known for a considerable number of influential intellectuals in Late Antiquity, especially toward the end of the fifth century.¹⁴³ Unlike cities like Gaddara it was not particularly prominent as a centre of culture in earlier periods. The fame it eventually achieved derived from its rhetorical school, a Christian one, and not from any activity in the sphere of the law, medicine or science.

The first inscription to mention an orator from Gaza is earlier, however. It comes from the temple of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis and dates to the third century AD.¹⁴⁴ Next, the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* of the mid-fourth century states that Gaza has “bonos auditores” which has been translated as “bons diseurs” i.e. good orators.¹⁴⁵ However, the first specifically known orator from Gaza is Zosimus (or perhaps not from Gaza, but from Ascalon). He is said to be the author of commentaries on Lysias and Demosthenes as well as of a biography of Demosthenes.¹⁴⁶ In the same period lived Aeneas of Gaza, a philosopher, who wrote a

138 Ibid. 25: δημεκδικοί for which Blume (n. 132) 240 refers to P. Cairo Masp. III 67353 B. A 26 (Antinoe 569 AD). The term represents the defensor plebis for which see Cod. Theod. 8,12,8 of 415 AD and 1,11,1 of 387 AD.

139 Vita Porphyrii 25: εἰρήναρχοι and πρωτεύοντες, for which see Blume (n. 132) 240ff. with parallels from papyri.

140 Vita Porphyrii 95: βουλευτήριον and βουλευταί.

141 See John Rufus: *The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*, ed. and transl. C. Horn - R. Phenix Jr., 2008. See also the introduction to Iamnia.

142 B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 50, 2000, 14-62; iid. (n. 122), for the period until Peter the Iberian, ch. 1; for Peter the Iberian, ch. 2 and note the useful map of the monasteries in the vicinity of Gaza, 47 fig. 1; Horn - Phenix (n. 141) xlviii-li.

143 See B. Cavarra, *Rivista di Bizantinistica* 2, 1992, 135-50; Geiger (n. 70) (Hebr.); Glucker, Gaza 51-5.

144 Ibid. 155f. no. 46; OGIS 596: Πτολεμαῖον Σερή|νου Φοινικάρχου | υἱὸν Γαζαῖον καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων πολίτην, | εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὴν | πόλιν καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς π[|ε]ρὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως ἀμει|βόμενοι ἀνέστησαν οἱ σεμνό|τατοι Ἀρεωπαγῖται παρὰ ταῖς | θεαῖς.

145 *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* 32: *Aliquando autem et Gaza habet bonos auditores, dicitur autem habere eam et pammacharios (pancratists)*. Rougé in his comments ad loc., p.256, notes: “Il faut comprendre ceux que l’on écoute et non pas les les auditeurs. C’est la traduction du grec ἀκροάματα = tous ceux qui se font entendre, donc les déclamateurs, les lecteurs ...”

146 Zosimus, a sophist in the reign of Zeno (474-5; 476-491 AD) or Anastasius (491-518 AD). Cf the Suda: Ζώσιμος Γαζαῖος ἢ Ἀσκαλωνίτης, σοφίστης, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως. Possibly two persons are confused or have been combined

treatise: “Theophrastus sive de immortalitate animae” in dialogue form which was highly unusual at the time.¹⁴⁷ Other figures to be mentioned are Zacharias, bishop of Mytilene, scholasticus and rhetor, born in Gaza in the late 460s.¹⁴⁸ His works, many of them of uncertain authenticity, include biographies of the ascetic holy man Isaiah, of Severus, patriarch of Antiochia, and of Peter the Iberian, a dialogue, Ammonius or *De mundi opificio* and an Ecclesiastical History.¹⁴⁹ Timotheus of Gaza was a grammarian under Anastasius (491-518 AD).¹⁵⁰ Johannes of Gaza, who ran a school there, was also a grammarian and an occasional poet in the reign of Justinian (527-565 AD).¹⁵¹ There are several other persons of some distinction known in this later period.¹⁵² However, a major figure was Procopius of Gaza (c. 465-528 AD), sophist and rhetorician, one of the most important representatives of the Gaza school, where he spent nearly the whole of his life teaching and writing.¹⁵³ He is known through his letters and an encomium written by Choricius. Of his rhetorical work only a panegyric on Anastasius is extant. Procopius’ description of a cycle of paintings at Gaza provides important information about contemporary art

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- into one; see Geiger (n. 70) 295-8 (Hebr.); RE 2,19, 790-5, s.v. Zosimus 4 (Gärtner); G. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century*, 1963, 111; Glucker, *Gaza* 52. Also attributed to him is a λέξις ῥητορική.
- 147 M. Colonna ed., *Teofrasto/Enea di Gaza*, 1958; letters of his have also been preserved: L. Positano ed., *Aeneas Gazaeus, Epistole*, 1962; Geiger (n. 70) 184-6 (Hebr.).
- 148 The identification of the brother of Procopius with the bishop of Mytilene has been doubted. See the recent publication: G. Greatrex (ed.) - R. Phenix - C. Horn (transl.), *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor*, 2011, 4: “The consensus now is that they are (all one and the same person.)”, that is to say: the bishop of Mytilene, the rhetor and the scholasticus; P. Allen, *JThS* 31, 1980, 471-88; J. Spanuth ed., *Zacharias Rhetor, Das Leben des Severus von Antiochien*, in *syrischer Überseztung*, 1893 (inaccessible to me); RE 9 A2, 2212-6 s.v. Zacharias Scholastikos (Wegenast). See also Geiger (n. 70) 292f. (Hebr.); *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 14, 303-7 s.v. Zacharias.
- 149 See the survey of Greatrex (n. 148) introduction.
- 150 F. Bodenheimer - A. Rabinowitz eds., *Timotheus of Gaza, On animals. Fragments of a Byzantine Paraphrase of an Animal-Book of the 5th century A.D.*, 1949; he also wrote a work on syntax; Geiger (n. 70) 288f. (Hebr.); RE 4 A, 1339-41 no. 18; Glucker, *Gaza* 52; R. Kaster, *Guardians of Language*, 1988 no. 156.
- 151 His work includes Anacreontic poems celebrating public occasions in Gaza and a poem describing a wall-painting in baths in Gaza, for which see below, no. 2519. Cf. Geiger (n. 70) 227ff. (Hebr.); Glucker, *Gaza* 52; RE 18, 1747f. s.v. Ioannes 17, *Gazes* (Theile).
- 152 Ulpian, a philosopher, who studied in Alexandria, mid 5 c., see: Geiger (n. 70) 291 (Hebr.). Orion, rhetor and jurist, student of Procopius, late 5 early 6 c., Geiger (n. 70) 254; PLRE II no.3; Isidorus, philosopher, 6 c.: Geiger (n. 70) 229f.; Olympiodorus: Geiger (n. 70) 251f.; *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* 4, 2005, 771, s.v. Olympiodorus, no. 18.
- 153 E. Amato ed., *Procopius Gazaeus*, 2009; id., *Rose di Gaza*, 2010; A. Corcella, *Revue des études tardo-antiques* 1, 2011/12, 1-14; A. Corcella - E. Amato, *ibid.* 15-69. The complete extant work is found also in PG 87. Geiger (n. 70) 271-4 (Hebr.).

and the iconography of classical Greek myth as represented in it.¹⁵⁴ Choricus was his most prominent pupil and successor as head of the rhetorical school of Gaza and its foremost orator in the reign of Anastasius (491-518 AD). Among his extant works are several public addresses delivered on important occasions, including the dedication of two churches, one of St. Sergius and a basilica of St. Stephen.¹⁵⁵ His work contains a good deal of information about contemporary Gaza, notably about festivals and entertainment¹⁵⁶ and about the numerous building projects initiated by the powerful bishop Marcianus and the provincial governor Stephanus.¹⁵⁷ These included churches, but also stoas, a bath-house, the city wall and repair work on two suburban sanctuaries.¹⁵⁸ Choricus describes the city as pleasant and quite prosperous, an image confirmed later in the sixth century by the Piacenza Pilgrim (about 570 AD): "From it (sc. Maiuma in the neighbourhood of Ascalon) we went to the city of Maiuma of Gaza, the resting place of the martyr Saint Victor. Gaza is a lovely and renowned city, with noble people distinguished by every kind of liberal accomplishment. They are welcoming to strangers. Two miles from Gaza is the resting place of our holy father Hilarion."¹⁵⁹ The tomb of St. Victor, it may be added here, appears also on the fragment of Gaza, shown on the Madaba Map.

Regarding the coinage: Gaza minted coins in the Persian period.¹⁶⁰ Next Ptolemaean coins are attested, for Ptolemy II and III.¹⁶¹ In the second century BC Gaza minted only bronze coinage, mostly city-coinage proper, but occasionally for the Seleucids (Alexander Balas and Demetrius II). On some of these coins the city is

154 See also R. Talgam, *The Ekphrasis Eikonos of Procopius of Gaza*, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky eds., *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, 2004, 209-33; G. Bowersock, *Mosaics as History*, 2006, 56ff.

155 Edition: R. Foerster - E. Richtsteig, *Choricii Gazaei opera*, 1929, repr. 1972; F.-M. Abel, RB 40, 1931, 5-31, with special emphasis on the church of St. Sergius and the basilica; R. Penella - E. Amato, *Rhetorical Exercises from Late Antiquity. A Translation of Choricus of Gaza's Preliminary Talks and Declamations*, 2009; R. Mazza, *Choricus of Gaza, Oration XIII*, in: R. Fakes et al. eds., *The Rhetoric of Power in Late Antiquity*, 2010, 172-93; C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*, 1972, 60ff.: transl. of Choricus, *Laudatio Marciani* 1,17.

156 Cf. Glucker, *Gaza* 53-7.

157 Ibid., 55f.; Geiger (n. 70) 235 (Hebr.); PLRE III A, Marcianus 1, Stephanus 7.

158 Cf. below, inscription no. 2475.

159 Antoninus Placentinus 33 (CCSL 175, p. 145): *Exinde venimus in civitatem Maioma Gazis, in qua requiescit sanctus Victor martyr. De Maioma usque in Gaza miliarium unum. Gaza autem civitas splendida deliciosa, homines honestissimi omni liberalitate decori amatores pergrinorum. Ad secundum miliarium Gazae requiescit sanctus pater Hilario*. Transl. J. Wilkinson. Cf. Choricus, *Laudatio Marciani*, 1,89 (25,2-4): πολλοὺς οἶδα ξένους ἐγὼ παραδραμεῖν βουλευσαμένους τὴν πόλιν καὶ συχρὸν διατρίφαντας ἡμερότῃ τῶν ἐνοικούντων.

160 H. Gitler - O. Tal, *The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*, 2006, 114-45.

161 I. Svoronos, *Ta nomismata tou kratous ton Ptolemaion*, 1904 nos. 821-838, 1045.

called "Seleucia".¹⁶² A new era appears on coins towards the end of the second century BC.¹⁶³ This new era of the city appears to testify to its having been granted autonomous status by one of the last Seleucids. The dates by this era also imply that Jannaeus' capture of the city had not occurred before 95/4 BC. Gaza struck coins in the mid-first century BC, not long after its re-settlement as a polis by the Romans in 61/60. There is no comprehensive published research on the coinage of the imperial period, from Augustus (AD 5/6) to Gordian III (241/2).¹⁶⁴

One Hellenistic weight and quite a number from the Roman period with many names on their stamps have been found (below, nos. 2438, 2588-2620). Most names are Greek, but a few are Semitic. The weight mentioning the status of colony (below, no. 2617) is hardly later than the second part of the third century AD, as it is still made on the local weight standard (not to be expected from the fourth century AD on).

While Gaza has never been excavated systematically, several discoveries are worth mentioning. In the early twentieth century an anthropomorphic marble coffin in Phoenician style was discovered.¹⁶⁵ In 1922 Pythian-Adams carried out excavations on the mound of Gaza (Tell Harube).¹⁶⁶ He uncovered five subsequent brick city-walls; the latest of them he tentatively identified as belonging to the Persian period and hence perhaps intended to defend the city against Alexander of Macedon. Otherwise no remains have been recorded from Tell Harube. In the sixties and seventies, remains of a synagogue of the sixth century were excavated near the seashore. Mosaics date the building to 509 (below, no. 2460). It was built over the ruins of private houses or industrial buildings (dye works?) that preceded the synagogue.¹⁶⁷ Given its location it must have belonged to the Jewish community in Gaza Maiumas. However, inscriptions from probably more than one synagogue were found in or near Gaza, indicating a significant Jewish community.¹⁶⁸ One may note also the excavations at Tell Jemmeh (12 km south of Gaza) of granaries which belong to the late fourth to third centuries BC, when all of Palestine was under the control of Egypt's Ptolemies.¹⁶⁹

162 Σελευκεῖς ἐν Γάζῃ; Σελευκεῖς Γαζαῖοι; δῆμος Σελ[ευκεων?] τῶν ἐν Γάζῃ. Cf. O. Hoover, *Handbook of Coins of the Southern Levant*, 2010 nos. 583, 584, 591.

163 A. Kushnir-Stein, *SNR* 74, 1995, 49-55 pl. 2; ead., *GNS* 198, 2000, 22ff.

164 See: A. Burnett - M. Amandry - P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage* I, II, 1992, III, 1999; *BMC Palestine*; M. Rosenberger, *City-coins of Palestine*, vol. II, 1975, 53-75 and H. Yashin, *From Ascalon to Raphia. Coins of the Southern Palestinian Coast*, 2006 nos. 297-484.

165 H. Vincent, *RB* 19, 1910, 575f.; K. Lembke, *Phönizische anthropoide Sarkophage*, 2001, 150 no. 111.

166 W. Pythian-Adams, *PEQ* 55, 1923, 11-7, 18-30, 30-6.

167 A. Ovadia, *NEAHL* 2, 1993, 464-7; M. Barasch, *Assaph B* 1, 1980, 1-41.

168 Below, nos. 2460, 2467, 2468.

169 G. van Beek, *Archaeology* 36, 1983, 12-9. Cf. below, nos. 2548-2559.

Two mosaics give a glimpse of what Late Antique Gaza looked like: first, the Madaba Map, which shows part of the city and the surrounding area.¹⁷⁰ What remains of it shows it as one of the largest cities on the map. The layout of the city appears to have been on the familiar grid-pattern with stoas lining the main streets and a large forum in the centre.¹⁷¹ In the lower S.-W. corner in the city a large church is visible, presumably the Eudoxiana.¹⁷² Furthermore a Church of St. Victor is shown.¹⁷³ The village of Thauatha (ΘΑΥΑΘΑ) presumably is to be identified with the birthplace of Hilarion.¹⁷⁴

Gaza is also among the cities depicted on the mosaic at the Church of St. Stephen in Umm er-Rasas.¹⁷⁵

Select Bibliography: F.-M. Abel, Gaza au VI^e siècle d'après le rhéteur Chorikios, RB 40, 1931, 5-31; Belayche, Pagan Cults, passim, esp. 232-56; B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky, The Monastic School of Gaza, 2006; M. Blume, La Vie de Porphyre et les papyrus, CE 66, 1991, 237-44; A. Cameron, On the date of John of Gaza, CQ 43, 1993, 348-51; B. Cavarra, La città e gli intellettuali a Gaza, Alessandria ed Atene nel V e nel VI secolo d.C., Rivista di Bizantinistica 2, 1992, 135-50; Y. Dan, The City in Eretz-Israel During the Late Roman & Byzantine Periods, 1984 (Hebr.); G. Downey, Gaza in the Early Sixth Century, 1963; P. Figueras, From Gaza to Pelusium: Materials for the Historical Geography of North Sinai and Southwestern Palestine (332 BCE-640 CE), 2000; J. Geiger, The Tents of Japheth. Greek Intellectuals in Ancient Palestine, 2012 (Hebr.); Glucker, Gaza; J. Hahn, Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt. Studien zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Christen, Heiden und Juden im Osten des Römischen Reiches, 2004; B. ter Haar Romeny, Procopius of Gaza and his Library, in: H. Amirav - B. ter Haar Romeny eds., From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron, 2007, 172-90; F. Litsas, Choricius of Gaza and his Descriptions of Festivals at Gaza, JÖB 32.3, 1982 (= XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten II.3), 427-36; C. Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453, 1972, 60ff. (translation of Choricius, Laudatio Marciani 1,17); A. Ovadia, Gaza, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 464-7; M. Sadeq, Urban Development in South-Western Palestine and its Implications. A Historical and Archaeological Study in the View of Gaza Region, <http://research.iugaza.edu.ps/files/2282.PDF> (viewed 4 March 2014); K. Stark, Gaza und die philistäische Küste, 1852; R. Van Dam, From Paganism to Christianity in Late Antique Gaza, Viator 16, 1985, 1-20.

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170 For discussion: Glucker, Gaza 18-25.

171 For fora in Gaza, see also Choricius, Laudatio Marciani 1,83-9; 2,60-69.

172 As argued convincingly by Glucker, Gaza 22.

173 Ο ΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΙΚΤΟΡΟΣ. This is mentioned also by Antoninus Placentinus; v. supra n. 159.

174 As mentioned by Jerome, v. supra n. 123.

175 M. Piccirillo - E. Alliata et al., Umm al-Rasas. Mayfa'ah I, 1994; Bowersock (n. 154) ch. 3. For the Gaza vignette, see pl. XVIII and comments on pp. 185f. The city wall, towers and a basilica are clearly visible.

Inscriptions

A. Res sacrae

2460.-2468. The Synagogues at Gaza

The mosaic containing inscriptions nos. 2460 and 2461 and the basin with no. 2462 were first discovered in 1965 about 300 m south of the present Gaza port by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, which identified the structure as a church. In 1966 Avi-Yonah identified the building as a synagogue and first correctly deciphered the inscriptions. The site was further excavated in 1967 and 1976 by Asher Ovadiah on behalf of the Israeli authorities, turning up fragments of four chancel screens, including (apparently) nos. 2463 and 2466, which were not published; the other fragment of a synagogue screen no. 2465 does not belong to either of these. The Greek inscription in the mosaic pavement, no. 2460, dates the pavement to 509 CE. Two other inscriptions from Gaza published before the discovery of the building have been attributed to a synagogue: no. 2467 (architectural element) and no. 2464 (on a pillar). Further, no. 2488 (included in Epitaphs, below) and no. 2521 (in "Fragments") could have been dedicatory plaques from Gaza, and if so perhaps from a synagogue, but with equal possibility both could be epitaphs and no. 2521 is not certainly Jewish. Finally, no. 2468, found between Jaffa and Gaza, is commonly attributed to a synagogue in Gaza. However that may be, it is possible, even likely, that more than one synagogue served the Jewish population in Gaza.

2460. Mosaic pavement with Greek inscription, 509 CE

Southernmost aisle of mosaic pavement lavishly decorated with medallions containing various animals. In one medallion, a 10-line Greek inscription; *alpha* with broken cross-bars; round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, long-stem *upsilon*, w-shaped *omega*. The inscription had been damaged since first discovered (cf. Magen 106).

Meas.: Ø 93 cm; letters 6-7.5 cm.

Findspot: 300 m south of the modern port of Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Good Samaritan Museum, Ma'ale Adumim. Autopsy: 22 October 2013 (WE/DK).

ΜΑΝΑΑ
 ΜΟΣΚΑΙΓ'ΙΣΟΥΟΣ
 ΥΓΙΟΙΤΟΥΜΑΚΑΡ[
 ΙΣΣΗΤΟΣΞΥΛΕΜΠΟΡΟΙ
 ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ
 [.]ΩΑΓΙΩΤ[.]ΤΟΠΩΚΑΙ
 [.]ΗΝΨΗΦΩΣΙΝΤΑΥΤΗΝ
 ΠΡΟΣΕΝΗΓΚΑΜΕΝ
 [..]ΜΗΝΙΑΩΩΤΟΥ
 [--]ΘΞΦ



fig. 2460.1 (state after discovery)

Μανάα|μος καὶ Ἴσουος | υἱοὶ τοῦ μακαρ(ίου) | Ἰσσηῆτος ξυλέμποροι | εὐχαριστοῦντες |
 [τ]ῷ ἁγίω(τῶν) τόπῳ καὶ | [τ]ὴν ψήφωσιν ταύτην | προσενήγκαμεν | [ἐν] μηνὶ Λῶω
 τοῦ | [ἔτους] ΘΞΦ

We, Manaamus and Isuus, sons of the blessed Isses, wood merchants, have donated in gratitude to the most holy place this pavement, in the month of Loos of the year 569.

Comm.: This inscription was in a different panel of the same mosaic floor as no. 2461. Μανάαμος is the Hebrew name Menaḥem, virtually identical to Μανάημος in Josephus; cf. Ilan, *Lexicon* I 185f. Ἴσουος seems to be an unusual form of Ἰησοῦς = Yehoshua (Joshua). The father's name is a genitive of Ἰσσηῆς, probably biblical Yishai, but may also be יִשַׁי used by rabbinic sages (Ovadiah; cf. Margalioth, *Encyclopedia* I 156-61), compare the same name with a different genitive in no. 2462, possibly from the same synagogue, and see



fig. 2460.2 (present state)

comm. on the name at no. 2462. The epithet μακαριώτατος used for the deceased is a formula borrowed by Jews in epitaphs in Iudaea/Palaestina and the Diaspora,

e.g. Schwabe - Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* II 176, 183; Noy, *JIWE* I 186; Ameling, *IJO* II 148, 232, 234, 248; Noy - Bloedhorn, *IJO* III, Syr28. Synagogues are described as a "holy place" often in documentary and literary sources, compare nos. 2321 and 2468 this vol., with discussion and bibl. in comm. to no. 2321. The word *καί* in l.6 may indicate that the brothers made another contribution as well, yet compare a similar grammatical problem in the chancel screen from the Ascalon synagogue, no. 2321. The date in l.10, with the Macedonian month-name and the year according to the Gaza era, is 25 July-23 August 509 CE, according to Meimaris' calculation.

Bibl.: J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 35, 1966, 127-78 at 135 no. 15; M. Avi-Yonah, *BIES* 30, 1966, 221ff. (edd. prr.). – HA 20, 1966, 26 (Hebr.); BE 1967, 649; HA 24, 1967, 9ff. (Hebr.); Lifshitz, *Donateurs* 57ff. no. 73a; M. Philonenko, *RHPhR* 47, 1967, 355ff.; BE 1968, 561; A. Ovadia, *Qadmoniot* 1, 1968, 124-7 (Hebr.); id., *IEJ* 19, 1969, 193-8 at 195f.; B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* 4, 1970, 113-33 at 124f.; H. Stern, *CRAI*, 1970, 63-79 at 63ff., 68f. fig. 2; M. Avi-Yonah, in: H. Stern – M. Le Glay eds., *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* II, 1975, 377-83 at 377 pl. CLXXIX; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 1, 133f. no. 2; S. Applebaum - B. Isaac - Y. Landau, *SCI* 4, 1978, 132-58 at 143 no. 20; P. Finney, *Journal of Jewish Art* 5, 1978, 6-15 at 6; SEG 28, 1407; M. Barasch, *Assaph* 1, 1980, 1-42 at 1f. (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, *Art in Ancient Palestine*, 1981, 389f. pl. 56; G. Foerster, *Cathedra* 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); A. Ovadia, in: L. Levine ed., *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, 1981, 129-32; Chiat, *Handbook* 185f.; Y. Dan, *Cathedra* 23, 1982, 17-24 at 23 (Hebr.); E. Lipinski, in: id. ed., *Recherches archéologiques en Israël/Archeologisch Onderzoek in Israël*, 1984, 23-97 at 90; Glucker, *Gaza* 145 no. 39; Ovadia, *MPI* 60ff.; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 91-4 no. 21; R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, 1988, 225ff., 296, 304, 338, pls. 64, 67, 71, 73, 74, 86a-c; ead., in: ead. ed., *Ancient Synagogues in Israel. Third-Seventh Century CE*, 1989, 65ff.; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 126 no. 114; A. Ovadia, *NEAEHL* 2, 1993, 464-7 at 465f.; C. Kestenbaum-Green, *BAR* 20:2, 1994, 58-63; G. Foerster, in: D. Urman – P. Flesher eds., *Ancient Synagogues* 1, 1995, 87-94 at 89f.; Y. Tsafir, in: *ibid.*, 70-86 at 72f.; D. Urman, in: id. – P. Flesher eds., *Ancient Synagogues* 2, 1995, 373-617, fig. 19a, fig. 22a-b; P. Baumann, *Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land*, 1999, 317; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 405, 408; L. Habas, in: A. Mazar ed., *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996 I*, 2006, 643-53 at 649; L. Di Segni, *ARAM* 18-19, 2006/7, 113-26 at 122ff.; ead., *JRA* 20, 2007, 643-55 at 644; Milson, *Art and Architecture* 50f., 362; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., *Gaza* 171-87 at 177; G. Stemberger, *Juden und Christen im spätantiken Palästina*, 2007, 60f.; Y. Magen, *The Good Samaritan Museum*, 2010, 106ff.

Photo: Ovadia, *MPI*, pl. 54; A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

2461. Synagogue floor with King David as Orpheus with Hebrew inscription, early 6 c. CE

Four Hebrew letters and the remains of a picture of King David playing a harp and surrounded by animals, set in a mosaic floor.

Meas.: h 141.5, w 125 cm; letters 6-6.5 cm (taken from the replica in the Good Samaritan Museum).

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1980-3410. Replica in the Good Samaritan Museum, Ma'ale Adumim.

דָּוִד

Translit.: dwyd

David.

Comm.: In this synagogue floor discovered in 1965, King David is pictured as Orpheus charming the animals surrounding him. His name appears next to his head, like the labels of biblical figures in the Beth Alfa mosaic and Dura Europus (Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 44; Noy - Bloedhorn, *IJO* III, Syr96-104); note plene spelling. Since its discovery, the mosaic, especially the figure of David, has suffered severe damage. The Greek inscription no. 2460, dated to 508 CE, was part of the same mosaic.



fig. 2461

Bibl.: J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 35, 1966, 127-78 at 135 no. 15 (ed. pr.). – HA 20, 1966, 26 (Hebr.); HA 24, 1967, 9, 11 (Hebr.); M. Philonenko, *RHPH* 47, 1967, 355ff.; A. Ovadiah, *Qadmoniot* 1, 1968, 124-7 (Hebr.); A. Ovadiah, *IEJ* 19, 1969, 193-8 at 195; H. Stern, *CRAI*, 1970, 63-79 at 63ff., 68f. fig. 5; M. Barasch, *EI* 10, 1971, 94-9 (Hebr.); G. Downey, *RAC* 8, 1972, 1123-34 at 1126; A. Ovadiah, *EAEHL* 2, 1976, 408-17 at 411f.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 1, 133 no. 1; P. Finney, *Journal of Jewish Art* 5, 1978, 6-15 at 6; Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 91 no. 55 (Hebr.); M. Barasch, *Assaph* 1, 1980, 1-42 at 1f., 34 (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, *Art in Ancient Palestine*, 1981, 274 pl. 41; A. Ovadiah, in: L. Levine ed., *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, 1981, 129-32; Glucker, *Gaza* 145 no. 38; Ovadiah, *MPI* 60f. no. 83; C. Kestenbaum-Green, *Israel Museum Journal* 11, 1993, 65-72; A. Ovadiah, *NEAEHL* 2, 1993, 464-7 at 466; R. Hachlili, in: S. Fine ed., *Sacred Realm*, 1996, 96-129 at 119f. pl. XLa; A. Shinan, in: *ibid.* 130-52 at 134f.; G. Stemmerger, *JBTh* 13, 1998, 145-70 at 148; A. Ovadiah, *Assaph* 2, 1996, 49-58 at 53; P. Baumann, *Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land*, 1999, 317; A. Ovadiah - Y. Turnheim, *Assaph* 4, 1999, 21-34 at 30 fig. 11; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 1, 215 fig. 30; I. Gafni, *Cathedra* 100, 2001, 199-226 at 211 (Hebr.); Y. Turnheim - A. Ovadiah, *Art in the Public and Private Spheres in Roman Caesarea Maritima*, 2002, 108; L. Di Segni, *JRA* 20, 2007, 643-55 at 644; Küchler, *Jerusalem* 1074; Milson, *Art and Architecture* 50f., 104, 362f.; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., *Gaza* 171-87 at 177; G. Stemmerger, *Juden und Christen im spätantiken Palästina*, 2007, 60f.; L. Wadson, *ARAM* 20, 2008, 1-41; A. Ovadiah, *SBF* 59, 2009, 301-7 at 301, 306f.; Y. Magen, *The Good Samaritan Museum*, 2010, 106ff.

Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

2462. Marble basin with Greek inscription

Marble basin bearing a Greek inscription on its edge.

Findspot: The marble basin bearing this inscription, together with an another, uninscribed basin, were found in the vicinity of the synagogue mosaic floor, nos. 2460, 2461.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no inv. no.



fig. 2462.1

ΥΠΕΡΣΗΡ(ΡΟΥΒΗΛΟΥ)ΚΙΣΣΗΚΑΙΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΝ

ὑπὲρ σ(ωτ)ηρ(ιας) Ῥουβήλου καὶ Ἰσση καὶ Βενιαμίν

For the salvation of Rubelus and Isses and Beniamin.

Comm.: The first editor read the initial five letters ΥΠΕΡΣ, which have since broken off (therefore underlined here in the diplomatic text).

Presumably the three persons mentioned donated the basin.

Ῥουβήλος is Biblical Reuven, as in Josephus. This rendering of the name was influenced by רבאל *rb'l* found in the Nabataean and Palmyrene onomasticons, as shown by Cohen 121ff. Another Greek rendering of Revuen is Ρωβη, as in nos. 2193, 2213 and 2229 from Jaffa, see comm. ad locc. Ἰσση is the presumed nominative of genitive Ἰσση, although note genitive Ἰσσητος in no. 2460 (and ed. pr. in fact restores Ἰσσητος). The name may be Biblical Yishai ישי *γśy* (Ἰεσσαῖος in Josephus and Ἰεσσαί in LXX, see Hatch - Redpath, Suppl. 83), like Ἡσση in no. 2230 from Jaffa, see comm. there; yet Ovadiah maintains, with some justification, that the name can be understood סאי *'sy* used by rabbinic sages (cf. Margalioth, Encyclopedia I 156-61).

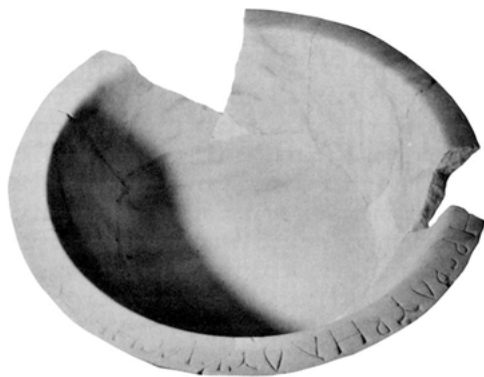


fig. 2462.2

Bibl.: A. Ovadiah, IEJ 19, 1969, 193-8 at 196 (ed. pr.). – HA 24, 1967, 12 (Hebr.); N. Cohen, JSJ 7, 1976, 97-128 at 124; BE 1977, 543; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 134f. no. 3; Chiat, Handbook 185f.; Glucker, Gaza 146 no. 40; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 100; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 179 no. 365; L. Di Segni, JRA 20, 2007, 643-55 at 644; Milson, Art and Architecture 50f., 362f.; G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im spätantiken Palästina, 2007, 60f.

Photo: IAA; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 100 fig. 111.

JJP

2463. Fragmentary screen from a synagogue with Greek inscription, 6 c. CE

Fragments of marble screen, partial Greek inscription on upper border, above floral lattice pattern; round *epsilon*, *upsilon* with short stem, lunate *sigma*.

Findspot: Site of the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: IAA (not located).

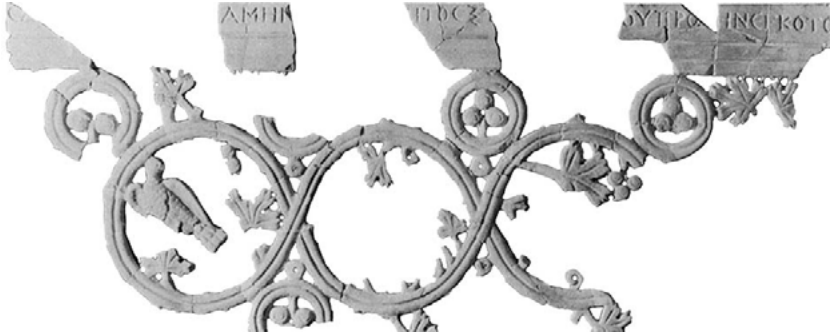


fig. 2463

AMHN[--]

ΗΤΟΣΞ+[--]ΟΥΠΠΟ+ΗΝΕΓΚΟΤΟ[--]

[ὕπὲρ σωτηρίας Ἰσσοῦ] ἡτος ξ[υλεμπόρου] προ[σ]ηνεγκότο[ς --] Ἀμήν

... for the salvation of Isses the wood-merchant who donated ... Amen.

Comm.: This fragmentary screen with partial Greek inscription is reported to have been found in Gaza; it strongly resembles the screen fragment published by Ovadiah in IEJ 19, 1969 pl. 17b, which does not however show the inscription. The present inscribed fragment could not be found in the IAA storerooms, and the text is based on the photograph in Hachlili. The pieces of the screen have been reassembled incorrectly, since Ἀμήν belongs at the end. The rare conjunction of letters ΗΤΟΣΞ, plus the synagogue dedication by υἱοὶ τοῦ μακαροῦ Ἰσσοῦ ξυλεμποροὶ from Gaza (no. 2460), strongly suggest that the screen and mosaic belonged to the same building, together with no. 2462, with the same unusual name Isses. Depend-

ing on the length of the missing portion at the beginning, a son or sons could have erected the screen in their own names, thus [ὕπερ σωτηρίας τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰσσητος ξ[υλεμπόρ]ου vel sim. If so, then father and sons had the same profession. In the blurry photo, the extreme left-hand corner of the text field may show traces of a *sigma*, which (if it is not simply a blemish) would most likely belong to σωτηρίας.

There is also of course the remote possibility that -ΗΤΟΣ is the end of a different name, and Ξ the first letter of a patronym.

προ[σ]ηγνεγκότος is of course to be understood as προ[σ]ηγνεκό(ν)τος, with irregularities typical of the period.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, 1988, pl. 99b (ph. only).

Photo: R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, pl. 99b.

JJP

2464. Stone pillar with Greek and Aramaic inscriptions, 3-5 c. CE(?)

Stone pillar on which is engraved a bilingual inscription of three lines, the first in Hebrew letters and the other two in Greek, framed in a tabula ansata; lulavim in the ears of the tabula ansata. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *upsilon* with stem, round w-shaped *omega*. The framed inscription is integrated into a decorative wreath containing a stylized seven-branch menorah, shofar, etrog, lulav or amphora.

Meas.: h (wreath + tabula) 48 cm (Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 393).

Findspot: The inscription was found on a pillar in a mosque (a converted church) in Gaza and first published by Loeb in 1889; it has reportedly been completely effaced.

Pres. loc.: Destroyed.

חנניהבריעקב

ANANIA

YIΩIAKΩ

חנניה בר יעקב | Ἀνανία | υἱὸς(ς) Ἰακω

Translit.: ḥnnnyh br y'qb

Ḥananiah son of Yaakov. Anania son of Iaco.

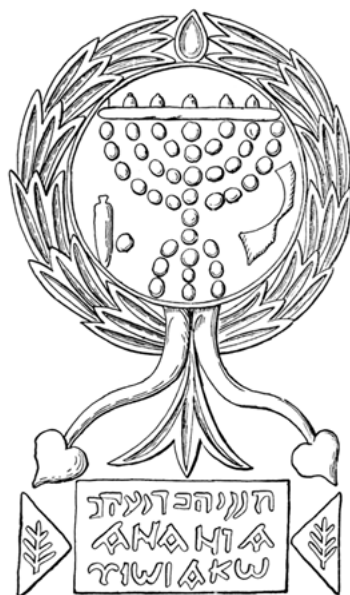


fig. 2464.1



fig. 2464.2

Comm.: The pillar is assumed to have originally belonged to an ancient synagogue, and the pillar itself may have been the thing donated. The inscription records the name of a single donor in identical Greek and Hebrew texts (compare no. 2322; CIIP II 1143; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 20; Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 2, 28). Although the nominative of the Greek form of Ḥananiya is usually Ἀνανίας, the easiest way to understand the Greek text is to assume that

Ἀνανία is nominative imitating the Hebrew pronunciation, with νίῶ(ς); yet it is also possible to read Ἀνανία and νίῶ (= νίῶϛ) as genitives; dative νίῶ does not make sense (the dedication could not have been *for* Ḥananiah). Ἰακω is an attested indeclinable hypocoristic of Jacob. This inscription is not necessarily related to the two from the mosaic synagogue floor in Gaza, dated to the 6 c. CE, nos. 2460 and 2461.

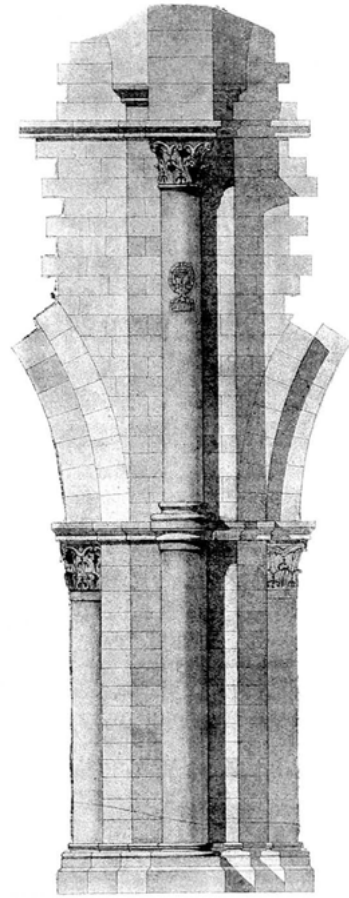


fig. 2464.3

Bibl.: I. Loeb, *REJ* 19, 1889, 100-5 at 100f. (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI*, 1893, 71ff.; id., *ARP* II 389-96; id., *RAO* 4, 1901, 138-51 at 139ff. no. 8.2; D. Saul, *ZDPV MN* 7, 1901, 9-14 at 12f.; *BE* 1903, p. 102; Meyer, *History* 139f. no. 10; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II 72; J. Oehler, *MGWJ* 53, 1909, 292-302 at 295; J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romaine*, 1914, 196-9 no. 6; Klein, *JPCI* 68f. no. 2; S. Klein, *ZDPV* 51, 1928, 135ff. no. 1; *SEG* 8, 276; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, 1939, 113f. no. 5 (Hebr.); *CIJ* 2, 967.1; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* 1, 223 no. 34, 3 fig. 584; M. Schwabe, *IEJ* 3, 1953, 127-30; L. Robert, *RPh* 32, 1958, 15-53 at 40; M. Avi-Yonah, *BIES* 30, 1966, 221ff. (Hebr.); Lifshitz, *Donateurs* 57 no. 73; *BE* 1969 no. 53; B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne*

4, 1970, 113-33 at 124f.; A. Ovadiah, EAEHL 2, 1976, 408-17 at 414ff.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 135 no. 4; MPAT 262f., 290 no. A24; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 90f. no. 54 (Hebr.); Chiat, Handbook 187f.; Beyer, Aramäische Texte 365 no. yyGA 1; Glucker, Gaza 144 no. 37; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 98ff. no. 22; Hemer, Book of Acts 224 no. 5.1; Y. Turnheim, ZDPV 106, 1990/91, 162-71 at 169f.; A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 464-7 at 467; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 408.

Photo: Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 3, fig. 584 (dr.); Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 99; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 392 (dr.).

JJP

2465. Fragment of a chancel screen with illegible traces of Greek letters, 6 c. CE(?)

Fragment of a marble chancel screen with seven-armed menorah on tripod base, lulav and shofar; trace of Greek *upsilon*.

Meas.: h 18, w 15, d 15 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: "Near Gaza" (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., inv. no. 2558.

[--]Υ[--]

Comm.: This is one of numerous fragments of several different screens found near the site of the ancient synagogue in Gaza.

Bibl.: E. Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara), 1935, 62 (ed. pr.). – Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 1, 223 no. 34, 3 fig. 583; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 135 no. 2; Chiat, Handbook 187f.

Photo: Courtesy of Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch.



fig. 2465

JJP

2466. Fragmentary screen from a synagogue with Greek inscription, 6 c. CE

Fragmentary marble screen with pomegranate motifs, Greek inscription in raised relief in outer border; *alpha* with broken cross-beam, stemless *upsilon*, lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: Reconstructed screen: h 61, w 90 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: Site of the synagogue.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA reg. no. 03242-γ. Autopsy: 5 March 2012.



fig. 2466

According to the reconstruction by the IAA, not necessarily in right order:

ANAN[--]Σ/X/KENT[--]ΤΗΡΙΑΣΑΣ[.]ΕΡΙΟΥ[--]ΝΤΗΝΤΙΡ[--]+ΡΥ[--]ΥΡΟ[--]+

Ἄναν[ί]ας Ἐντ[ολίου --] or Ἄναν[ί]ας καὶ Ἐντ[όλιος -- ὑπὲρ σω]τηρίας Ἀσ[τ]ερίου
[--ἀνενέωσε/ἀνενέωσα/ἐποίησε/ἐποίησα]ν τὴν πρ[όσθεσιν τοῦ ἱε]ρ(ο)ῦ [τόπου? --]
ΥΡΟ[--]+

*Ananias son of Entolius or Ananias and Entolius(?) ... for the salvation of Asterius
... renewed(?) ... of the holy place(?) ...*

Comm.: The screen seems to have been larger than the reconstruction indicates, providing room for a longer inscription. The correct order of the fragments is not necessarily as presented in the reconstruction, especially the second fragment, which is not attached to any other piece of the screen; consequently, the spaces between the fragments in the restoration are not accurate.

The restoration of the text is given solely *exempli gratia*, no claim is made for the accuracy or probability of the nouns and verbs supplied, except [-- ὑπὲρ σω]τηρίας Ἀσ[τ]ερίου. Ἄναν[ί]ας seems the most reasonable completion of ANAN, but there are other possibilities. In any case, the structure of the text may very well have been as suggested. Yet if the spelling and grammar of the text were as idiosyncratic as the Greek inscription in the Beth Alfa synagogue (CIJ 2, 1166), then the possibilities of restoration are more numerous and unpredictable.

If the name of the dedicator was Anania(s), then there is a tentative connection with no. 2464, the dedication by Ἀνανία | υἱὸς Ἰακωβ on a column in Gaza. These two inscriptions were discovered at widely disparate times.

The fragment with Σ/X/KENT is not placed with any confidence, and the uncertainty of the first letter makes both placement and interpretation unstable. If a *sigma*, then it could be the ending of an aorist such as ἐποίησεν, with τ beginning an accusative definite article, but then the restoration of NTHNΠIP would have to change, unless there were two main verbs in the text, which is highly unlikely. Yet the shape of the visible traces seems not to be as curved as the other *sigmas* in the inscription, and the letter could have been *kappa* or *chi*, neither of which is present in the inscription fragments for comparison. Entolius is a name used by Jews, signifying someone who adheres to the commandments, cf. the four instances at Caesarea (CIIP II 1263, 1466 [definitely Jewish], 1467, 1520), and in Jewish inscriptions from Egypt (JIGRE 15) and Cyprus (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III, App26); and cf. no. 2246 this vol. for a possible Entolia.

Asterius is a name occurring up the coast at Jaffa (nos. 2192, 2244).

The object or part of the building dedicated, a feminine noun beginning with πρ-, cannot be known. Restoring τήν πρ[οσευχήν] is improbable since all occurrences of this word in Jewish inscriptions are earlier (assuming this screen was contemporary with the floor mosaic), and it is more likely that only a part of the building was named. Note ἐψηφώθη ἡ πρόσθεις [τοῦ] ναοῦ in the synagogue in Apamea (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III, Syr58), understood as some sort of addition like a porch; this is too rare an occurrence to use as a basis of restoration here. The screen itself is named as the dedicated object in the synagogue in Smyrna (Ameling, IJO II 41), where it is called σκαμνοκάνκελοι, a hapax legomenon. Other possible names for screen or barrier beginning with πρ-, e.g. πρόβλημα or προκάλυμμα, or parts of the building to which the screen could be associated, e.g. προσκήνιον, are neuter and therefore do not well suit τήν πρ[--]. The verb and noun could also have been something like [--ἔδωκε]ν τήν πρ[οσφοράν --]; or the dedication could have been τήν πρ[ώτην --]; and there are other possibilities.

The suggestion [τοῦ] ἱερ[ο]ῦ [τόπου? --] is highly uncertain. On the interchange of ου and υ, see Gignac I 214.

The last letters are inscrutable; they could be a date.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: Courtesy of the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.

JJP

2467. Greek inscription of two elders, 5-6 c. CE

White marble fragment of architectural element, round finished top and sculpted bottom border, broken right and left sides; back smoothed. Remains of two-line Greek inscription with professionally executed letters; *alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended right leg, round *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*; S-shaped abbreviation sign.

Meas.: h 15, w 16.5 cm; letters 2-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Gaza (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41660. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

[--]ΠΡΕΣΒ[Κ]Α[--]

[--]ΣΚ[ΠΡΕΣ[--]

[--] πρεσβ(ευτῆς)/(ύτερος) κ(αι)

Α[--|--]ς κ(αι) πρεσ[β(ευτῆς)/

β(ύτερος) --]

... the elder and A... and elder ...



fig. 2467.1

Comm.: Given the smooth back, sculpted border and professional execution, this fragment could have come from a chancel screen. The text was originally resolved (see IGR 3, 1211) as πρεσβ(ευτῆς) κ(αι) ἀ[ντιστράτηγος], which is not possible. On πρεσβευτῆς as πρεσβύτερος, see comm. to no. 2189. Despite Klein's assumption, followed in CIJ and subsequent scholarship, there is no reason why this inscription must be defined as Jewish, compare e.g. no. 2530 this volume, a Christian epitaph of Alexander: Ἀλεξάνδρου πρεσβυτέρου κα[ὶ] ἀρχιμανδρίτου.



fig. 2467.2

Bibl.: Euting 685 no. 76 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 7, 1905, 174-8 at 177f. no. 2; IGR 3, 1211; Klein, JPCI no. 159; id., Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 114 no. 8 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 969; Gucker, Gaza 147 no. 41; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 405 n. 411.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

2468. Greek dedication for Iacobus(?) and Lazarus, 4-6 c. CE

White marble plaque, broken on left side; polished face, rough unfinished back. Five-line Greek inscription, letters unevenly formed, irregular spacing, letters in l.5 especially crowded; *alpha* with broken cross-bar and hyper-extended right leg; square *epsilon* and lunate *sigma*, angular w-shaped *omega*; *omicron-epsilon* ligature, small single *omicrons*, *upsilons* with long stems; ligatures of *nu-epsilon* l.3 and *eta-sigma* l.4; s-shaped abbreviation mark in ll.1 and 5; abbreviation mark above *mu* in l.5; serifs. Meas.: h 18, w 24, d 2.7 cm; letters 2-2.5 cm.

Findspot: Between Gaza and Jaffa (ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41666. Autopsy: 4 August 2003.

[--]ΑΣΙΑΚΩ[ΛΑΖΑΡ
[--]ΣΙΝΑΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ
[--]ΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΤΟΠΟΥΑΝΕΝΕ
[--]+ΑΤΗΣΚΩΝΧΙΣΣΥΝ
[--]+ΘΕΜΕΛΙ[ΜΜΑΡΤΙΟΥΙΝ



fig. 2468.1

[Ὑπὲρ σωτηρί]ας Ἰακώ(βου?), Λάζαρ[ος --]σιν αὐχαριστῶν | [τῷ θεῷ --] τοῦ ἁγίου
τόπου ἀνενέ|[ωσεν/ωσαν --]α τῆς κώνχης σὺν | [-- ἀπὸ τῶν] θεμελί(ων), μ(ηνὸς)
Μαρτίου, ἰν[δικτιῶνος --]

*For the salvation of Iaco(bus?),
Lazarus ... in gratitude to God
... the holy place, renewed the
... of the apse together with the
... from the foundations; in the
month of March, Indiction ...*

Comm.: According to Germer-Durand, this inscription was found between Jaffa and Gaza. While Germer-Durand thought it to be Christian, Cler-



fig. 2468.2

mont-Ganneau and then Sukenik determined that it belonged to a synagogue, probably in Gaza, and this has been the communis opinio. The only basis for it, however, are the Hebrew names in l.1, which are found also in Christian epigraphy and do not make a definitive argument. Moreover, the stone has been identified as a chancel screen, but its back is unfinished: it was built into a structure and was not a screen. It is definitely a dedication. If [Υπερ σωτηρί]ας in l.1 is correct, then ca. 10 letters are missing on the left side of each line, making full restoration impossible. The letter-forms would point to a relatively late date, 4-6 c. CE.

Germer-Durand restored the inscription thus: [Ἀναστ]ασιάκω (καὶ) Λάζαρ[ος σύμβι]ος, ἵνα εὐχαριστὸν | [--] τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου, ἀνενέ[ωσαν κτίσμ]α τῆς κόγχης σὺν [ἀψῖδι ἀπὸ] θεμελί(ων), μ(ηνὶ) Μαρτίου ἰν(δικτίωνος). The reading here combines suggestions by Sukenik and Lifshitz, who rejected most of Germer-Durand's conjectures.

l.1: Sukenik resolved the abbreviation marker J as καί, so that both Ἰακω and Λαζάρ[ου] are the objects of salvation. Lifshitz rendered Ἰακώ(βου) as the sole object, with Lazarus in the nominative being the dedicator (perhaps with someone else, whose name is lost at the beginning of l.2). This is the better solution, since the same abbreviation sign is used in θεμελί(ων) in l.5; moreover, μῆνός is abbreviated in l.5 by the first letter of the word plus abbreviation mark. On the other hand, one wonders why this name is abbreviated so early in the inscription; the uneven spacing overall and the compressed last line indicate that the text was not blocked out from the beginning.

l.2: ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ can be resolved either as εὐχαριστῶν (Sukenik) or εὐχαριστο(ῶ)ν[τες] (Lifshitz), depending on whether there was one dedicator or more; it could also be εὐχαριστούντων as relating to the names in the genitive following ὑπερ σωτηρίας, although the rest of the sentence would then be more difficult to construe.

l.3: τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου may be connected with an expression missing at the beginning of the line, such as Sukenik's suggestion, εὐχαριστ(ῶ)ν [τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ] τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου (SEG, Klein, CIJ), of which the restored letters would occupy roughly the same space as the restoration in the previous line. Note the formula ὅτι εὐξάμενος ἅμα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἀνενέωσεν τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τῆς ψηφώσεως in a church mosaic in Syria (SEG 20, 378-379). Lifshitz proposes "καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου avec la graphie ου pour ω", which is entirely possible, and the simplest solution; on ου>ω, note τῷ τόπου in no. 2167, from Tell Qasile, and see Gignac I 209ff. If genitive, τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου is probably not to be connected to τῆς κώνυχς.

ll.3-4: ANENE[-] can be resolved ἀνενέωσατο, from the classical ἀνανεοῦσθαι (see e.g. SEG 22, 266; 8, 467; 24, 1217), or as ἀνενέωσεν, from ἀνανεοῦν, a form found in the Septuagint and well-attested in Late Antiquity, cf. L. Robert, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* I, 1964, 54 and W. Ameling, *SCI* 22, 2003, 247f. The verb could also have been plural if l.2 contained another name in the nominative. Renovation of buildings is recorded in Christian, pagan and Jewish texts, see Ameling loc. cit., and note esp. εὐχαριστῶν ἀνενέωσεν τὸν ἅγιον οἶκ(ον) from a church inscription

from the Golan (SEG 26, 1676); for further examples from Jewish synagogues, cf. Ameling, IJO II 119; Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Cyp3; Lifshitz, Donateurs 80.

l.4: Sukenik suggested [- τὸ κατίσμ]α τῆς κώνυχ(η)ς, and understood κώνυχς to refer to the apse, which was shaped like a shell; Goodenough conjectured that it referred either to shell ornaments on the dedicated object, or “the adyton behind the screen in a synagogue”.

Frey (CIJ) noted that ΣΥΝ[--] could be the beginning of συναγωγῆς, but the absence of a definite article is problematic.

l.5: The date is incomplete at the end of l.5, but the stone is not broken on its bottom right corner and there was no additional line beneath; the letters in l.5 are squeezed together, but the inscriber had to have completed the date on another adjacent stone in the structure. The indiction system is not found on any surviving Jewish inscriptions from Iudaea/Palaestina, but it is used to date synagogue dedications in the Diaspora: Ameling, IJO II 219, 220; Noy, JIWE I 8, 27, 107.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 239-49 at 248f. no. 11 (ed. pr.). – P. Batiffol, BZ 1, 1892, 614-17 at 615f.; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 32, 1900, 110-20 at 112 no. 8; id., RAO 4, 1901, 138-51 at 139ff. no. 8.1; C. Wilson, PEQ 33, 1901, 205ff.; J. Juster, Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romaine 1, 1914, 430f. n. 5; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 705-720 at 716, 719 no. 31; E. Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh (Hammath-by-Gadara), 1935, 68f.; SEG 8, 277; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 14 no. 7 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 966.1; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 1, 223 no. 34; Lifshitz, Donateurs 56f. no. 72; HA 24, 1967, 11 (Hebr.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 135f. no. 5; A. Ovadiah, EAEHL 2, 1976, 408-17 at 412; G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); Chiat, Handbook 187f.; Keel - Küchler 89 no. 68; Meimaris, Sacred Names 148 no. 773; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 101ff. no. 23; A. Ovadiah, NEAEHL 2, 1993, 464-7 at 467; J. Branham, in: D. Urman – P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 2, 1995, 319-45 at 334f.; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 179 no. 372; Milson, Art and Architecture 112-5.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo.

JJP

2469. Part of a chancel screen with Greek inscription, 580 AD

Marble chancel screen from Gaza. A wreath occupies the center of the screen; within the wreath appears a cross adorned with flowers. Bands emanating from the wreath end in two ivy leaves each; crosses on the upper ivy leaves. The inscription runs around the screen: the text starts in the upper left corner; it continues on the right border, where the letters are represented vertically; in the bottom line, the letters run from the right to the left and are mirrored (the only exception are the two last letters, which are thought to belong to the left border); the letters of the left border start at the upper left corner and are alternately mirrored and not mirrored. The last *alpha* is written on an erased space.

Meas.: h 65, w 84, d 6 cm (on top and sides), 7 cm (on bottom); inscription: 75 cm (top and bottom), 52 cm (right and left); letters 2.5-4 cm.

Pres. loc.: Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. BLMJ 1991. Autopsy: 15 March 2012 (WE).

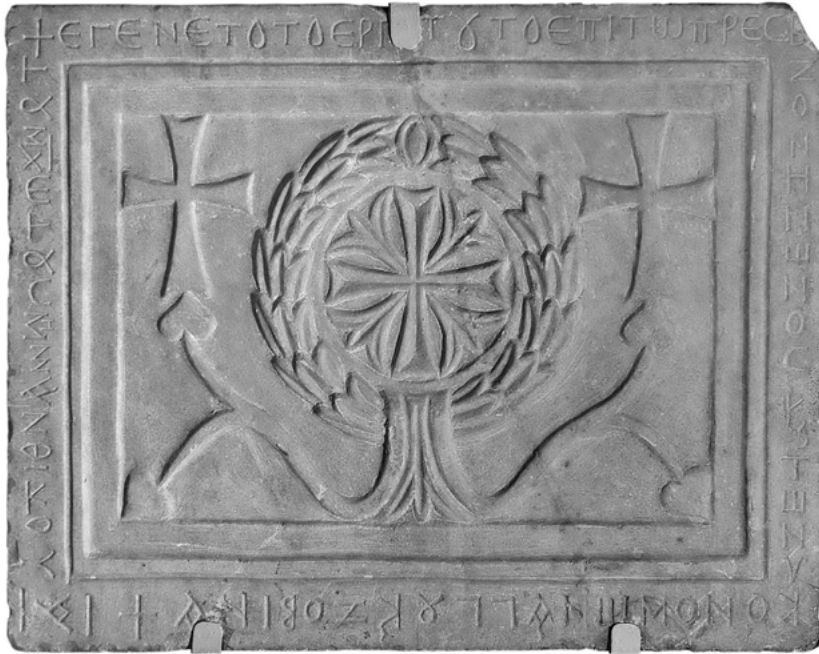


fig. 2469

(cross) ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΠΡΕΣΒ
ΖΟΝΗΝΩΝ ΣΚΤΩΝΥ
ΚΟΝΟΜΩΝ ΑΓΓΟΥ ΚΖΟΒΙΝΑ (cross)
ΤΟΥ ΜΧΕΤΟΥ ΣΜΗΕΑΝΘΙΚΟΥ ΑΙ

ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῷ πρεσβ(υτέρῳ) | Ζονήνωνος κ(αὶ) τῶν ὑ|κονόμων Ἀγγου
κ(αὶ) Ζοβίνα | τοῦ μχ' ἔτους, μη(νὸς) Ξανθικοῦ αἰ'

This work was made under the priest Zonenon and the householders Aggus and Zobinas, in the year 640, Xanthikos 11th (= 6 April 580 AD).

Comm.: l.1f: change from dative to genitive.

l.3: for Ζονήνωνος cf. no. 2445; for the name of Zobinas, cf. perhaps Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 50, Ζοβιονος; for the name of the other oikonomos, see *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia* I a, 143 no. 48 (Zoora): μνημῖον Ἀβδολμίθαβος Ἄγγου; "The patronymic Ἄγγος must render in Greek a Semitic name deriving from the root *hgg* 'to go on a pilgrimage' ... This kind of name could be given to a boy born during the pilgrimage or on a feast", Meimaris - Kritikakou-Nikola-ropoulou ad loc. with references. On household managers see Meimaris, *Sacred*

Names 256ff., who limits himself to the *oikonomoi* “of a diocese, a church, a monastery”. While there is reason to suppose that the two householders of the present inscription are *oikonomoi* of this kind, hence members of the clergy, it remains unsettled to what kind of institution they belonged.

l.4: not IAI, but – as in the number of the year – an upper bar to denote the number AI. The mention of the 13th indiction is missing.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

WA

2470. Greek inscription on pavement in a church, 540 AD

Slab of lime- or sandstone; guidelines, traces of red paint in the letters. “The inscription has been cut away at the bottom at the 7th line” (Clermont-Ganneau).

Meas.: h 30.5, w 38 cm.

Findspot: Used as a marker on a racecourse for horses, Abu Zeid/Meydan ez-Zeid, east of the town in the level country beyond el-Muntar (cf. no. 2474).

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MA 3042.



fig. 2470

(cross) ΤΟΥΚΥΗΓΗΚΑΙΤΟ (cross)

ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑΥΤΗΣ

(cross) ΕΠΙΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥΕΠΛΑ

ΚΩΘΗΤΑΩΔΕ

ΕΤΟΥΣΧΜΠΕΡΙΤΙΟΥ

(cross) ΙΝΔ[--]

τοῦ κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ | πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. | ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου | διακόνου ἐπλα|χώθη
τὰ ὧδε. | ἔτους χ', μ(ηνὸς) Περιτίου | ἰνδ. [γ' --]

The earth is the LORD'S, and the fulness thereof (LXX Ps 24,1). *These (things) here were paved under the deacon Alexander. Year 600, Peritios ...* (= January/February 540), *indiction 3 ...*

Comm.: l.1f.: cf. Felle.

l.3f.: "The mention of a deacon as superintendent of works makes it likely that the pavement belonged to a church", Di Segni (DGI 521). – There are different, cursive *alphas* in these two lines – but only here.

l.4f.: πλάκωσις = pavement or incrustation.

l.5: Clermont-Ganneau thought of a plural of οὔδας, misspelt as τὰ οὔδεα, rightly rejected by most editors, cf. Feissel, who cites parallels for τὰ ὧδε (cf., e.g., no. 2453 this vol.).

l.6: ἔτους χμ, Περιτίου Kitchener; corr. Clermont-Ganneau, ARP. There was no sign of a horizontal bar above the *chi* and *mu*.

l.7: [--]ΙΩ[--] most former editors; since Peritios falls in January/February, the indiction is certain. The number of the day seems to be missing.

Bibl.: H. Kitchener, PEQ 1878, 199f. (reading by Clermont-Ganneau); J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 203ff.; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 404ff. (ph.) (edd. prr.). – Meyer, History 144 no. 21; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 714f. no. 14 fig. 4849 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 142 no. 34; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 129 no. 121; Meimaris, Sacred Names 33 no. 151 (l.1f.), 189 no. 851 (l.3ff.); Felle, Biblia epigraphica 110 no. 158; DGI 520f. no. 161. – Cf. C. Conder, PEQ 17, 1885, 16 no. 24; id., PEQ 26, 1894, 202 no. 21; L. Jalabert, DACL 3, 1914, 1732 no. 9; B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/53, 125f. no. 24 (cf. SEG 17, 788); Feissel, Chroniques 228f. no. 729.

Photo: M. and P. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre, Dist. RMN.

WA

2471. Latin-Greek inscription bearing the name of Iuvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, mid 5 c. AD

Slab of marble, broken into three pieces; the left part is missing (CIL 3, 14155,1 against Clermont-Ganneau: *delineationem ab ipso editam intuenti magis videtur lapis etiam ab hac parte integer esse*, is wrong: the preserved text shows no continuity). A cross at the end of ll.4 and 6; lunate *sigma* in l.5; a small stroke above the year-number in l.6.

Meas.: h 40, w 45 cm.

Findspot: Found before 1870 in Gaza, on the seashore.

Pres. loc.: In a private house in Gaza (Clermont-Ganneau). It is unknown whether or not the squeeze taken by Clermont-Ganneau still exists.

[--]ITESICIVVENALI
 [--]DEOMNESINV
 [--]NATRINITA[.]IN
 [--]EDIGNETVR (cross)
 [--]ΣΔOMET[.]ANOS
 [--]ΑΙ (cross)

[--]ite sic Iuvenali | [--]de omnes in
 u|[--]na trinita[s] in |[--]e dignetur |
 [--]ς Δομετ[ι]ανός [--] αἱ'



fig. 2471

Comm.: l.2: uno *Clermont-Ganneau*; INU *CIL*.

This is the second attestation for the use of both Latin and Greek in an inscription after the third century in Palaestina; for the first one, see CIIP II 1138. Clermont-Ganneau, like Glucker, thought the text belonged to the tenth century, but the paleography suggests an earlier date: see for example the D and U in the inscription of Domitius Ulpianus from Tyrus (J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr*, 2006, 36f.). Therefore, it is much more likely that the Iuvenalis mentioned in this text is identical with the well-known archbishop and patriarch of Jerusalem between ca. 420 and 458 AD, one of the important figures in the theological disputes under the emperors Theodosius II. and Marcianus. Iuvenalis exploited the tensions in the councils of Ephesus in 431 AD, and especially the one in Chalcedon in 451 AD, to promote his Jerusalem see to the status of a patriarchy. At first there was much tension between Iuvenalis and Eudocia, Theodosius II's banished wife, but they ended up as allies in Jerusalem.

The content and purpose of the inscription are unclear; perhaps it mentioned Iuvenalis' involvement in the struggle over the Holy Trinity against the Monophysite party. A Dometianus is known to have been consecrated as priest by Iuvenalis, but whether or not that person can be identified with the one mentioned here cannot be decided. If the number 11 at the end of l.6 stands for a date, it must refer to an indiction.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 417f. no. 25 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – CIL 3, 14155.1 = ILCV 1605a; Meyer, *History* 147; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 717f. no. 26 fig. 4901 (dr.); Glucker, *Gaza* 143 no. 35; Y. Geiger, *Cathedra* 74, 1994, 14 (Hebr.); Feissel, *Chroniques* 228f. no. 729; Eck, *Rom und Judaea* 196ff. – On Iuvenalis, cf. E. Honigmann, DOP 5, 1950, 209-79; J. Milik, RB 67, 1960, 264ff.; CIIP I 2, p. 358. On the context, cf. F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire*, 2006.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 418 (dr.).

2472. Lintel or frieze of marble with Greek inscription

Lintel or frieze of marble, damaged at the beginning and end. Guidelines are visible.
 Meas.: h 18.5, w 115, d 21 cm (C. Saliou by personal communication).

Findspot: Gaza? ("Il est certain qu'il provient de la bande de Gaza", C. Saliou by personal communication.)

Pres. loc.: Collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, Gaza, inv. no. JKC 313 (C. Saliou by personal communication).



fig. 2472

ΚΒΟΗΘΗΤΩΔΟΥΛΩΣΟΥΣ+[--]

Κ(ύριε) βοήθη τῷ δούλῳ σου Σ+[--]

Lord, help your servant S...

Comm.: The formula is very common in Late Antique contexts, normally with the form βοήθει or βοήθι. A *sigma* and at least one more letter at the end contained the abbreviated name of the person who set up the inscription. Only the upper half of the vertical stroke of the *kappa* = Κ(ύριε) seems visible at the beginning of the line, but the restoration cannot be doubted, since inscriptions of this kind never begin with a form of βοήθη directly.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, in: Haldimann et al., Gaza 161-70 at 170 (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: C. Saliou, 2007, 170 fig. 106.

WE

2473. Marble slab with cross and Greek inscription

Carved marble slab with a large cross, standing on the symbol of a hill, i.e. Golgotha (cf. no. 2483); letters on the arm of the cross and the intersection of the arms.

Meas.: h 60 cm.

Findspot: Found by Clermont-Ganneau in a Greek house. "I have forgotten the name of the owner. The stone, according to an entry in my notebook, probably came from Ascalon."

Φ (top), Ζ (left side), Ω (center), Η (right side), Σ (bottom)

vertical: φῶς

horizontal: ζωή

Light. Life.

Comm.: Cf. no. 2357 for the text. The inscription is, thanks to its state of preservation, a kind of puzzle. A cross on a trilobed Golgotha is a common ornament on funerary inscriptions from this region, but the inscription φῶς ζωή is seemingly not used on funerary inscriptions from Iudaea/Palaestina. The drawing seems to indicate that the stone was broken on the top – theoretically leaving place for the name of the deceased, but only theoretically: the preserved part of the stone is already 60 cm high, with the name of the deceased (and more) it would make for an extraordinarily large grave-marker. Therefore it seems reasonable to sort this stone among the res sacrae and not among the funerary inscriptions.

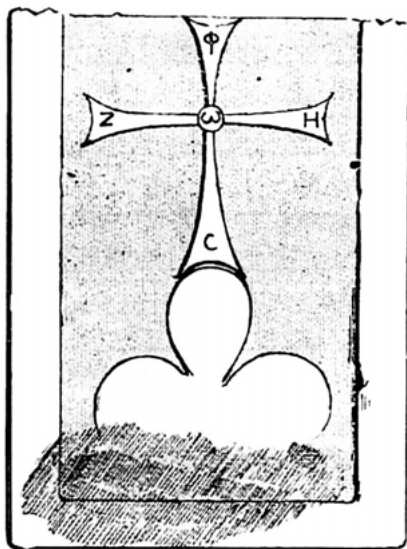


fig. 2473

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 415f. no. 24 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 717 no. 25 fig. 4900 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 144 no. 36.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 416 (dr.).

WA

2474. Greek dedication by Ammonius, 229/230 AD

Granite column; the inscription is placed 77 cm from the top.

Meas.: column: h 170, ø ca. 45 (bottom) - 52 (top) cm; inscription: h 50, w ca. 43 cm; letters 3.5-6.5 cm.

Findspot: This stone was used with three other columns, obviously spolia, to mark the boundaries of the Saracen-built racecourse of Abu Zeid/Meydan ez-Zeid; the inscribed column marked its south-western corner; close to the road leading south-east from el-Muntar (cf. no. 2470).

Pres. loc.: Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, inv. no. 100.007.

ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ
ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΥ
ΥΠΕΡΔΟΜΕ
ΣΤΙΚΟΥ
ΙΟΥΑΝΕΘΗ
ΚΕΝΛΩΣ



fig. 2474.1

Ἀμμώνιος | Δομεστικοῦ | ὑπὲρ Δομε|στικοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνέθη|κεν, (ἔτους) ρσ'

Ammonius son of Domesticus dedicated (this) on behalf of his son Domesticus. In the year 290 (= 28 October 229-27 October 230).

Comm.: l.1 and the last part of l.6 were omitted by the early editions and first read by Lifshitz; l.1: Lifshitz put dots under *iota* and *sigma*; Ἀμμών[ι]ος Lupu; l.2: ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΟΥ Conder; since l.1 was not read, Clermont-Ganneau (and others) corrected this into Δομέστικο(ς); Δομεστικο<ῦ> Lupu – and the last letter cannot be seen on the photo; l.5f.: ΙΟΥ ΑΕΘΗ|ΚΕΝ Conder, ΑΝΕ ΘΗ|ΚΕΜ [--] E Conder – Kitchener; ἀνέθη|κεν μ[--] Clermont-Ganneau; l.6: μσ' with a dot under *mu*, Lifshitz, i.e. 240; Lupu noted that the left vertical hasta of a *mu* was never inscribed and that *mu* had a generally different form; he considered ρε', but year 95, i.e. 34/5

AD, seems impossible. Lupu argues, too, that the order of numerals in Gazan inscriptions is usually ascending.

Conder and others thought this to be a funerary inscription, but Clermont-Ganneau and Lupu saw that it is a dedication – even though the recipient is not named. Di Segni (DGI 511): “Year 249 of the Gazean era corresponds to 179/80.” Ammonius is a typical Egyptian name, not to be wondered at in the vicinity of Egypt, Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 239 (cf. e.g. no. 2494 and Amunis in no. 2513 in this vol.).

Bibl.: C. Conder, *PEQ* 7, 1875, 159 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – Id. – Kitchener, *SWP* 3, 250; C. Conder, *PEQ* 26, 1894, 201ff. no. 20a; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II 407 no. 7B (it is not clear whether he saw the stone); Meyer, *History* 141 no. 11; B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 79, 1963, 90f. no. I; *SEG* 20, 474; Glucker, *Gaza* 120 no. 3; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 123 no. 104; *DGI* 510f. no. 153; E. Lupu, *SCI* 22, 2003, 199ff. with ph. of squeeze. – Cf. *BE* 1964, 511; *SEG* 53, 1844.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.



fig. 2474.2

WA

2474A. Part of a chancel screen(?) with Greek inscription

Maybe the upper part of a chancel screen with the letters carved in relief; raised letters.

Meas.: The measurements given in Schumacher's drawing – h 2'.7", w 6'.6" – would correspond to a height of more than 78 cm and a width of nearly 2 m which can hardly be correct.

Findspot: "A little outside of the city" (Schumacher).

[--]ΛΛΙΣΤΟΝΚ[--]

[--]λλιστον κ[(αἰ) --]

Comm.: [--κά]λλιστον?; The *kappa* of *καί* may have had an abbreviation mark at the upper right hasta. Cf. also IGLS III 1, 373 (Rhosos): τὸ κάλλιστον τοῦ μερίσματος ἔργον. The personal name is rather improbable.

Bibl.: G. Schumacher, PEQ 18, 1886, 173 with dr. (ed. pr.).

Photo: G. Schumacher, PEQ 18, 1886, 176 (dr.).



fig. 2474A

WA

B. Inscription of public character and in architectural context

2475. Greek inscription on the renewal of the city walls

“Gravée en relief” (Abel).

Findspot: “Inséré tant bien que mal dans une facade à côté d’un linteau de marbre blanc” (Abel). It looks like the stone had been inserted into the original wall, too.

(cross) ANENEΟΘΗΣΥΝΘΩ
ΤΟΤΗΧΟΣΓΑΖΗΣΕΠΗΓΕ
ΩΡΓΙΟΥΓΩΜΑΕΡΓΟΛΑΒΩΝ



fig. 2475

ἀνενεόθη σὺν θεῷ | τὸ τῆχος Γάζης ἐπὶ Γεωργίου (καὶ) Θωμᾶ ἐργολάβων

The wall of Gaza was renewed with God under Georgius and Thomas, contractors.

Comm.: Choricus of Gaza tells about a restoration of the city's walls, *laud. Marc.* 1,7 (ed. Foerster - Richtsteig 4); 2,16 (iid. 32): *τείχος ἡμῖν πρότερον ἢν οὕτως ὄνομα μόνον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστος περίβολος ἀνέωκτο τοῖς εἰσιούσιν, ὁ δὲ λειπόμενος ἔτι διαβατὸς ἐγεγόνει τῷ χώματι. διανείμας τοῖνυν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν οἰκητόρων, ... δευτέραν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν τοῦ χώματος ἐξεῦρες διωρυχήν, ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους ἑτέρου γεγενῆσθαι τὸν λόφον;* *laud. Arat. et Steph.* 53ff. (Foerster - Richtsteig 62f.). Abel believes that the orthography of the present inscription excludes “la période cultivée de Marcien” (bishop of Gaza during the restoration of the walls); he continues: “L’expression σὺν Θεῷ indiquerait un temps où les chrétiens comptaient plus sur le secours d’en haut que sur la protection du basileus. On pourrait donc penser aux années qui suivirent l’invasion perse de 614 ou à celles qui s’écoulèrent entre la première incursion des musulmans et la prise définitive de la ville en 637.” SEG followed his argument, Glucker and Meimaris dated the inscription to the 7 c. Clearly, Abel’s opinion is very arbitrary, and σὺν θεῷ is a classic formula, attesting to the help of God without whose participation no human work can be completed. The formula is used frequently in Late Antique building inscriptions; a sample: IK 20, 22: σὺν θεῷ ἀπετέθη τὰ θεμέλια κτλ. (Chalcedon); Poullieux et al. no. 223f.: ἐγ[ένο]ντω σὺν θεῷ καὶ αὐτε [αἱ ... αἱ] ψῖδες (Salamis on Cyprus); IGLS 2, 316 (Chalkidike): σὺν θεῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐθεμελίω[θη] ὁ πυρ[γ]οσηκῶν; 2, 349 (Chalkis): ἐκτίσθη σὺν θεῷ καὶ ἡ δυτικὴ πᾶσα π<λ>ε[υρά]; 4, 1682 (Apamene): ἡρξάμεθα σὺν θεῷ τῶν θεμελί<ω>ν τοῦ κάστρου ... ἀπετέθη δὲ σὺν θεῷ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον; SEG 8, 38 (Beth She’an): ἐτελιώθη σὺν θεῷ τὸ ἔργον; 31, 1453 (Sobata): σὺν θεῷ ἐγένετω τοῦτω τῷ ἔργον; Welles no. 296: σὺν θεῷ τὸδε τὸ βαλανῖον ἐκ θεμελίων κτισθὲν ἐκοσμήθη; no. 306: ἐψηφώθη καὶ ἐστεγάσθη σὺν θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ ἁγίου εὐκτηρίου

(Gerasa). This seems sufficient to disprove Abel's argument; it is, of course, not sufficient to prove a connection with the restoration of the walls mentioned by Choricus, but this is certainly more probable than it seemed to Abel (neither Di Segni nor Saliou commit themselves). – Dating according to contractors is rare, but cf. Dagron - Feissel no. 113: ἐπληρώθη τὸ ἔργον τῆς θεοτόκου ἐπὶ Στεφάνου ἐργογράφου (Anazarbos).

Bibl.: F. Abel, RB 40, 1931, 94f. (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 8, 268; Meimaris, Sacred Names 23 no. 68; Glucker, Gaza 140 no. 33. – Cf. C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling ed., Gerasa, 1938, 355ff.; G. Dagron – D. Feissel, Inscriptions de Cilicie, 1987; J. Poullioux – P. Roesch – J. Marcillet-Jaubert, Salamine de Chypre XIII: Testimonia Salamina. 2. Corpus épigraphique 1987; L. Di Segni, in: J. Humphrey ed., The Roman and Byzantine Near East 2, 1999, 154f.; C. Saliou, in: ead., Gaza 186ff.

Photo: F. Abel, RB 40, 1931, 94.

WA

C. Funerary inscriptions

2476. Tomb of Abraamius with Greek inscription, 541 AD

Slab of marble, broken in two pieces.
It seems that at later times somebody sawed pieces off of the stone; today, at least, only part of the inscription is preserved. The back is rough.
Meas.: h 70 (surviving piece h 39), w 27.5, d 6 cm; letters 4-4.5 cm.

Findspot: House of Jiries Na'mat;
squeeze taken in 1874.
Pres. loc.: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate,
Jerusalem, inv. no. 895(?).

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕ
ΚΙΤΕΟΤΟΥ
ΧΥΔΟΥ
ΛΟΣΚΕΝ
ΑΓΙΟΙΣ
ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙ
ΟΣΠΑΤΡΙ
ΚΙΟΥΔΙΑΚ
ΤΗΕΠΑΓΟ
ΜΕΔΤΟΥ
ΑΧΕΤΟΥΣ
ΙΝΔΙΔ

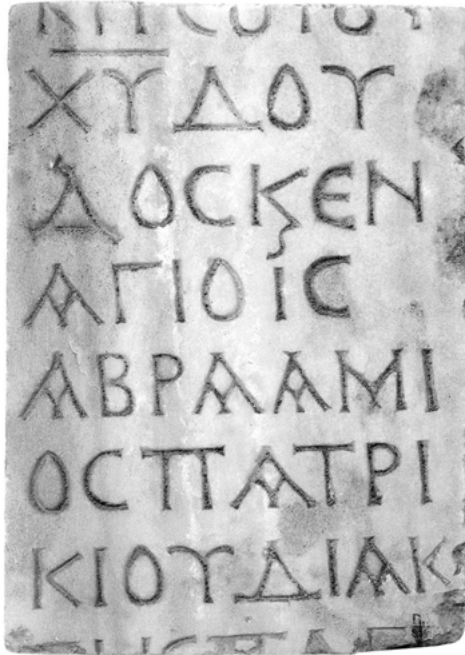


fig. 2476.1

ἐνθάδε | κῆτε ὁ τοῦ | Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦ|λος κ(αὶ) ἐν | ἀγίοις | Ἀβραάμι|ος Πατρι|κίου,
διὰκ(ονος).| τῇ Ἐπαγο|μ(ένῃ) δ', τοῦ | αχ' ἔτους,| ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'

Here lies the servant of Christ and (one who is) among the saints, Abraamius son of Patricius, deacon. On Epagomene 4th, of the year 601, indiction four (= 27 August 541 AD).

Comm.: 1.4f.: Normally, ἐν ἁγίοις stands alone as a qualification of the dead; but cf. SEG 8, 300 (Beersheba): ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰωάννης.

1.6ff.: Ἀβραάμ ἰδὸς Πατρικίου διακ(όνου) Germer-Durand; the printed text is Clermont-Ganneau's; Christian names are usually in an oblique case. Di Segni (DGI) comments on the frequency of the names Abraamius and Patricius in the Negev, but believes this stone to have been found locally before the import of antiquities from the Negev to Gaza became an important business; her most important argument is the evident use of the era of Gaza.

1.8: "I prefer to assign the title of deacon to the deceased rather than to his father" Clermont-Ganneau.

1.9ff.: "its (scil. of the year 601) epagomenai fell in 24-28 August 541" DGI 524.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 204; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 408 no. 9 with ph. of the squeeze (edd. prr.). – E. Schürer, SPAW, 1896, 1081 no. 6; Meyer, History 133 no. 6 (after Germer-Durand); H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 715 no. 16 fig. 4896 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 125 no. 10; Meimaris, Sacred Names 17 no. 5 (ll.1-7), 53 no. 314 (ll.1-7), 169 no. 852 (only 1.6ff.); id., Chron. Systems 129 no. 124; DGI 523f. no. 164. – Cf. F. Bleckmann, ZDPV 38, 1915, 238.

Photo: B. Zissu; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 408.



fig. 2476.2 (squeeze)

2477. Tomb of Anastasia with Greek inscription, 474 AD

Limestone; part of the upper left and the lower right edge is missing, perhaps due to the removal of the stone from a funerary structure.

Meas.: h 28.3, w 48.5, d 6 cm; letters 1.6-3.4 cm (the letters in l.10 are much smaller and written quite hastily).

Findspot: Reportedly from Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Private collection of S. Qedar, Afula (since 1977).



fig. 2477

(cross) Ὑ[.]ΕΡΚΥΜΥΣΕΩΣΚΑΙΑΝΑΠ
 ΑΥΣΕΩΣΤΗΣΑΔΕΛΦΗΣΕΜΩΝ
 ΑΝΕΣΤΑΣΙΑΚΑΙΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ
 ΚΥΡΙΕΤΗΝΨΥΧΗΝΤΗΣΔΟΥΛΗ
 ΣΟΥΑΝΕΣΤΑΣΙΑΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΑΓΙ
 ΩΝΣΟΥΕΝΤΗΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΣΟΥΤΩ
 ΝΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ (cross) ΑΝΕΠΑΗΔΕΕΝ
 ΜΗΠΑΝΕΜΟΥΕΙΤΟΥΔΛΦΕ (cross)
 ΤΟΥΣΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΕΣΙΒ (cross) (palmbranch)
 ΚΑΙ+++++

Ὑ[π]έρ κυμύσεως καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐμῶν | Ἀνεστασία. καὶ ἀνάπασον, |
 κύριε, τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δούλης | (5) σου Ἀνεστασία μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων σου ἐν τῇ βασιλίᾳ
 σου τῶν οὐρανῶν. ἀνεπάη δὲ ἐν | μὴ(νὶ) Πανέμου εἰ, τοῦ δλφ' ἔτους, ἰνδικτιῶνες ιβ' |
 (10) καὶ ++++++

On behalf of the sleep and eternal rest of our sister Anastasia. And let the soul, o Lord, of your servant Anastasia rest with your saints in your kingdom of the heavens. She rested on Panemos 15th of the 534 year, in the 12th indiction (= 9 July 474). And ...

Comm.: l.3f.: cf. below on the missing *sigmas*; l.4: ΠΣΥΧΗΝ Jaroš; l.10 is omitted by Meimaris, SEG and Jaroš; the letters are barely scratched into the stone, and they are only about half as high as the others; certainly a later addition; *καί* is clearly visible on the photo, but the rest is difficult to read: ONIKIM Barag, who was unsure about *nu* and *mu*; ΛΕ++ΜΥ seems visible, ΛΕ+ΣΙΜΥ seems excluded; Ὀνήσιμ[ος or Ὀνησίμ[η--] Di Segni (DGI), preferring the female, because she believes Anastasia to have been a nun (cf. below on l.2).

“The opening words of the inscription are unusual for an epitaph; this, and the odd phonetic spelling, induce a suspicion that whoever dictated this text was not completely at home with the Greek language and style”, Di Segni (DGI) 515. The oddities are the incorrect use of nominative and genitive in ll.3 and 4f., which should read correctly: τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐμῶν Ἀνεστασία<ς>. καὶ ἀνάπαυσον,| κύριε, τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δούλης<ς> | (5) σου Ἀνεστασία<ς> μετὰ κτλ. Cf. Gignac I 124: “Final -ς is frequently omitted in writing regardless of the nature of the following sound ... a) before a word beginning with a consonant (including before σ, where haplography in continuous writing is a possible alternative).” This remark seems to cover all the cases of omitted *sigma* in this text, thereby removing all the problems in regard to the knowledge of Greek the writer possessed.

l.2: a religious sisterhood? Di Segni’s (DGI) interpretation rests on the lack of the mention of any relatives; but the position of the stone in a larger context could have made Anastasia’s relation to some siblings clear. – l.3: on the spelling Anastasia, Di Segni (DGI) quotes IGLS V 2553 b; cf. Noy, IJO I 4, Pan 2: *μημόρια Ανεστασία*. – l.3ff.: Barag suggests that this is part of the burial liturgy used in Gaza. This may be so, but quite similar formulae are not rare, especially the address *ἀνάπαυσον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου*, e.g. IG X 2, 2, 152 (Herakleia Lynkestis); SB 1, 1562 (Antinoopolis): Κύριε, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων; Lefebvre 606 (Nubia): ὁ θεὸς ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου; 804: ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύσῃ αὐ[τῆ]ν μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων; SEG 28, 1396 (Eboda): Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου; Kubinska 49 no. 1, l.23ff. (a very late text, 1007 AD): ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν μετὰ πάντων[ν] τῶν ἁγίων σου· ἀμήν. Of course, these texts might have their origin in a burial liturgy, too. Kubinska refers to “la liturgie alexandrine de St Basile”: γράφοντα ὀνόματα ἡμῶν μετὰ παντὸς χρόρου τῶν ἁγίων σου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν (Renaudot I 79). But, of course, ἀναπαύω with a date is in any case liturgical. – l.6f.: βασιλίᾳ ... τῶν οὐρανῶν, cf. Mt, e.g. 8,11, for the plural (and Lampe s.v. 2!). – l.10: most probably another person was buried here, too.

Bibl.: D. Barag, EI 19, 1987, 242-5 (ph.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 37, 1484; Y. Ashkenazi, Cathedra 60, 1991, 115 (ph.) (Hebr.); Meimaris, Chron. Systems 125 no. 110; DGI 514f. no. 156 fig. 199; Jaroš, Inschriften 446f. no. 290 (ph.). – Cf. E. Renaudot, Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio, 1847; G. Lefebvre, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Égypte 1907; J. Kubinska, Faras IV. Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes, 1974; Feissel, Chroniques 229 no. 730.

Photo: D. Barag, EI 19, 1987, 242.

2478. Tomb of Athanasia with Greek inscription, 548 AD

Slab of white marble; “ornamented at the top with a large cross in open work; to the right and left two stars and two palm branches; on the cross a lozenge; below a small vase” (Clermont-Ganneau).

Meas.: h 72, w 29 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: At the house of the Greek vicar of Gaza (cf. no. 2489).

(cross) ΑΝΕΠΑΗ
ΕΙΜΑΚΑΡ
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΜΗ
ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣΙΟΥ
ΙΖΤΟΥΗΧ
ΕΤΟΥΣ (cross)



fig. 2478

ἀνεπάη | εἰ μακαρ(ία) | Ἀθανασία, μη(νός) | Ἀρτεμησίου | ιζ', τοῦ η'χ' | ἔτους

The blessed Athanasia rested on the 17th of Artemisios, in the year 608 (= 12 May 548 AD).

Comm.: 1.2: *μακαρ(ία)* Germer-Durand, Clermont-Ganneau, interpreting the *eta* as part of the abbreviation *μη(νός)*; 1.3: *Ἀναθασία* Gucker, corr. Feissel. Keel - Küchler: “verbindet die orientalischen Symbole des Lebensbaumes und Sternes mit dem Kreuz”. The indiction is missing.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 242f. no. 4 (dr.); id., Cosmos, 2 April 1892, 18 (edd. prr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 409f. no. 12 (noting another copy made in 1894 by M. van Berchem); Meyer, History 144 no. 23; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 710f. no. 4 fig. 4887 (dr.); Gucker, Gaza 127 no. 12; Meimarīs, Chron. Systems 131 no. 128; DGI 525f. no. 166. – Cf. BE 1893, p. 289; Keel - Küchler 89 no. 67 (dr.); Feissel, Chroniques 228f. no. 729.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 242 no. 4 (dr.).

2479. Tomb of Anastasia with Greek inscription

Marble slab. The letter *delta* in l.2 is peculiar and differs in shape from the others. Such an uncial *delta* is a sure sign of a very late date; cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1902, 47. Meas.: h ca. 40, w 45 cm.

Findspot: House of 'Abdallah es-Serraj, "said to have come from Ascalon" (ed. pr.), but the type of inscription points to Gaza.

(cross) ΗΤΟΥΧΥΚΤΩΝ
ΑΓΙΩΝΔΟΥΛΗΑΝΑ
ΣΤΑΣΙΑΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ
ΜΑΡΗΑΒΔΗΝΟΥΕΝ
ΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ
ΜΗΔΙΩΘΚΤΟΥΗΠΕΤΣ
ΙΝΔΣΖ (cross) (palm branch)

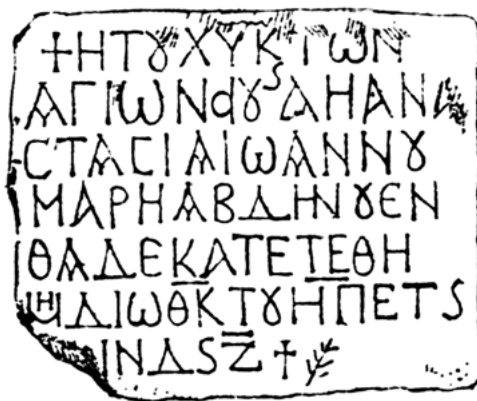


fig. 2479

ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τῶν | ἀγίων δούλη Ἀνα|στασία Ἰωάννου | Μαρηαβδηνοῦ
ἐν|θάδε κατετέθη | μὴ(νὶ) Δίῳ θκ', τοῦ ηπ' ἔ(τους),| ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'

The servant of Christ and the saints, Anastasia daughter of Ioannes Mareabdenus was buried here, on Dios 29th, in the year 88, indiction 7.

Comm.: l.4: Clermont-Ganneau thinks this to be an ethnic, but is unable to point to a town or a country. He goes on to consider the possibility of a patronymicon, recalling the name *Μαρεαβδής*, Soz. HE 2,13,7. See Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnennamen* 72 on *Μαρεαθης* in different spellings. Di Segni (DGI 541) conjectures: "Possibly John's surname came from a village or estate called after its owner, Mareabdes, or dedicated to a saint called Mar Abdas."

l.6: on the problem of the missing numeral in the date and its implications, cf. no. 2489; according to the solution proposed by Di Segni, the stone was erected in the year 6088 since the creation of the world, i.e. 25 November 588 AD.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 413, 427(?) no. 17 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 716 no. 20 fig. 4898 (dr.); Meyer, *History* 145 no. 26; Gucker, *Gaza* 134 no. 20; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 16 no. 4, 54 no. 318; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 71 no. 9; DGI 540f. no. 176*. – Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 425ff.; id., RAO, 1902, 47; L. Di Segni, ARAM 18-19, 2006/07, 113ff.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 413 no. 17 (dr.).

2480. Tomb of Anastasia with Greek inscription, 616 AD

Broken in two pieces; the right side was published by Vincent in 1900; the left side was published by Flinders Petrie; Alt recognized that the pieces belong together (but he remarked that neither Vincent nor Flinders Petrie said something about the kind of stone used, nor did Flinders Petrie give any measurements). Below the inscription is a cross on a trefoiled base, symbolising Golgotha (cf. no. 2483); to the left and to the right of the cross a palm branch.

Meas.: left part: h 30, w 26 cm; letters 2.5 cm.

Findspot: Vincent: “trouvé ... dans une maison arabe à Gaza. Il est actuellement déposé chez le missionnaire latin dom. Gatt.” Flinders Petrie: “now on the flat roof of a house in Gaza, re-used in the construction”.



fig. 2480.1 (left part)

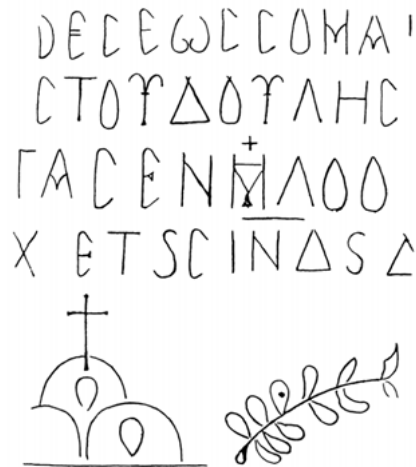


fig. 2480.2 (right part)

(cross) ΣΗΜΑΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΕΩΣ ΣΟΜΑΤ
ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡ[.]ΣΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΗΣ
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΜΗΛΟΟ
ΑΙΤ[.]ΣΟΧΕΤΣΙΝ ΔΣΔ

(palm branch) (cross) (palm branch)

σῆμα καταθέσεως σώμα(ος) | τῆς τοῦ Χρ[ι]στοῦ δούλης | Ἀναστασίας, ἐν μηνί
Λόρ | αἰ, τ[οῦ] ζο[χ] ἔτ(ου)ς, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'

Sign for the burial of the corpse of Christ's servant Anastasia, in the month of Loos, the 11th, year 676, indiction 4 (= 4 August 616).

Comm.: | marks the point where the two fragments meet. It is unnecessary to record the supplements of Vincent and Clermont-Ganneau; l.3: μ(ηνί) Alt, μ(ηνί)

DGI; perhaps Λόγ for Λόφ Alt (“Petrie does not indicate whether ΛΟΟ is followed by a break or a blank”, DGI 533).

In corroboration of his hypothesis that the two fragments belong together, Alt points to the form of the letters, to the cross below the text, parts of which can be seen on both stones, and to some peculiarities of the inscription in comparison with the other funerary inscriptions from Gaza (the words *σῆμα* and *σῶμα*, the missing abbreviation in the name of Christ). Remarkable is the late date of the inscription. – l.1: for a similar beginning, cf. SEG 8, 295 (Nessana); *σῆμα* alone is used in SEG 8, 298 (Beersheba) (and, of course, in poems); l.2: on the servant of Christ, see no. 2498.

Bibl.: L. Vincent, RB 9, 1900, 166f. (dr.); W. Flinders Petrie, Gerar, 1928, 26 no. 56 pl. XIV,1 (edd. prr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RB 9, 1900, 308f. no. 117; id., RAO 4, 1901, 78ff. no. 1 (dr.); H. Leclercq, DACL 5, 1922, 373 no. 13; id., DACL 6, 1924, 712f. no. 9 (dr.); A. Alt, ZDPV 51, 1928, 268ff.; SEG 8, 272; Gucker, Gaza 132 no. 17; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 133f. no. 139; DGI 532ff. no. 171. – Cf. BE 1902, p. 93; A. Barrois, RB 38, 1929, 633.

Photo: L. Vincent, RB 9, 1900, 117 (dr.); W. Flinders Petrie, Gerar, 1928, pl. XIV,1 (dr.).

WA

2481. Tomb of Anastasia with Greek inscription

Findspot: According to Germer-Durand, this stone was found on the “cimetière de Majumas”.

(cross)
(cross) ΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ
ΤΗΝΔΟΥΛΗΝΣΟΥ
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑΝΕΠΙ
ΜΑΧΟΥΔΦΕΣΤ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤΕ
[--]



fig. 2481

κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπαυσον | τὴν δούλην σου | Ἀναστασίαν Ἐπι|μάχου ΔΦΕΣΤ| ἐνθάδε
κατε|[τέθη --]

Lord, give rest to your servant Anastasia daughter of Epimachus ... Here was buried ...

Comm.: l.4: Germer-Durand, who used the same copy, read ΔΙΦΕΣΤ.

l.5: Probably a second epitaph starts here; other examples of two related persons on the same epitaph from Gaza are nos. 2494, 2495 and possibly 2505.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 203ff. (after a copy made by the Russian archimandrite of Jerusalem Antonin) (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 413f. no. 18 (after a copy made by An-

tonin and communicated to Clermont-Ganneau in 1870); Meyer, *History* 145 no. 27; H. Leclercq, *DACL* 6, 1924, 716. no. 21; Glucker, *Gaza* 135 no. 21; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 33 no. 152 (ll.1-4).

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 413 (dr.).

WA

2482. Greek funerary epigram for the Ptolemaic officer Charmadas, 3 c. BC

Limestone; broken in the middle; rough back. Every verse occupies a single line. The mason used guidelines and put a vertical line at the left that marks the beginning of the verses. On the letters cf. Peek 1932, 63: "das Ganze macht den Eindruck größter Sorgfalt; nur freilich, die Buchstaben zeigen einen Duktus, der im Grunde dem Stein nicht adaequat ist, sie sehen aus wie mit dem Stilus geschrieben, leicht, elegant, zierlich, flüssig ... wir haben es offenbar mit Imitation von Buchschrift zu tun".

Roussel 146 compares OGIS 60, where Dittenberger noted: "scripturae genus dissimillimum lapidariae"; further parallels: Vincent 43f.; Mouterde 99: "Comme il arrivait pour les inscriptions phéniciennes et puniques, le texte a sans doute été tracé au calame ou au pinceau sur la pierre, puis livré au lapicide". Vincent 42 believes the stone to have been part of a larger, almost monumental funerary structure.

Meas.: h 87, w 52, d ca. 24 cm; letters 0.8-1.5 cm; interval between the lines: 2.3 cm.

Findspot: Used as a modern tombstone in the Gaza cemetery.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. I-9307. Autopsy: 19 March 2012 (WE).

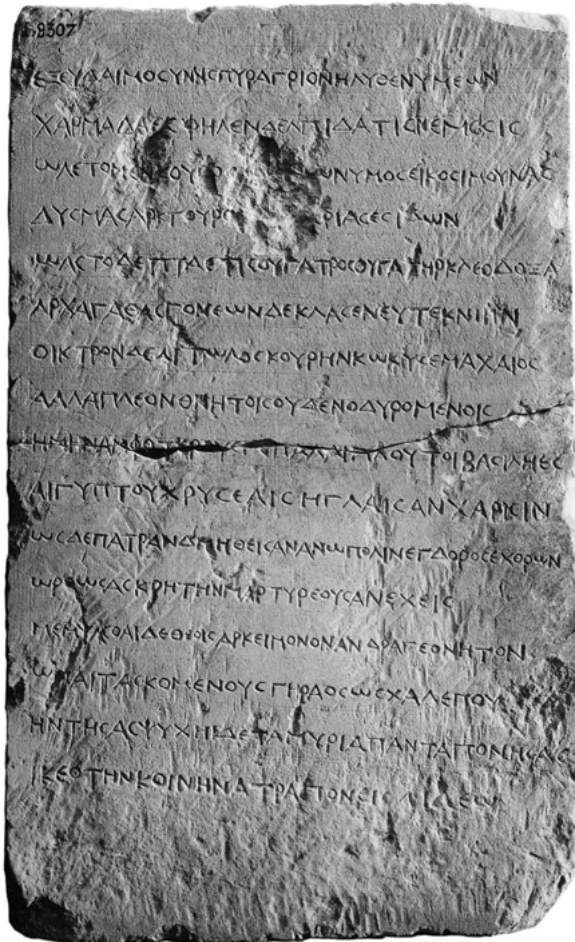


fig. 2482

- ΕΞΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΣΝΗΣΠΥΡΑΓΡΙΟΝΗΛΥΘΕΝΥΜΕΩΝ
 ΧΑΡΜΑΔΑΕΣΦΗΛΕΝΔΕΛΠΙΔΑΤΙΣΝΕΜΕΣΙΣ
 ΩΛΕΤΟΜΕΝΚΟΥΡΟΣ[...]
 ΜΩΝΥΜΟΣΕΙΚΟΣΙΜΟΥΝΑΣ
 ΔΥΣΜΑΣΑΡΚΤΟΥΡΟ[-]ΡΙΑΣΕΣΙΔΩΝ
 5 ΩΛΕΤΟΔΕΠΤΑΕΤΙΣΘΥΤΑΤΡΟΣΘΥΤΑΤΗΡΚΛΕΟΔΟΞΑ
 ΑΡΧΑΓΑΘΑΣΓΟΝΕΩΝΔΕΚΛΑΣΕΝΕΥΤΕΚΝΙΗΝ
 ΟΙΚΤΡΟΝΔΕΑΙΤΩΛΟΣΚΟΥΡΗΝΚΩΚΥΣΕΜΑΧΑΙΟΣ
 ΑΛΛΑΠΛΕΟΝΘΝΗΤΟΙΣΟΥΔΕΝΟΔΥΡΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ
 ΗΜΗΝΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΥΣΓΕΠΑΛΑΙΠΛΟΥΤΟΙΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ
 10 ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥΧΡΥΣΕΑΙΣΗΓΛΑΙΣΑΝΧΑΡΙΣΙΝ
 ΩΣΔΕΠΑΤΡΑΝΔΜΗΘΕΙΣΑΝΑΝΩΠΟΛΙΝΕΓΔΟΡΟΣΕΧΘΡΩΝ
 ΩΡΘΩΣΑΣΚΡΗΤΗΝΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΟΥΣΑΝΕΧΕΙΣ
 ΜΕΜΨΑΣΘΑΙΔΕΘΕΟΙΣΑΡΚΕΙΜΟΝΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΓΕΘΝΗΤΟΝ
 ΩΠΑΙΤΑΣΚΟΜΕΝΟΥΣΓΗΡΑΟΣΩΣΧΑΛΕΠΟΥ
 15 ΗΝΤΗΣΑΣΨΥΧΗΙΔΕΤΑΜΥΡΙΑΠΑΝΤΑΠΟΝΗΣΑΣ
 ΙΚΕΟΤΗΝΚΟΙΝΗΝΑΤΡΑΠΟΝΕΙΣΑΙΔΕΩ

- ἐξ εὐδαιμοσ<ύ>νης πῦρ ἄγριον ἤλυθεν ὑμέων,
 Χαρμάδα, ἔσφηλεν δ' ἐλπίδα τις Νέμεσις·
 ὦλετο μὲν κοῦρος [συνο]μῶνυμος, εἴκοσι μούνας
 δυσμὰς Ἀρκτούρου[υ ἐσπε]ρίας ἐσιδών,
 5 ὦλετο δ' ἑπταέτις θυγατρὸς θυγάτηρ Κλεοδόξα
 Ἀρχαγάθας, γονέων δ' ἔκλασεν εὐτεκνίην·
 οἰκτρὸν δὲ Αἰτωλὸς κούρην κώκυσε Μάχαιος·
 ἀλλὰ πλέον θνητοῖς οὐδὲν ὀδυρομένοις.
 ἧ μὴν ἀμφοτέρους γε παλαίπλουτοι βασιλῆες
 10 Αἰγύπτου χρυσέαις ἡγλάισαν χάρισιν·
 ὥς δὲ πάτρην δμηθεῖσαν Ἀνώπολιν ἐγ δορὸς ἐχθρῶν
 ὠρθωσας, Κρήτην μαρτυρέουσιν ἔχεις.
 μέμψασθαι δὲ θεοῖς ἀρκεῖ μόνον ἄνδρα γε θνητόν·
 ὦ παῖ Τασκομένους, γήραος ὥς χαλεποῦ
 15 ἦντησας, ψυχῇ δὲ τὰ μύρια πάντα πονήσας
 ἵκεο τὴν κοινὴν ἀτραπὸν εἰς Ἄιδεω.

Out of your happiness a wild fire came, Charmadas (PP VI 15251), and your hopes were disappointed by some Nemesis. The young man, who had the same name as you, perished, having seen the late setting of Arcturus only 20 times. Cleodoxa, the seven-year-old daughter of your own daughter Archagatha, died and (thus) broke her parents' joy in their offspring. Pitiable, too, did the Aetolian Machaius (PP VI 15219; Grainger 227; La'da 14 E 95) lament for the young woman; but no profit is there for mortal men in giving way to grief. Both (of you, Charmadas and Machaius) had received golden favors from the Egyptian kings, rich of old. Moreover, you (Charmadas) have Crete as a witness of how you set to right your native Anopolis, after she had been humbled by the spears of foes. For a mortal it is enough to rep-

reheal the gods: o son of Tascomenes, you have met with a bitter old age, and after having survived countless pains with a (brave) soul, you went the common path to Hades. (Translation by Iliffe, some corrections included).

Comm.: l.2: Iliffe thought of *χάρμα*, *δαέσφηλεν* to avoid the hiatus but this is quite unthinkable, and the objections are most cogently laid out by Tod 153; inter alia, the *epsilon* was necessary to shorten the last, long *alpha* of the name; l.3: [πατρ]ώνυμος Iliffe; Peek insisted on a short syllable: [συν]μώνυμος Peek 1932; [συν]ομώνυμος Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften et al.; the photo shows the *omega* clearly and perhaps an upper part of the *mu*, but nothing of an *omicron* is visible before the *mu*; l.4: *δυσμὰς Ἀρκτούρου χειμερίας* with dots under some letters, Iliffe; Ἀρκτούρο[υ χειμε]ρίας Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften, corr. Merkelbach - Stauber; l.11: *ἄνω πόλιν ἐγδορός* Iliffe; l.14: *ὠπαιτασκομένους* Iliffe, who thought about the correct reading in a footnote.

Iliffe (and, following him, some others) thought this epigram to come from the 3 c. AD, but then he thought “the reference to the Egyptian kings of ancient wealth is obscure” – as he thought the reference to Crete obscure. Belayche therefore used this epigram, inter alia, to conclude: “Until the sixth century, with Procopius and Choricius, Hellenism here (scil. in Gaza) was brilliant.” But this is a Hellenistic text, as Peek, Mouterde, Roussel and others immediately saw, and the 3 c. BC was the time of Ptolemaic predominance in Gaza and Crete alike. In fact, one can use this epigram to form an opinion about the strategical importance of Gaza to the Ptolemies (cf. the siege of Gaza by Alexander); Abel calls the city a “ville de garnison”. Studies on Hellenistic mercenaries almost invariably quote the text. Since the whole history of the subjects took place under the Ptolemies and the Ptolemaic kings are mentioned honorably, the poem was very probably written before the beginning of Seleucid rule in Gaza (but cf. Mouterde 99: “le rappel de ces cadeaux ... ne trahit-il pas le regret des temps heureux où Gaza était ville de péage pour les Ptolémées?”).

SEG and Merkelbach - Stauber supply the family's stemma: Tascomenes was the father of Charmadas sr.; Charmadas sr. had two children, Charmadas jr. and Archagatha. Archagatha married Machaius and had a daughter Cleodoxa. The death of Charmadas sr. was the poem's occasion; Machaius was the only survivor. The names of Charmadas and Archagatha stand, respectively, at the beginning of a pentameter; Cleodoxa and Machaius at the end of a hexameter; Tascomenes' name concludes the first half of a pentameter. An in-depth analysis of the style and the meter of this poem can be found at Peek 1932, 65f.; cf. Launey 807 on the poem: “elle respire à la fois la fierté d'une belle carrière, le sentiment le plus délicat de la famille, et cette résignation devant la mort qui est peut-être la plus haute forme de la sagesse.”

l.1: *πῦρ ἄγριον*, a fever, according to Peek; “une fièvre épidémique” Launey 807 n. 3; but in this case *ὕμεων* presents a difficulty, if one refers the fever to the death of Charmadas sr. alone; therefore, Merkelbach - Stauber thought of *πῦρ ἄγριον* as a manifestation of Nemesis and remarked: “Nemesis, Göttin des wechselnden Aus-

gleichs”; better perhaps to assume that Machaius is already included in the *ύμένων*: the death of Charmadas jr. and Archagatha in an epidemic brought an end to the happiness of Charmadas and Machaius.

1.2: Bechtel, Personennamen 468f. on the family of names to which Charmadas belongs (without this name); epigraphically, Charmadas is attested in most parts of the Doric world.

1.3f.: Merkelbach - Stauber’s supplement accords with the language of the astronomers; on the date, June 5th, see F. Boll, RE VI 2, 2427; the meaning is clear: June 5th was the birthday of Charmadas jr. and he died in his 21st year.

1.6: for the name cf. SB I 3436 (Alexandria, 3 c. BC).

1.7: the name is regularly formed, but in itself rare; on the other hand, names with the root *μάχη* are quite common in Aetolia; cf. the adjective as a personal name in IG IX 2, 208 (Melitea): *Μαχάειος* (cf. Masson 420).

1.9: Peek 1932 compares Plut. Ant. 44 for the sentiment: *ἐπεύξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἴ τις ἄρα νέμεσις τὰς πρόσθεν εὐτυχίας αὐτοῦ μέτεισι*.

1.9f.: *ἀμφοτέρους*, i.e. Charmadas sr. and Machaius; *παλαίπλουτοι βασιλῆες*, when taken literally, indicates that they served under more than one king; *παλαίπλουτοι* may indicate that these were not the first Ptolemies; therefore, perhaps, at the end of the reign of Ptolemy III and the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy IV (but cf. Tod 154 n. 2: “The plural ... may be taken literally or rhetorically, or it may refer to a king and his queen-consort.” Merkelbach - Stauber believe that these honorary presents indicate a position among the *φίλοι τοῦ βασιλέως*, but at least in later texts, *φίλοι* are distinguished by special emblems of their rank, cf. Bernand 53ff. no. 5 [Apollonopolis Magna]: *ὃν Εὐέρκται μίτρα ἐπηγλάισαν, συγγενικῆς δόξης ἱερὸν γέρας* with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 124).

1.10: Peek 1932 compares IG XII 3, 1190, 10: *ἐπεὶ γέ με κάποθανοῦσαν ζηλῶν ἀθανάταις ἡγλάισεν χάρισιν*.

1.11: on Anopolis, on the south coast of Crete, see Stephanos s.v. *Ἀραδὴν - πόλις Κρήτης, ἥ καὶ Ἀνώπολις λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἄνω εἶναι*; Inscriptiones Creticae IV 179, 8: *Ἀνωπολῖται*; Roussel observed that the Cretan civil war at the end of the 3 c. BC would give an admirable context for the exploits hinted at; on the movements of mercenaries from Crete to Egypt, cf. Chaniotis (with this text).

1.14: on the name Tascomenes cf. IG II, 2nd ed., 2313, B 35 (2 c. BC): *Τασκομένης Τασκομένους Μάγνης ἀπὸ [Μαιάνδρου]*. Names of this type can be found especially in Crete, cf. Masson 460ff.; LGPN I p. 429.

1.16: *ἵκεο*, epic; *ἄτραπος*, “metaph., walk of life”, LSJ s.v. 2.

Bibl.: J. Iliffe, QDAP 1, 1932, 155f. pl. 59; W. Peek, MDAI(A) 57, 1932, 62-6 pl. 9; R. Mouterde, MUSJ 16, 1932, 98ff. (edd. prr.). – P. Roussel, Aegyptus 13, 1933, 145ff.; M. Schwabe, JPOS 13, 1933, 84ff.; M. Tod, Aegyptus 13, 1933, 152ff.; L. Vincent, in: *Mélanges Maspero* II, 1934, 41ff. with pl.; SEG 8, 269; W. Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften 1. Grab-Epigramme, 1955, 448f. no. 1508; id., Griechische Grabgedichte, 1960, 112 no. 162; Glucker, Gaza 116 no. 1; M. Hornum, Nemesios, 1993, 227f. no. 136 (with transl. by I. Kantzios); Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme 4, 319f. no. 21/05/01.

Cf. IG IX 1, 2nd ed., fasc. 1, p. xxxiii (on Machaius); Phil. Wochenschrift 1933, 1172; BE 1934 p. 254; H. Benecke, *Die Seepolitik der Aitolier*, 1934, 43f.; M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* II, 1939, 6; F.-M. Abel, RB 49, 1940, 63f. (with transl. of l.8ff.); U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* 2, 1941; H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe*, 1948, 297; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, 1969; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, 2nd ed. 1987, 807f. (transl.); 1152 (with further references to this text in Launey's book); O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* 2, 1990; J. Grainger, *Aitolian Prosopographical Studies*, 2000; Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 234; C. La'da, *Foreign Ethnic in Hellenistic Egypt*, 2002; A. Chaniotis, in: id. - P. Ducrey eds., *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, 2002, 111f.; id., *War in the Hellenistic World*, 2005, 80, 104; id., in: E. Olshausen - H. Sonnabend eds., "Trojaner sind wir gewesen" - Migrationen in der antiken Welt, 2006, 102; O. Tal, *The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine*, 2006, 245f., 248 (ph.) (Hebr.).

Photo: IAA.

WA

2483. Tomb of Digunthas with Greek inscription, 541 AD

Slab of marble. "The large cross carved below the inscription is placed on a trefoiled symbol, which in the convention of ancient art stands for a mountain or a hill. I think this should be looked upon as a symbolical representation of Golgotha" (Clermont-Ganneau). This cross on the hill is typical for Gazaan funerary inscriptions, cf. nos. 2480, 2498, 2502, 2575. On this common motif see e. g. Schneider 28f. with n. 5.

Meas.: h 86, w 43 cm.

Findspot: House of Saliba 'Awad (cf. nos. 2493, 2502, 2506), built into the flagging in the interior of the mashrabiyyeh. Woolley - Lawrence saw the stone in the garden of the British Consular Agency at Gaza. Copied in 1870 and squeeze taken in 1874 by Clermont-Ganneau.

(cross) ΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ
ΤΗΝΔΟΥΛΗΝΣΟΥ
ΔΙΓΟΥΝΘΑΝΛΕΟΝ
ΤΙΟΥΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑ
ΤΕΤΕΘΗΜΗΛΩΟΥ
ΚΑΤΟΥΑΧΙΝΔΑ (cross)

(cross)

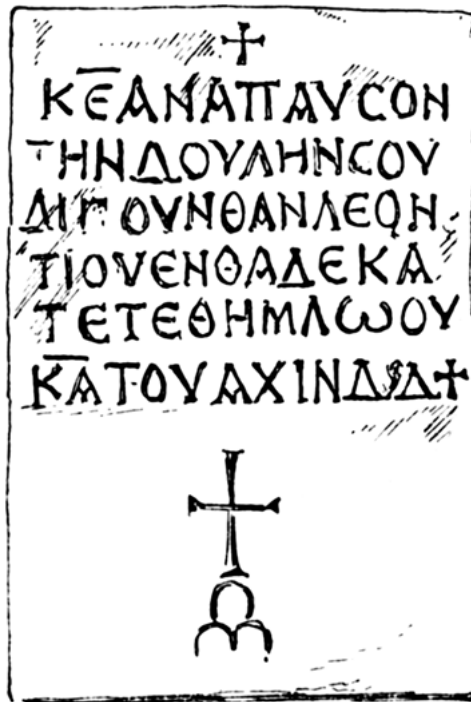


fig. 2483.1

κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπαυσον | τὴν δούλην σου | Διγουνθὰν Λεον|τίου. ἐνθάδε κα|τετέθη μ(η)νὸς)
Λώου | κα', τοῦ αχ' <ἔτους>, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'

Lord, grant rest to your servant Digunthas daughter of Leontius. Here she was buried on Loos 21st, in the year 601, in the fourth indiction (14 August 541 AD).

Comm.: l.4: the name is a problem; Germer-Durand and Clermont-Ganneau thought it to be Germanic – or at least of western origin. The following parallels were supplied by Fiebiger: Dingunda, *Libros confraternitatum* ... ed. P. Piper 1884 (MGH *Necrologiae Germaniae* 6) I 91.6; II 401.21; Thingund: *ibid.* I 134.8; 139.32; II 156.25 6; Tingund: II 410.44. On Goths in Gaza, cf. Dor. Gaz., *Vita Dos.* 11; if the name is German, then Digunthas had some ancestor serving in the Roman army – perhaps a grandfather.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 204f. with dr.; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 407f. no. 8 with ph. of squeeze (edd. prr.). – E. Schürer, SPAW 1896, 1081 no. 5; Meyer, *History* 133 no. 5; L. Woolley - T. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, 1914/15, 134A; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 709f., 715 fig. 4895 (dr.); A. Schneider, *The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes*, 1937; SEG 8, 275; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 129 no. 123; Glucker, *Gaza* 124 no. 9. – Cf. O. Fiebiger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* 47, 1922, 161f.

Photo: H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924 fig. 4895 (dr.); Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 407.



fig. 2483.2 (squeeze)

WA

2484. Tomb of Eireniaus with Greek inscription, 450 AD

Marble slab, the top right corner is broken. The back is rough.
Meas.: h 76, w 40, d 3.5 cm; letters 4.5 cm.

Findspot: Found in 1920, brought to the Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

Pres. loc.: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate,
Jerusalem, inv. no. 825.

(cross) Α (cross) Ω [(cross)]
ΕΝΘΑΚΕΙΤΑ[.]
ΤΟΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ
ΤΡΙΣΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ[.]
ΚΑΙΕΝΑΓΙΟΙΣ
ΠΡΣΗΜΩΝΕΙΡΗ
ΝΑΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΡΕΣΒ[
ΤΟΔΕΠΝΑΠΑΡΑ
ΤΩΘΩΑΜΗΝ (cross)
ΑΝΕΠΑΗΔΕΜΗ
ΝΙΑΥΔΟΝΑΙΩΖ
ΕΤΟΥΣΙΦ (palm branch)
(cross) (cross)



fig. 2484

ἄ(λφα) ὦ(μεγα).| ἔνθα κεῖτα[ι] | τὸ λίψανον | τρισμακαρίο[υ] | καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις |
πατρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Εἰρη|ναίου, τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου).| τὸ δὲ πν(εῦμ)α παρὰ |
τῷ θ(ε)ῷ. ἀμήν.| ἀνεπάη δὲ μὴ|νι Αὐδοναίῳ ζ',| ἔτους ιφ'

Alpha. Omega. Here lie the remains of our thrice blessed father Eirenaius, the priest, (who lives) in the company of saints. His soul is with god. Amen. He rested on Audonaios 7th, in the year 510 (= 2 January 450).

Comm.: l.1: the two letters are below the arms of the middle cross; l.3: there is no space for the article at the end of the line nor at the beginning of l.4, even though Bleckmann and SEG wrote τὸ λίψανον [τοῦ]; l.4: perhaps a stroke of the *upsilon* is left in the break; l.6 πατρ(ά)σ(ιν) Bleckmann, corr. Abel 1925; πρεσβ(ευτ)ο(ῦ) Bleckmann, corr. Abel 1925.

l.5f.: “L’expression τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν est courante dans l’hagiographie byzantine”, Abel. Normally, ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις stands alone as a qualification of the dead; but cf. SEG 8, 300 (Beersheba): ὁ μακά[ρ(ιος) καὶ] ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰωάννης and no. 2476 this vol. For the rank, see Meimaris, Sacred Names 192: “who seems to have been

the superior of a monastery”; l.8: δέ, to emphasize the contrast with his body, which lies here. l.11: the reading Αὐδοναῖος is especially common in Palaestina Tertia, but can also be found in other regions; for Judaea cf. SEG 28, 1395 (Eboda).

Bibl.: F. Abel, Nea Sion 13, 1913, 918f. no. 1 (ed. pr.). – F. Bleckmann, ZDPV 38, 1915, 238 (after the text of Nea Sion); F. Abel, RB 34, 1925, 579f. no. 6 with dr.; SEG 8, 270; H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 875f. no. 4 fig. 9502 (dr.); V. Tzaferis, Museum of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, 1985, 19 no. 2; Glucker, Gaza 121f. no. 4; Meimaris, Sacred Names 23 no. 66 (l.8f.), 192 no. 963, 247 no. 1245; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 124f. no. 108. – Cf. B. Bagatti, Alle origini della chiesa II, 1982, 248f.

Photo: B. Zissu.

WA

2485. Tomb of Gerontius with Greek inscription, 511 AD

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕ
ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ
ΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ
ΓΕΡΟΝΤΙΟΣΤΗ
ΚΒΜΗΛΩΟΥΙΝΔΥΔ
ΤΟΥΑΟΦΕΤΟΥΣ
(cross)



fig. 2485

ἐνθάδε | κατετέθη | ὁ μακάριος | Γερόντιος τῇ | κβ' μηνὸς Λώου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', |
τοῦ αοφ' ἔτους

Here was buried the blessed Gerontius, on Loos 22nd, in the 4th indiction, of the year 571 (= 15 August 511 AD).

Comm.: For the name Gerontius, see the examples collected in DGI 518 n. 30.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 203; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 402 no. 3 (both from a copy made by the Russian archimandrite of Jerusalem Antonin in 1865 and communicated to Clermont-Ganneau in 1870; all editions depend on Germer-Durand and Clermont-Ganneau, hence on the copy of Antonin) (edd. pr.). – E. Schürer, SPAW, 1896, 1080 no. 2; Meyer, History 132f. no. 2; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 713f. no. 11; Glucker, Gaza 122 no. 6; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 127 no. 116.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 402 (dr.).

WA

2486. Tomb of Ioannes with Greek inscription

Slab of marble, much worn.

Meas.: h 35, w 28 cm.

Findspot: House of M. Pickard (in 1870-4; cf. nos. 2501, 2507; “built into the flagging of the courtyard, at the foot of a staircase” (Clermont-Ganneau).

(cross) ANEΠΙ

ΟΜΑΚΑΡ

ΙΩΑΝΝΗ[.]

ΑΜΕΝ[--]

ΗΙ[--]ΕΣ+[--]



fig. 2486.1

ἀνεπ(--) | ὁ μακάριος | Ἰωάννη[ς]. | ἀμέν [--] | ΗΙ[--]ΕΣ+[--]

Rest... the blessed Ioannes. Amen ...



fig. 2486.2

Comm.: l.3: Ἰωάννης? – l.4: η > ε in an accented syllable, before or after a nasal, Gignac I 243.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 414 no. 20 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 146 no. 29; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 716 no. 22 fig. 4899 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 138 no. 24.

Photo: H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 713 fig. 4899 (dr.); Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 414 no. 20 (dr.).

2487. Tomb of Ioannes the priest with Greek inscription, 467 AD

Slab of worn marble, perhaps once used in the floor of a building.

Meas.: h 42, w 42, d 3 cm; letters 3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem (Germer-Durand), now lost.

(cross) ΕΥΛΟΓΗΤΟΣ^{ΚΣ}
 ΑΜΗΝΑΠΕΓΕΝΕ
 ΤΟΤΟΣΚΗΝΩΜΑΤΟΥ
 ΑΓΙΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΥ
 ΜΩΝΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΠΡΕΣΒΥΕΝΜΕΝΙΞΑΝ
 ΔΙΚΟΥΑΚΤΟΥΖΚΦΕ
 ΤΟΥΣΕΙΣΤΟΥΣΑΙΩΝΣ
 ΑΜΗΝ



fig. 2487.1

εὐλογητὸς κ(ύριος),| ἀμήν. ἀπεγένε|το τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ | ἀγίου πατρὸς ὑ|μῶν Ἰωάννου
 τοῦ | πρεσβυ(τέρου), ἐν μενὶ Ξαν|δικοῦ ακ', τοῦ ζκφ' ἔ|τους. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶν<α>ς.| ἀμήν

*Blessed (is) the Lord, Amen. The
 body of our holy father Ioannes, the
 priest, departed on Xanthikos 21st,
 in the year 527 (= 16 April 467). In
 eternity. Amen.*

Comm.: l.1: *gamma* and *eta* were forgotten by the mason and were later added above the line in smaller characters. The formula εὐλόγητος ὁ θεός is more frequent, but cf. SEG 7, 1127 (Moghairé, Arabia); Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a, 154 (Zoora); to be connected with l.8f.

ΓΗ
 ΕΥΛΟΤΟΣ^{ΚΣ}
 ΑΜΗΝΑΠΕΓΕΝΕ
 ΤΟΤΟΣΚΙΝΩΜΑΤΟΥ
 ΑΓΙΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΥ
 ΜΩΝΙΩΑΝΝΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΠΡΕΣΒΥ ΕΝΜΗΝΙΞΑΝ
 ΔΙΚΟΥΑΚΤΟΥΖΚΦΕ
 ΤΟΥΣΕΙΣΤΟΥΣΑΙΩΝΣ
 ΑΜΗΝ

fig. 2487.2

l.3: σκίνωμα Germer-Durand but *eta* and *nu* are written in ligature. 2 Pet 1,13f. uses σκίνωμα twice as equivalent of *body*, and from then on this becomes normal Christian usage (cf. Lampe s.v. 2); LSJ s.v. attests the same usage for Sextus Empiricus, hence it is not restricted to Christians. For the nearest epigraphical parallel, see Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a, 89: μνήμα σκηνώματος ἀποθέσεως Ὁμμαβίης Νίλου.

l.4: πατὴρ ἡμῶν usually designates the superior of a monastery, Meimaris, Sacred Names 239 (but this stone is missing from his parallels on p. 247f.); l.4f.: ὑμῶν: iotacism for ἡμῶν, Gignac I 264f.

l.6: πρεσβ(υτέρου), Germer-Durand; μηνί id.

l.7: for the change of *theta* into *delta*, see Gignac I 96.

l.8f.: αἰῶν[α]ς Germer-Durand. To be connected with l.1, cf. esp. Rom 1,25: ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν; 9,5: ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν; 2 Cor 11,31: ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας etc. Cf. in general on the εἰς αἰῶνα-acclamation, Peterson 168ff.; he reports a Talmudic explanation of the change from the singular to the plural in 170 n. 1, Berakh. 9,5: “Alle, die die Lobsprüche im Tempel schlossen, sprachen: “von Ewigkeit”. Als aber die Freidenker entarteten und sprachen: “Es gibt nur eine Welt”, setzte man fest, daß man sprechen sollte: “Von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit”.”

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, EO 8, 1905, 12f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 719f. no. 33; Meimaris, Sacred Names 66 no. 415 (l.1), 194 no. 972 (ll.3-5); id., Chron. Systems 125 no. 109 (l.5f.); DGI 513f. no. 155 fig. 198A-B.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, Un musée palestinien, 1907, 27 fig. 51; J. Germer-Durand, EO 8, 1905, 12 no. 2 (dr.).

WA

2488. Greek inscription with the name of Isakus

Fragment of a marble plaque with a partial line of Greek; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, square lunate *sigma*, *omicron-epsilon* in ligature.

Meas.: Length of inscribed line: 21 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: A private house in Gaza.

ΙΣΑΚΟΣΙΟΥ[--]

Ἰσακος Ἰου[--]

Isakus, (son) of Iu...

Comm.: The stone was part of the flagging of a terrace in a private house in Gaza. Clermont-Ganneau



fig. 2488

made a squeeze of it in 1874; his ed. pr. contains all the information known about it. The fragment may have belonged to an epitaph or a dedicatory plaque.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 415 no. 22 (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 146 no. 31; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 705-20 at 717 no. 24; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv, 1939, 114 no. 9 (Hebr.); CIJ 2, 968; Glucker, Gaza 139 no. 26.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 415 (dr.).

JJP

2489. Tomb of Megisteria with Greek inscription

White marble slab.

Meas.: h 36, w 21 cm; letters 2.6 cm.

Findspot: At the house of the Greek vicar of Gaza (see no. 2478; cf. also comm. on l.1f.).
Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MA 3358.

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΙΤΑΙΗΤΟΥ
ΧΥΔΟΥΛΗΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ
ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ
ΤΟΝΒΙΟΝΑΠΟΘΕΜΕΝΕ
ΕΝΜΗΔΑΙΣΙΩΔΙΤΟΥΤΑ
ΕΤΙΝΔΒΙ (cross)



fig. 2489

ἐνθάδε κίται ἡ τοῦ | Χ(ριστο)ῦ δούλη Μεγιστηρία, | Τιμοθέου θυγάτηρ, | τὸν βίον
ἀποθεμένε | ἐν μηνί Δαϊσίῳ δι', τοῦ γλ' | ἔτ(ους), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) βι'

Here lies the servant of Christ Megisteria, the daughter of Timotheus, having laid down her life on Daisios 14th, in the year 33, in the 12th indiction.

Comm.: l.1f.: Di Segni 2006/7 uses this formula to voice her belief that “the deceased may have been member of a religious community or pietist group”, but cf. the other daughter of (a?) Timotheus, no. 2498: ἡ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ δούλη Οὐσία, θυγάτηρ Τιμοθέου. It seems that this is a rather common way to denote the Christian faith of a dead person (Meimaris, Sacred Names did not include ἡ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ δούλη vel sim. into his lists).

l.2: Germer-Durand took the father's name to make Megisteria into a sister of Ousia, no. 2498.

l.5: Δαισίω – with a later addition of *iota*; for the numeral at the end of the line.

The numeral for the hundreds is missing. This phenomenon can be found in a few other epitaphs from the same place (nos. 2479, 2504 and in other, earlier instances from Syria, as noted by Seyrig); Schürer saw that these three inscriptions belong to the same, coherent era: the dates and the indictions fit but they do not fit the Gazan era (in the present case neither φγλ' [533] nor χγλ' [633] result in a year with a 12th indiction [but 633 would bring us in the vicinity of no. 2498]). Clermont-Ganneau tried to prove that these stones came from Ascalon, using the Ascalonitan era, but his proof for this origin is tenuous at best and uses an Ascalonitan era starting in 105 BC, a year earlier than the widely known Ascalonitan era; such a divergent era has not been found on any other stone and is therefore rather improbable. Schwartz 386 and Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 68 tried to take the numbers at face value and looked for an era starting in the late 5 or early 6 c. AD without supplying other evidence for such an era in Gaza or Ascalon. Di Segni (DGI 537) mentions the era of Raphia, in which year 533 would correspond to 473/4 (July 474 is a year in the 12th indiction); but she dismisses this notion because she does not believe that the stones travelled the 32 km from Raphia to Gaza, and – more importantly – because dated inscriptions from Raphia used the Egyptian calendar (no. 2564). With all these solutions improbable, Di Segni (DGI 538f. and 2006/7, 113ff.) tried another approach: she refers to an example in which not a numeral for the hundreds, but a numeral for thousands was omitted (cf. Di Segni 1993, 165ff.); year 33 is supposed to mean year 6033 since the creation of the world. Of course, the creation of the world was difficult to fix (the incarnation was dated, respectively, to 5492, 5501 [era of Iulius Africanus], 5509, etc.). Using the era of Africanus, Di Segni equates Daisios 14th, 6033 with June 8th, 534 in indiction 12 (and this coincidence is by far the strongest argument for her hypothesis). One can only speculate why somebody should use this era (Di Segni, DGI 538f. “it is possible that the deceased commemorated in these three epitaphs – two of which at least are called ‘servant of Christ’ – were members of a religious community that kept apart from the common citizens and emphasized their religious commitment by keeping their own mystical count of time.” But it is not explained, why the – in other cases widely used – era from the creation of the world should have had a mystical aspect, and – as said above – the designation of the dead as “servants of Christ” is no convincing evidence for their adherence to a special community).

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 243ff. no. 6 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 411f. no. 15 (after Germer-Durand); Meyer, *History* 144f. no. 24; E. Schürer, SPAW 1896, 1085ff. no. 1; H. Leclercq, DACL 5, 1922, 373; id., DACL 6, 1924, 711f. no. 6 fig. 4889 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 133 no. 18; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 54 no. 317 (l.1f.); Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 70 no. 7; DGI 535ff. no. 174*. – Cf. BE 1893, p. 289; Clermont-Ganneau, RB 9, 1900, 308f.; CRAI 1903, 251; A. Héron de Villefosse - É. Michon, BSAF 1904, 347f.; É. Michon, RB 14, 1905, 572; E. Schwartz, NGG 1906, 340ff.; H. Seyrig, Syria 27, 1950, 47 n. 4; L. Di Segni, IEJ 43, 1993, 165ff.; ead., ARAM 18-19, 2006/07, 113ff.

Photo: D. Lebéé-Carine Déambrosis, courtesy of Museum of Louvre.

2490. Tomb of Metras with Greek inscription, 541 AD

Flagstone made from white marble; broken in three parts, one of which – the upper right corner – is missing; below the last cross “an egg-shaped symbol” (Clermont-Ganneau).

Meas.: h 65 cm, w 50 cm; letters 3.5 cm.

Findspot: Greek convent; squeeze taken in 1874.

(cross) ΜΗΤΡΑΣΚΑ[--]
ΠΩΝΤΟΛΟΙΠ[--]
ΒΕΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΕΝ[..
ΔΕΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΕΤ[.]
ΑΝΕΠΑΗΔΕΕΚ
ΤΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΜΟ
ΧΘΩΝΕΝΜΗΓΟΡΠΙΔ
ΤΟΥΑΧΕΤΙΝΔΕ
(cross)

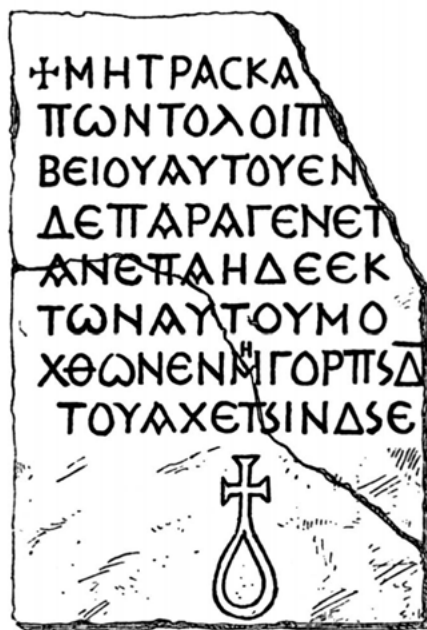


fig. 2490

Μητράς, κα[ταλι]πὼν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ | βείου αὐτοῦ, ἐν[θά]δε παραγένετ[ο]. ἀνεπάη
δὲ ἐκ | τῶν αὐτοῦ μό[χθων ἐν μη(ν)ι Γορπ(ιαίω) δ', | τοῦ αχ' ἔτ(ους), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'

Metras, leaving the rest of his life behind, came here. He rested from his troubles on Gorpaios 4th, of the year 601, of the 5th indiction (= 1 September 541 AD).

Comm.: l.1: Μήτρας Germer-Durand, Glucker; l.1ff.: suppl. Germer-Durand; l.6: αὐτοῦ om. Meyer.

l.1: a shortened version of Metrodoros; the restoration of Germer-Durand can be supported by Beševliev 158f. no. 226: τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας νέον Κᾶρος, ὥτο ἐν μακαρία τῇ μνήμῃ ὁ θάνατος ἐπελθὼν ἐθέρησεν, καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον καταλιπὼν. In Crete one can find καταλιπὼν τὸν μάτεον βίον (Bandy 127 no. 98; 132f. no. 104; 135 no. 106). “The phrase ‘having forsaken the rest of his life’ hints at an untimely

death”, Di Segni (DGI), who points out that nos. 2476 and 2483, and perhaps also no. 2502 all belong to the late summer of 541, indicating the beginning of the Justinianic plague.

l.4: Gignac II 223f.: “The syllabic augment is occasionally omitted in compound verbs whose prefix ends in a vowel”; he quotes inter alia P. Mich. 507, 3: παραγεν[ό]μην; the verb παραγίνομαι is used for the first and second coming of Christ (Lampe s.v.), and it might therefore have an eschatological aspect.

l.5ff.: a somewhat longer variation on a very usual formula, which can be found, e.g., in no. 2504; Le Blant apud Clermont-Ganneau compared Apoc 14,13: Καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λεγούσης· γράψον· μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ’ ἄρτι. ναί, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν, τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ’ αὐτῶν. In any case, this formula shows the real import and context of the normally not expanded ἀνεπάη.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 241f. no. 3 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 408f. no. 10 (dr.); E. Schürer, SPAW, 1896, 1081f. no. 7; Meyer, History 134 no. 7; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 709f. no. 3 fig. 4886 (dr.); B. Bagatti, SBF 3, 1952/53, 138 no. 50; Glucker, Gaza 126 no. 11; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 130 no. 125; DGI 524f. no. 165. – Cf. P. Battifol, BZ 1, 1892, 615; V. Beševliev, Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien, 1964; A. Bandy, The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete, 1970; B. Bagatti, Alle origine della chiesa II, 1982, 248.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 241 no. 3 (dr.).

WA

2491. Greek funerary inscription(?)

“Plaque brute de schiste noir, découpée en cintre” (Germer-Durand); broken in two parts; traces of red color in the letters.

Meas.: h 30 (in the middle), w 70 cm.

Findspot: At the house of the Latin missionary of Gaza.

(cross) MHNA (palm branch)
(palm branch) ΚΟΣΜΙΑΝΗ (palm branch)
ΚΑΣ[Ο]ΤΟΥ

Μηνᾶ | Κοσμιάνη | κασ(ι)γνήτη) οἱ τοῦ

For Menas, Kosmiane his sister.



fig. 2491

Comm.: l.3: αὐτοῦ Germer-Durand,
Meyer, Leclercq.

The former editors believe that the letter forms point to the 5 c.; the formula does not fit easily with other Gazan texts. l.3: Germer-Durand thought that this

abbreviation could only be resolved in *κασ(ι)γνήτη* or *κασ(ις)*, the last form attested in metrical epitaphs. Cf. IGLS III 2, 1117: τὸν ἐαυτῆς κα[σίγνητον(?)] --]; XIII 1, 9438. Gignac I 234: “*αυ* and *ευ* interchange sporadically with other symbols”; he then adduces four examples of *αυ* > *ο*.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 239f. no. 1 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 414 no. 19 (after the copy of Germer-Durand); Meyer, History 145f. no. 28; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 708 no. 1 fig. 1892 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 136 no. 22. – Cf. P. Battifol, BZ 1, 1892, 615.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 239 (dr.).

WA

2492. Tomb of Sosebius with Greek inscription, 587 AD

Meas.: letters 3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Said to have been part of the collection of Baron Ustinov (Jaussen - Vincent; Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ).

(cross) ANEΠΑΕ
ΟΜΑΚΑΡ
ΣΩΣΕΒΙΣ
ΟΓΥ+ΟΚΤΗ
ΠΕΡΙΤΙΓΙΖΜΧ
ΙΝΔΕ

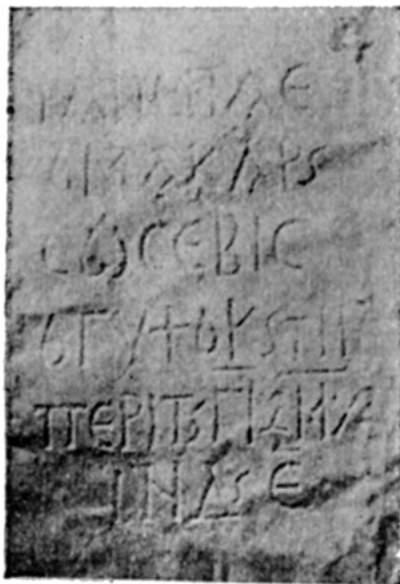


fig. 2492

ἀνεπάε | ὁ μακάρι(ος) | Σωσέβις | ΟΓΥ+ΟΚ(...) τη | Περितिου γι', ζμχ' |
ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) ε'

(Here) rested the blessed Sosebi(u)s, the plasterer(?), on Peritios 13th, 647, indiction 5 (= 7 February 587).

Comm.: l.4: ὁ Γυ+οκ(...) τῇ Jaussen - Vincent; ὁ γυψοκ(όπος) Clermont-Ganneau, interpreting the cross as *psi*; Gucker expected a father's name at this place, but if the line starts with an article, this is improbable; τῇ all edd., ἐν] μῆ(νι) ?; l.5: ζικχ' Meyer. – On the suggested γυψοκ(όπος) see LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v.: “one who powders gypsum”, with reference to Rey-Coquais 23 no. 31: Ἀφροδισίου γυψοκόπου; for the κόπτειν of gypsum, see Theophr., lap. 64.

Bibl.: A. Jaussen - L. Vincent, RB 10, 1901, 580 no. 26 (ph.); Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, PEQ 34, 1902, 137f. no. 16; id., RAO 5, 1902, 57ff. (edd. prr.). – Meyer, History 149 no. 38; Gucker, Gaza 131 no. 15; Meimarīs, Chron. Systems 133 no. 136. – Cf. BE 1904, p. 261; J. Rey-Coquais, Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr I, 1977.

Photo: A. Jaussen - L. Vincent, RB 10, 1901, 580.

WA

2493. Tomb of Stephanus with Greek inscription, 539 AD

“Marble slab in the flagging of a high chamber ... The lower half of the inscription is wanting” (Clermont-Ganneau, who saw the stones in 1870). A similar slab was found in the same chamber flagging: “I unfortunately did not make a squeeze of this second fragment, which would have enabled us to judge whether it fitted on to the preceding. It has every appearance of being the sequel to it” (Clermont-Ganneau). Germer-Durand published the stone as “plaque de marbre” and thought it to be only one. Stone (a): ll.1-4; stone (b): ll.5-7.

Meas.: h 52 [(a) 25, (b) 27], w 36 cm.

Findspot: House of Saliba 'Awad (cf. nos. 2483, 2502, 2506); copied in 1870; squeeze in 1874.

- (a) (cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕ
ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘ[.]
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ Ο
ΕΥΛΑΒ[.]ΜΗ
(b) ΔΕΣΙΩΗΝ
Δ[.]ΒΤΟΥ
ΘΩΦΕΤΟΥΣ



fig. 2493.1 (a) (squeeze)

ἐνθάδε | κατετέθ[η] | Στέφανος ὁ | εὐλαβ(έστατος), μῆ(νι) | Δεσίῳ ἡ', ἐν|δ(ικτιῶνος)
β', τοῦ | θρφ' ἔτους

Here was buried Stephanus, the most pious, on the 8th of the month of Daisios, in the second indiction, of the year 599 (= 2 June 539 AD).

Comm.: 1.4: εὐλαβ(ής) Germer-Durand, εὐλαβ(έστατος) Clermont-Ganneau.

As Clermont-Ganneau indicated, the second stone (b) has every appearance of being the sequel to (a). The similar size might be the result of re-cutting the stones into flagstones, but the letters look alike and the text fits almost perfectly. The only problem seems to lie in the adjective εὐλαβ(έστατος): “Épithète réservée aux ecclésiastiques de rang inférieur, ou au clergé pris collectivement” (Hanton 90). Since there is no possible rank starting with MH[--], one has to conclude that Stephanus was an ecclesiastic, but did not bother to have his rank inscribed; cf. for this phenomenon e.g. Rey-Coquais 15 no. 21 C; MAMA III 517 (Korykos).

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 204 (according to a copy made by the Russian archimandrite of Jerusalem Antonin in 1865); Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 404 no. 5A-B with ph. of his squeeze and dr. (edd. prr.). – E. Schürer, SPAW, 1896, 1081 no. 4 (only l. 5-7); Meyer, History 133 no. 4 (1.4ff.), 143 no. 19; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 714 no. 12; Glucker, Gaza 124 no. 8; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 128 no. 19. – Cf. E. Hanton, Byzantion 4, 1927, 53ff.; J. Rey-Coquais, Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr I, 1977.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 404 (ph. and dr.); J. Germer-Durand, RB 2, 1893, 204 (dr.).

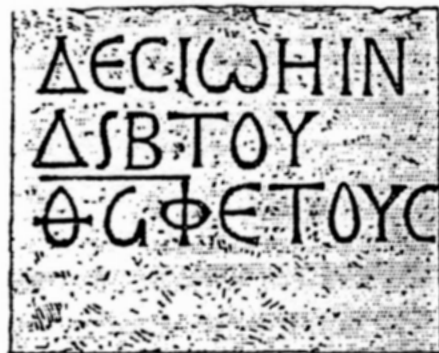


fig. 2493.2 (b)



fig. 2493.3 (a) and (b)

2494. Tomb of Stephanus, Stephane and Georgius with Greek inscription

Very worn plaque of marble.

Meas.: h 47, w 30 cm; letters 3.5 cm
(l.10f.: 1.5 cm).

Findspot: Gaza (Germer-Durand).

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΙ[--]

ΟΙΥΙΟΙΤΟΥ[--]

ΟΥΕΡΣΕΝΟΥΦΙΟΥ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣΜΕΝΚ[.]

ΣΤΕΦΑΝ[.]ΑΝΑ

ΠΑΕΝΤΕΣΜΗΠΑΥ

Ν[Γ]ΕΩΡΓΙΟΣΔΕ

Κ[Τ]ΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΜΗ

ΙΝΔΙΚΤ[Δ] (cross)

ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣΠΡΟΣΠΟΔΑΤΟΥ

ΕΤΕΡΟΥ (cross)

+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΙ///

ΟΙΥΙΟΙΤΟΥ////

ΟΥΕΡΣΕΝΟΥΦΙΟΥ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣΚΕΝΚ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝ/// ΑΝΑ

ΠΑΕΝΤΕΣΜ^ΗΠΑΥ

ΝΣΘΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣΔΕ

ΚΓΤΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ^ΗΜ

ΙΝΔΙΚΤΣΔ +

ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣΠΡΟΣΠΟΔΑΤΟΥ

ΕΤΕΡΟΥ +

fig. 2494

ἐνθάδε κείμενοι | οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ [--] | Οὐερσενουφίου, | Στέφανος μὲν καὶ | Στεφάν[η],
ἀναπαέντες μὴ(νὸς) Παυλ(ῆ) θ', Γεώργιος δὲ | καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ(νὸς), | ἰνδικτ(ιῶνος)
δ'. | ἕκαστος πρὸς πόδα τοῦ ἑτέρου.

Here lie the children of the ... Versenuphius, Stephanus and Stephane, having gone to rest on Payni 9th, Georgius on the 23rd of the same month, indiction 4. Each one at the foot of the other.

Comm.: l.1: κεί[νται], Germer-Durand, is perhaps a trifle too long; Alt wrote κεί[ντε]; l.2f.: [-- μαχαρί]ου Ἐρσενουφίου Germer-Durand, [μαχαρ.?] | Οὐερσενουφίου Alt; [--] Οὐερσενουφίου Gucker; l.4: ΚΕΝ dr., μὲν all edd.; καί all edd.; neither does the drawing indicate a lacuna nor an abbreviation mark after *kappa*; but the lack of the abbreviation mark in itself indicates a lacuna and the first lines do not use abbreviations.

l.2: υἱός, LSJ s.v. 3: “generally, child”; “sans doute des enfants en bas âge”, Germer-Durand. The supplement μαχαρίου would suggest that the father is already dead; but why call the father μαχάριος and not the ones buried here?

l.3: the Egyptian Name Wrsj-nfr, Wersenufis, points to an Egyptian origin of the father (Preisigke, NB 247), cf. the use of the Egyptian month and, for instance, the monk Barsanuphis in Late Antique Gaza.

l.8f.: Di Segni (DGI 525 n. 36): “To the evidence from Gaza (scil. for the plague of 541) one should probably add the collective epitaph of a father and his three chil-

dren, who died within a few days in June of an unspecified year, in the 4th indiction ... June 541 fell in the 4th indiction.”

l.10f.: There seems to be no parallel nor any other elucidation of these lines.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 249f. (after a squeeze by Père Biguet) (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 13, 1937, 874f.; SEG 8, 271; Glucker, Gaza 137 no. 23. – Cf. BE 1895, p. 462; A. Alt, ZDPV 47, 1924, 97f. no. 8; B. Bagatti, *Alle origini della chiesa II*, 1982, 245.

Photo: J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 249 (dr.).

WA

2495. Tomb of Theodora and Elias with Greek inscription, 602 and 609 AD

Square piece of marble, completely preserved.

Meas.: h 29.5, w 29.5, d 3.6 cm; letters 2.5-2.7 cm.

Findspot: Window sill in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. I-9052. Autopsy: 19 March 2012 (WE).

(cross) ΚΑΤΕΤΗΘΗΗ
ΔΟΥΛΗΤΟΥΧΥΘΕΟ
ΔΩΡΑΜΗΔΑΙΣΙΟΥ
ΕΤΟΥΒΕΧΙΝΔΕ (palm branch)
(cross) ΚΑΤΕΤΗΘΗΟΤΟΥ
ΧΥΔΟΥΛΟΣΗΛΙΑΣ
ΜΗΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΒΚ
ΤΟΥΘΕΧΙΝΔΕΓΙ (cross)



fig. 2495.1

κατετήθη ή | δούλη τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Θεο|δώρα μη(νός) Δαισίου | ε', τοῦ β'χ' (ἔτους), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'. | κατετήθη ὁ τοῦ | Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦλος Ἡλίας, | μη(νός) Ὑπερβερετ(αίου) βκ' | τοῦ θ'χ' <ἔτους>, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γι'

Theodora, the servant of Christ, was laid down on Daisios 5th, (in the year) 662, indiction 5 (= 30 May 602). Elias, the servant of Christ, was laid down on Hyperberetaios 22nd, of the year 669, indiction 13 (= 19 October 609).

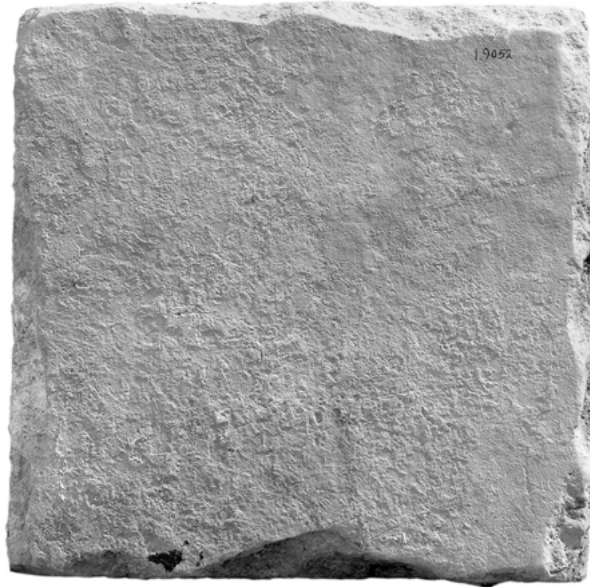


fig. 2495.2



fig. 2495.3 (squeeze)

Comm.: l.2: on δούλη τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) cf. no. 2489. The indiction changes on October 1st. For another example of the personal name Elias, cf. no. 2534. l.3: the initial letter is *delta*, see the photo of Clermont-Ganneau's squeeze; l.4: ἔτ(ους) Germer-Durand, corr. Clermont-Ganneau; the dash above the initial *epsilon* and the *omicron-epsilon*-ligature above the *tau* can be easily recognized in the squeeze; l.7:

Ὑπερβερετ(αίου) ζ' Germer-Durand, corr. Clermont-Ganneau. The two last lines have suffered severely since the squeeze was taken.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 3, 1894, 248-57 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 411 no. 14A-B (ph.); E. Schürer, SPAW 1896, 1082 nos. 9-10; Meyer, History 134 no. 9; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 715 no. 18 fig. 4897 (dr.); id., DACL 13, 1937, 874 no. 1; Glucker, Gaza 132 no. 16; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 133 no. 138; Meimaris, Sacred Names 54 no. 315 (l.2f.), no. 316 (l.5f.); DGI 531f. no. 170 fig. 213. – Cf. BE 1895, p. 462.

Photo: WE; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 411.

WA

2496. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Marble tablet, the first lines are lost, but it seems that the last line is preserved. The back is rough.

Meas.: h 35, w 26, d 3.6-4.0 cm; letters 4.5-5 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA near Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1941-2. Autopsy: 19 March 2012 (WE).

[--]X+[--]
 NOIANΠIOIH
 ΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ (cross)
 ΚΑΙΘΕΟΔΩ
 ΡΟΥΑΙΔΕΚΑ



fig. 2496.1

[--]X+[-- πρό?]|νοϊαν ποιη|σαμένου | καὶ Θεοδώ|ρου αἰδ(εσιμωτάτου) ἐχδ(ίκου)

... (N.N.) having taken care and Theodorus, the most respectable defensor (of the city) having ...

Comm.: 1.1f.: suppl. by D. Kossmann; 1.5: αἰδ(εσίμου)? The lack of the article is a (minor) problem.

1.1f.: the content, but not the outer form suggests that the care for a building is mentioned.

1.5: Mentzou-Meimare read τοῦ ἐδε(σιμωτάτου) | ἐκδ(ίκου) in Feissel no. 71; SEG 35, 1523, 1ff. (Seleucia Pieria, decree on sportulae, 6 c. AD) with the supplement of Delmaire 278 no. 181 (SEG 39, 1592): ἐπὶ Φλ(αβίου) Εὐφρον[ίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος)] τῆς Αἴω τὸ β' κ(αι) τοῦ α[ἰδεσιμ(ωτάτου) ἐκδ(ίκου)] τῆς Σελευκέων πόλ[εως τοῦ δεῖνα]; further parallels for the title in Mentzou-Meimare. – For the use in a building inscription in connection with a secular office, cf. Welles no. 276: [ἐπὶ Φ]

λ. Φιλοκά[λου(?) τοῦ μεγαλο]πρ(επεστάτου) δουκὸς καὶ [ἡγε]μόνος τ[ὸ(?) -- α]ἰδεσιμώτα[τος] (perhaps rather another genitive here?). Cf. in general Hornickel 1f. on αἰδέσιμος: "Prädikat von unteren Staats- und Gemeindebeamten und Privatpersonen."

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Cf. O. Hornickel, Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden, 1930; C. Welles, in: C. Kraeling ed., Gerasa, 1938, 355ff.; D. Feissel, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VI siècle, 1983; K. Mentzou-Meimare, ByzZ 77, 1984, 322ff.; R. Delmaire, Les responsables des finances imperiales au Bas-Empire romain (IVe-VIe s.), 1989.

Photo: IAA; WE.



fig. 2496.2

WA

2497. Tomb of Theodote with Greek inscription, 529 AD

Small marble slab, broken in three pieces, one of which is missing.

Meas.: h 30 cm.

Findspot: In the courtyard of the house of 'Atta'llah et-Terzy, used as a flagstone (see also no. 2499).

(cross) ΘΗΚΗΤΗ[--]
 ΘΕΩΔΟΤΗΣΘ[--]
 ΤΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ[+[-]
 ΚΑΙΜΕΓΑΛΗΣΑ[.]
 ΠΑΗΜΗΞΑΝΘΙΚΘ[.]
 ΤΟΥΘΠΦΕΤΟΥ[.]
 (cross) ΝΔΙΖ (cross)
 (cross)
 (palm branch)

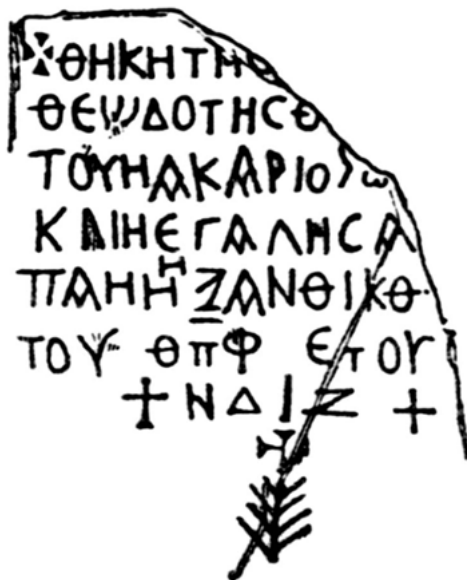


fig. 2497

θήκη τῆς μακαρίας | Θεωδότης, θυγατρὸς | τοῦ μακαριο(τάτου) Β[άλυος] | καὶ
 Μεγάλης. ἀ[νε]πάη μὴ(νὸς) Χανθικ'οῦ[.], | τοῦ θπφ' ἔτου[ς], | <ι>νδι(κτιῶνος) ζ'

Tomb of the blessed Theodote daughter of the most blessed Balys and of Megale. She rested on Xanthikos ...th, in the year 589, indiction 7 (= March/April 529 AD).

Comm.: 1.3: suppl. Clermont-Ganneau, cf. no. 2499; 1.5: Χανθικ(οῦ) θ' Clermont-Ganneau, but we need at least two letters in the lacuna.

No. 2499 surely belongs to the same family; Theodote is the sister of Zenon mentioned there. She died 24 years after her brother; since Balys is μακαριότατος in this inscription, but was not in no. 2499, he died after Zenon and before Theodote. – Germer-Durand thinks Balys to be a semitic name (Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 32 has Balas). Megale and cognate names are not rare in the area of the Corpus, cf. the examples assembled at DGI 517 n. 29 and, e.g., Canova 42f. no. 15. Clermont-Ganneau's reading Xanthikos 9th would equate to April 4th.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 403 no. 4 with dr.; E. Schürer, SPAW, 1896, 1080f. no. 3 (edd. prr.). – Meyer, *History* 133 no. 3; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 710 no. 10, 713 fig. 4892 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 123 no. 7; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 128 no. 118; DGI 518f. no. 159 (all editions depend on Clermont-Ganneau). – Cf. R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, 1954.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 403 (dr.).

2498. Tomb of Usia with Greek inscription, 563 AD

Slab of white marble. On the trefoiled stand of the cross as a representation of Golgotha, cf. no. 2483.

Meas.: h 52, w 41 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: Squeeze taken in 1874 by Clermont-Ganneau.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MA 3357.

(cross) ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑΤ
ΕΤΗΘΗΗΤΟΥΘΥΔΟ
ΥΛΗΟΥΣΙΑΘΥΓΑΤ
ΗΡΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥΕΝ
ΜΗΔΑΙΣΙΟΥΑΙΤΟΥΚΑ
ΤΑΓΑΖΓΚΧΙΝ
ΔΑΙ (cross)

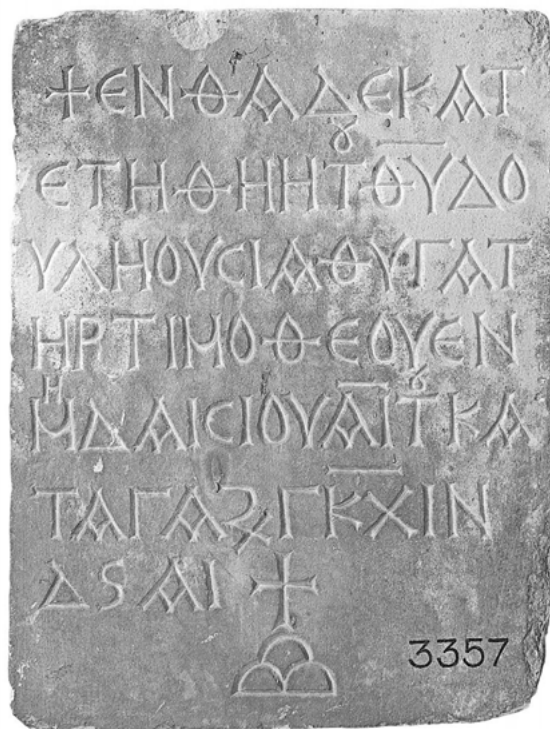


fig. 2498

ἐνθάδε κατ|ετήθη ἡ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ δο|ύλη Οὐσία, θυγάτηρ Τιμοθέου, ἐν | μη(νὶ) Δαίσιου
αἰ', τοῦ κατὰ Γαζ(αίους) γκχ', ἐν|δ(ικτιῶνος) αἰ'

Here was buried the servant of God Usia, the daughter of Timotheus, on Daisios 11th, in the year 623 according to the Gazaeans, in the 11th indiction (= 5 June 563).

Comm.: l.3: for the name, cf. Canova 276f. no. 293 (Kh. el-Qaryatain): ἐνθάδε χῖτε Οὐσία, ζήσασα ἔτη ξ'.

l.5: one may note the discrepancy in the grammatical cases (but of course, ἐν μη(νός) is not really excluded).

1.5f.: Clermont-Ganneau compared Mark the Deacon, Life of Porphyry 103: ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων, μηνὶ Δύστρῳ δευτέρᾳ, ἔτους κατὰ Γαζαίους ὀγδοηκοστοῦ τετρακοσιοστοῦ. Cf. in general Meimaris, Chron. Systems 120: “A small number of sixth century inscriptions name categorically the era κατὰ Γαζαίους (...) or the calendar κατὰ Γάζ(ην) in use ... The phenomenon of the emphatical designation of a city dating system is always due to a special reason: either the era or the calendar was used outside the territory where these systems were valid and thus self-evident, or their clear indication emphasized the contrast between two simultaneously used dating systems.” Only the present inscription seems to contradict his rule; therefore he notes on p. 121: “Maiumas ... falls well within the city territory ... But the examination of its historical background may account for this discrepancy. The citizens of the port of Maiumas continually strove for their independence and never quite recognized the status of Gaza ... In view of this idiosyncratic co-existence ... the explicit reference to the era of the metropolis is not striking” (cf. Schwartz). The problem, of course, lies in the fact that Maiumas is nowhere mentioned as a findspot of this text (Clermont-Ganneau II 410 n.* notes expressis verbis that he has no memory of the original whereabouts of this stone; he makes only a very general remark at the beginning of his series of editions from Gaza, where Maiumas is mentioned, II 400: “The exact sources of these inscriptions are difficult to determine. Many of them were found on the sea-front, not far from the place where the ancient Maiumas, the port of Gaza, must have stood.”)

1.6: Γάζ(ην) Germer-Durand.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 243 no. 5 with dr. (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 410 no. 13 with ph. of squeeze; E. Schürer, SPAW 1896, 1082 no. 8; Meyer, History 134 no. 8; H. Leclercq, DACL 5, 1922, 373; id., DACL 6, 1924, 712 no. 5 fig. 4888 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 127 no. 13; Meimaris, Sacred Names 23 no. 67 (ll.1-4); id., Chron. Systems 132 no. 132; Bagatti, Judaea 164 fig. 26. – Cf. BE 1893, p. 289; C. Wilson, PEQ 34, 1902, 150 (ph. of squeeze); CRAI 1903, 251; A. Héron de Villefosse - É. Michon, BSAF 1904, 347f.; É. Michon, RB 14, 1905, 572; E. Schwartz, NGG 1906, 386; R. Canova, Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab, 1954; Feissel, Chroniques 228f. no. 729.

Photo: M. and P. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre.

WA

2499. Tomb of Zenon with Greek inscription, 505 AD (?)

Slab of marble, broken in two parts, similar to no. 2497. “The B’s incline to a cursive small capital form of which examples are found in Byzantine paleography at the end of the fifth century” (Clermont-Ganneau).

Meas.: h 24, w 24 cm; letters 2.5 cm.

Findspot: In the courtyard of the house of 'Atta'llah et-Terzy (see also no. 2497).
Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MA 3359.

(cross) ΘΗΚΗΤΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙ
 ΟΤΑΤΟΥΖΗΝΟΝΟΣΥΙ
 ΟΥΒΑΛΥΟΣΚΑΙΜΕΓΑ
 ΛΗΣΕΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗ
 ΜΗΝΙΥΒΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΕΟΥ
 ΒΚΤΟΥΕΞΦΕΤΟΥΣ
 ΙΝΔΓΙ (cross) (palm branch)



fig. 2499

θήκη τοῦ μακαρί|οτάτου Ζήνονος, υἱ|οῦ Βάλυος καὶ Μεγά|λης. ἐκατετέθη | μηνί
 Ὑβερβερετέου | βκ', τοῦ ἐξφ' ἔτους, | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γι'

Tomb of the most blessed Zenon, the son of Balys and Megale. He was buried on Hyperberetaios 22nd, in the year 565, indiction 13 (= 19 October 505?).

Comm.: 1.7: γι' on the stone. The form of the *beta* is most unusual. – No. 2497 surely belongs to the same family; Zenon is the brother of Theodote mentioned there. He died 24 years before his sister; his father Balys was still alive. On the date see Meimaris and Di Segni (DGI 516): “Year 565 of the Gazean era corresponds to 504/5. As Hyperberetaios, beginning on September 28, was the last month of the Gazean calendar, the date would be October 19, 505 which fell not in the 13th, but in the 14th indiction. The writer may have simply forgotten to account for the new indiction that had begun less than two months before.” She continues to show that Hyperberetaios 22nd can fall only in the 13th indiction (and then in the year 504), if there was a subconscious adaptation of the Ascalonitan calendar, where the year began with Hyperberetaios on October 28th.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 240f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 401f. no. 2; E. Schürer, SPAW 1896, 1080 no. 1; Meyer, History 132 no. 1; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 710 no. 3; Gucker, Gaza 122 no. 5; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 126 no. 113; DGI 515ff. no. 157 with fig. 200A-B. – Cf. CRAI 1903, 251; A. Héron de Villefosse - É. Michon, BSAF 1904, 347f.; É. Michon, RB 14, 1905, 572.

Photo: D. Lebéé-Carine Déambrosis, courtesy of Museum of Louvre.

2500. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Marble slab; it seems that the end of the last line is preserved.

Meas.: w 23 cm.

Findspot: "Brought to our tent by a native" (Clermont-Ganneau).

[--]++[--]

[--]ΙΑΝΟΣ

[--]++[--]ΙΑΝΟΣ

Comm.: l.1: two letters, the first a *mu*, *omega* or even *beta*; the second perhaps a *kappa*.

The *alpha* points to a late date for this inscription; the position of the letters in the last line makes a personal name (-ianus) in the nominative a bit unlikely.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 415 no. 23 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 146 no. 32; Glucker, Gaza 139 no. 27.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 415 (dr.).



fig. 2500

WA

2501. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Slab of stone; carelessly cut inscription.

Meas.: w 32 cm.

Findspot: In the house of Pickard (1870-4; cf. nos. 2486, 2507); "built into the facing of the embrasure of a window" (Clermont-Ganneau).

[--]

[--]ΜΙΟΣΜΕΝΜΗ

[--]ΜΦΑΜΕΝ

[--]ΟΕ

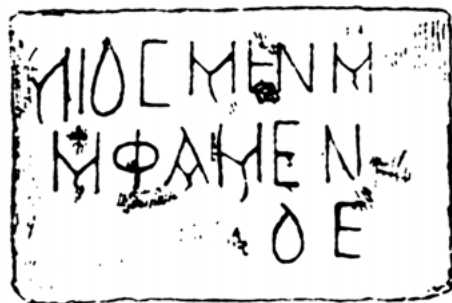


fig. 2501

[--]--]ΜΙΟΣΜ ἐν μνη(νι) | [--]ΜΦ ἀμέν. | [--]ΟΕ

Comm.: l.2: Clermont-Ganneau suggested Abraamius, but any other name is possible, too; [--]μιος “μὸναχος) or perhaps μόν(αχος), since the *epsilon* is uncertain” DGI 535; l.3: [--]ετους) μϕ’, i.e. in the year 540 (= 479/80 AD)? Meimaris; Di Segni (DGI 535) pointed out that a letter (*alpha*/*theta*) may be missing before *mu*; furthermore, she discusses whether one may read [ινδ(ιχτι)]δ(νος) ε’ in the last line – resulting in [-- β]μϕ’, i.e. year 542 (AD 481/2), fifth indiction.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 401 no. 1 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 142f. no. 18; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 708 no. 2; Glucker, Gaza 139 no. 30; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 125f. no. 111; DGI 534f. no. 173*.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 401 (dr.).

WA

2502. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Fragment of marble; obviously re-cut to fit into another place, perhaps into the flagging where it was found. On the trefoiled stand of the cross as a representation of Golgotha, cf. no. 2483.

Meas.: h (of cross) 12 cm.

Findspot: House of Saliba ‘Awad (cf. nos. 2483, 2493, 2506), in the flagging of a high chamber.

[--]
TOYAX++[--]
(cross)

[--] | τοῦ αχ’ <ετους> ++[--]

... of the year 601 (= 540/1 AD) ...

Comm.: The drawing does not support the restoration *ινδ(ιχτιῶνος)* at the end of the extant line, but perhaps the traces can be reconciled with a *mu*, i.e. *μη(νός)*.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 409 no. 11 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 144 no. 22; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 715 no. 17; Glucker, Gaza 140 no. 32; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 129 no. 122.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 409 (dr.).

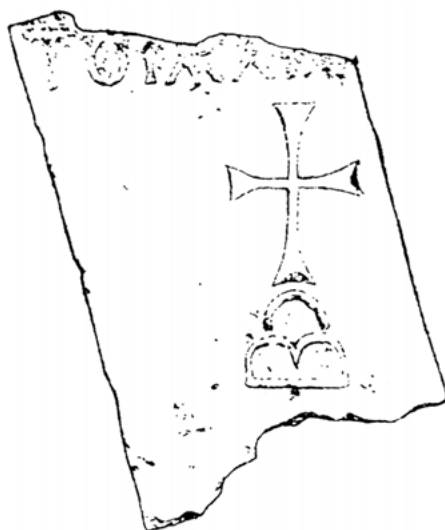


fig. 2502

WA

2503. A Greek verse epitaph

Blue marble.

Meas.: h 87, w 66.5 cm.

Findspot: "On the threshold of a native house at Gaza" (Flinders Petrie).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. I-9212.

[--]Ο/ΩΠΟΣΑΛΟ[--]
 ΠΡΩΤΟΟΡΟΝΟΣΩΦΙΛΕΒΟΥΛΗΣ
 ΟΣΤΕΛΕΩΝΣΤΑΔΙΟΙΣΙΝ
 ΑΕΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΙΣΙΝΑΓΩΝΑΣ
 ΩΙΧΕΤΟΠΡΟΣΔΕΚΑΤΩΙ
 ΕΤΟΣΕΒΔΟΜΟΝΟΥΤΙΠΑΡΕΛΘΩΝ
 ΚΑΤΕΤΕΘΗΤΗΣΑΝ
 ΘΙΚΟΥΣΙΤΟΥΘΚΧΕΤΟΥΣ
 ΊΝΔΙΒ



fig. 2503

[--]ο/ωποσαλο[--] | πρωτό'θ'ρονος, ὦ φίλε, βουλῆς, | ὃς τελέων σταδίοισιν |
 ἀεθλοφόροις ἀγῶνας | ὥιχετο πρὸς δεκάτῳ | ἔτος ἑβδομον οὔτι παρελθών. |
 κατετέθη τῇ Ξανθικοῦ σι' τοῦ θκχ' ἔτους, | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'

... (having), o friend, the first seat in the council, who – winning contests in the stadia, where prizes were to be won – ran to his 17th year without ever arriving. He was buried on Xanthikos 16th, in the year 629 (= 11 April 569 AD), in the second year of the indiction. (Using the translation by Gardner apud Flinders Petrie and S. Remijsen 79).

Comm.: | marks a point, where the end of the line and the end of a verse coincide. l.1: the first letter could be an *omicron* or a damaged *omega*, too; if the latter is the case, some possibilities open up, none without problems: it could be either the end of a name in the nominative or genitive, e.g. Μελάνωπος, Ἰνωπος, or an adjective, εὐπρόσωπος, φιλάνθρωπος; ΑΛΟ would translate most easily into a form of ἄλοχος

(problems with the meter withstanding, not having seen a spouse would be a fit remark); if we assume a not completely correct orthography, the possibilities multiply; Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 18 on names starting with Alo-; l.2: “HC at the end of the line are damaged but quite identifiable”, Di Segni (DGI 528); l.3: ΠΡΩΤΟΟΡΟΝΟΣ lapis; l.7: τῇ Ξανθικοῦ – the *tau* is clearly visible.

“The epigram is composed of regular hexameters, perfectly correct in scansion and spelling, up to the epic desinence of dative plural and iota adscriptum in the verbal augment and in the dative singular” Di Segni (DGI).

l.2: “o friend” addresses either the young dead or the reader (and Merkelbach - Stauber translate “freundlicher Leser”). In this case, the young athlete was called a *πρωτόθρονος* ... *βουλῆς*. Now, a *βουλή* as a whole can be *πρωτόθρονος*: Pleket apud SEG adduced IGUR III 1155: ἡ μὲν ἄνασσα[ν] ἐς βουλὴν ἀγέρεσθαι, ἵνα πρωτόθρονες ἔδραι (“this implies that the seats of the boule ... as a whole are *πρωτόθρονος*; in that case individual seats are also *πρωτόθρονος*, so that our young athlete may just have been a member of the council” Pleket), but this *βουλή* is the Roman senate, and naturally the seats in the senate were not to be compared with seats in other councils, and whereas they were really *πρωτόθρονος*, the designation might not apply to other seats in other councils. A similar case is (Ps.?) Nonnus, *Paraphrasis Ev. Joh.* 11,188ff.: καὶ ἄφρονες ἀρχιερεῖς εἰς ἀγορὴν ἀγέροντο πολύθροον, ἧχι γερόντων εἰς ἐν ἀγειρομένων πρωτόθρονος ἔξετο βουλῇ. In this case, the *πρωτόθρονος βουλή* is the great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, and one might argue that it seemed as important to Nonnus as the Roman senate to Marcellus of Side. If, then, these parallels are not perfect, one might adduce Roueché 114f. no. 73 (Aphrodisias): πατρίς Ἰωάννην πρωτόθρονον ἀνέρα βουλῆς στῆσεν δεξαμένη θρεπτήρια πολλάκι πολλά. In this case, the *πρωτόθρονος ἀνὴρ βουλῆς* is not a simple member of the council, but a specially honored member (and *πρωτόθρονος* might be seen as an equivalent to *προεδρία*). Merkelbach - Stauber comment: “Der Ehrensitz im Rat erklärt sich wohl daraus, dass der reiche Vater im Namen des Sohnes und zur Vorbereitung seiner Karriere große Spenden gemacht hatte.”

l.3f.: Pleket apud SEG: “scions of elite families apparently still participated in the athletic contests and prided themselves on that behaviour.” But Di Segni (DGI) argued that the dead was too young to have been a renowned athlete, whereas she deems it quite possible that this is another instance of agonistic terminology used to describe a Christian way of life (not necessarily ascetic or monastic). S. Remijsen 79 combines both reasonings: “In Gaza, a boy of sixteen was praised for ‘winning contests in the stadia where prizes were to be won’ ... Gaza was in the fifth and sixth century mostly Christian, but in its famous school of rhetorics young men were still taught their classics. The hexameters indicate that the boy came from this hellenophile circle. Members of the school such as Choricus or Aeneas, though Christians, knew classical culture well and often used agonistic metaphors. Perhaps – or even probably – the contests of the inscription are a mere metaphor for his Christian way of life. That a group of boys going to a school for Greek culture would compete in athletic contests is not implausible, though.”

For the expression in l.3f., cf. Mark the Deacon, *vita Porph.* 103: τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τετελεκώς πρὸς τοὺς εἰδωλομανεῖς ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κοιμήσεως, but in general the wording is ambivalent: clearly agonistic is Latyšev I no. 186 (Olbia and environs): ἀεθλοφόρου [... ἐπὶ] σταδίου; clearly a metaphor for political life, Peek no. 521 (Kastelli Kisamou, Crete): Εὐτυχον ἄνδρα καμόντα ἀνὰ πόλιν ἢ δ' ἀνὰ βουλὰν πολλὰ δ' ἀεθλεύσαντ'...; clearly Christian are IGLS XIII 1, 9119 (Bostra): ἀεθλοφόρους μετ' ἀγῶνας; Bandy 121f. no. 93 (Hagios Ioannes): μάρτυσιν ἀεθλοφόροις.

Bibl.: W. Flinders Petrie, *Gerar*, 1928, 26 no. 56 pl. 71 (facs.) (ed. pr.). – Gucker, *Gaza* 128ff. no. 14; SEG 37, 1485; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 132 no. 133; DGI 527ff. no. 168; Merkelbach – Stauber, *Steinepigramme IV* 321 no. 21/05/02 (dr.); S. Remijsen, *The End of Greek Athletics*, unpublished Diss. (in print). – Cf. B. Latyšev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionales Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae I*, 1885; W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I. Grab-Epigramme*, 1955; A. Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete*, 1970; Ch. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 1989.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2504. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Marble slab; only the lower part is preserved; a large cross below the last line.
Meas.: w 55 cm.

Findspot: “In the house of a native of the Greek faith, whose name I have forgotten to note” (Clermont-Ganneau, ARP).



fig. 2504

[--]
ΑΝ[.]ΠΑΗΔΕΕΚΤΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΜΟ
ΧΘΕΝΜΗΔΙΟΥΖΤΟΥΘΛΕΤΟΥΣΙΝΔΓ
(cross)

[--] | ἀν[ε]πάη δὲ ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μό|χθ(ν) ἐν μηνί Δίου ζ', τοῦ θλ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'

... rested from his troubles on Dios 7th, in the year 39, indiction 3.

Comm.: l.2f.: for the formula, cf. no. 2490; $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$: *omicron* and *upsilon* are faintly visible above the *tau*; l.3: on the omission of final *nu* ($\mu\acute{o}\chi\theta\omega(\nu)$) before a word beginning with a vowel: Gignac I 112; on the missing numeral and its implications, cf. no. 2489; according to the interpretation of Di Segni, year 39 = 6039 = 3 November 539 AD (but, as Di Segni [DGI 539] points out, the era of Raphia would produce a date in the autumn of 479, ind. 3). The last letter in the line was not securely read, but is based on Clermont-Ganneau's calculations.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 412 no. 16 with ph. of squeeze (ed. pr.). – Id., RB 9, 1900, 308f.; Meyer, History 145 no. 25; E. Schürer, SPAW 1896, 1085ff. no. 2; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 715f. no. 19; Glucker, Gaza 134 no. 19; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 70 no. 8; DGI 539 no. 175*. – Cf. L. Di Segni, ARAM 18-19, 2006/07, 113ff.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 412 no. 16 (squeeze).

WA

2505. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Very worn marble flagstone, "cleft in two" (Clermont-Ganneau). Four lines of large letters, one line of small letters. Since the line of small letters interrupts an otherwise formulaic text, and since this line has a somewhat different alignment, it seems possible that it belonged to another text.

Findspot: As a flagstone in the left aisle of the great mosque (cf. nos. 2508, 2522).

- (a) [--]ΕΝΣΛΥΟ[--]
 [--]ΟΙΕΥΣ++ΟΜ[--]
 [--]ΗΞΑΝΘΙΚΟ[--]
 [--]ΙΝΔ[--]
 (b) ΑΝΕΠΙ[.]ΕΚΗΜ[--]



fig. 2505

- (a) [--]ΕΝΣΛΥΟ[--]ΟΙΕΥΣ++ΟΜ[--]μ]η(νός) Ξανθικο[ϋ --, έτους |--]
 ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) [--]
 (b) ἀνεπ[άη] ἐκ ΗΜ[--]

(a) ... of the month Xanthikos, year ... indiction ...

(b) Rested ... (from his toils?) ...

Comm.: See no. 2481 for more than one person listed in a funerary inscription.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 397f. (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 142 no. 15 (l.4f.); Glucker, Gaza 139 no. 28.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 398 (dr.).

WA

2506. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Marble slab, “trimmed and used in the flagging of a mashradiyeh” (Clermont-Ganneau).

Meas.: w 20 cm.

Findspot: House of Saliba ‘Awad (cf. nos. 2483, 2493, 2502).

[--]+Ω++[--]

[--]ΤΟΥ[--]

[--]ΦΕΤΟΥΣ[--]

[--]+Ω+++[--]ΤΟΥ[--]φ’ ἔτους [--]

... in the year 500 + x ...

Comm.: l.1: perhaps ΙΩΜ; l.2: τοῦ all edd.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 404 no. 6 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 143f. no. 20; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 714 no. 13 fig. 4893 (dr.); Glucker, Gaza 140 no. 31; Meimaris, Chron. Systems 128 no. 120.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 404 (dr.).



fig. 2506

WA

2507. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Slab of stone, greatly worn, built into a house.

Meas.: w 60 cm.

Findspot: House of M. Pickard (1870-4; cf. nos. 2486, 2501); perhaps in the yard.

(cross) ANEΠAΕΩΜΑΚ[--]

ἀνεπάεω μακ[άριος --]



fig. 2507

Rested the blessed ...

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 414f. no. 21 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 146 no. 30; H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 716 no. 23; Glucker, Gaza 138 no. 25.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 415 (dr.).

WA

2508. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Marble flagstone with almost indistinguishable traces of letters.

Findspot: In the outer courtyard of the mosque (Clermont-Ganneau; cf. nos. 2505, 2522).

[--]ΙΥΟΑΔΕΚ+[--]

[--]+ΑΡΚΧ[--]

[--]+++[--]

(cross)



fig. 2508

Comm.: There is no reason to suppose that this is either the right or the left edge of the stone. - l.1: perhaps not impossible, but rather improbable is [ἐ]νθάδε κ[εῖται]; l.4: the cross does not necessarily mark the middle of the stone; theoretically, two or even three crosses below an inscription are possible.

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 397f. (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 142 no. 17 (l.1); Glucker, Gaza 139 no. 29.

Photo: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 398 (dr.).

WA

D. Instrumentum domesticum

Amulets and ring

2509. Amulet with Greek inscription

Oval gem; obv.: anguipedes with a cock's head, looking to the right; shield in one hand, whip in the other; the snakes have lions' heads; several inscriptions; rev.: inscription.

Findspot: According to IAA from Gaza area.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1931-111.

obv.: (on the shield) IA

Ω

(between whip and body) IAΩ

(to the right of the anguipedes) ΣΑΒΑΩΘ

(to the left of the anguipedes) ΑΔΩΝΑΙ

(below the feet of the anguipedes) ΑΒΑΝΑΚΑΘΑΛ

ΒΑ

rev.: ΣΑΒΑ

ΩΘΙΣΣΤΡ

ΑΗΛΓΑΒΡΙΗ

ΛΑΒΡΑΣΑΞΕ

ΙΧΑΡΟΠΛΗΣ

ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΛ

ΒΑΣΕΜΕΣΙ

ΛΑΜΟΥΡ

ΙΗΛ



fig. 2509.1 (obv., imprint)



fig. 2509.2 (rev.)



fig. 2509.3 (rev., imprint)

obv.: (on the shield) Ἰα|ω
 (between whip and body) Ἰαω
 (to the right of the anguipedes) Σαβαωθ
 (to the left of the anguipedes) Ἀδωναι
 (below the feet of the anguipedes) Ἀβανακαθαλ|βα
 rev.: Σαβα|ωθ, Ἰσστρ|αηλ, Γαβριη|λ, Ἀβρασαξ, Μ|ιχαροπλης,| Ἀβλαναθαλ|βα,
 Σεμεσι|λαμ, Οὐρ|ιηλ

obv.: *Iao*. – *Iao*. – *Sabaoth*. – *Adonai*. – *Abanakathalba*.

rev.: *Sabaoth* - *Isstrael* - *Gabriel* - *Abrasax* - *Micharoples* - *Ablanathalba* - *Semesi-*
lam - *Uriel*

Comm.: On the anguipedes cf. Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 123ff.; Delatte - Derchain 23ff.; Michel 106ff. In nine out of ten cases he looks to the right, as he does here. Cuirass, shield and whip belong to his usual equipment, and *Iao* can be found quite often on his shield. The bearded snakes may carry solar disks on their head, which would reenforce the connection of the anguipedes with the sun (cock; whip). Michel 110: “Mit dem hahnenköpfigen Anguipedes ist ein Gott visualisiert, der ... Sarapis/Aion, Kronos oder Pantheos entspricht und der als höchster Gott noch über dem Sonnengott zu stehen scheint.”

On the elements of the inscription on both sides, cf. PGM XII 74: “Weil ich bin der Gott aller Götter: *Iao*, *Sabaoth*, *Adonai*, *Abrasax*”; most of the voces magicae here were used on gems with the image of the anguipedes, cf. the collection of Michel 240ff.

obv.: Ἀβανακαθαλβα is a hitherto unattested version of the Ablanathanalba-palindrome (cf. Michel 488f. on different versions).

rev.: l.2f.: Ἰσστραηλ: the spelling is epigraphically attested, cf. e.g. no. 2167 with parallels; on *Istrael* (with this spelling, but also as *Israel*) as an angel, Peterson 403f.

l.4f.: evidently a version of the much more common νιχαροπληξ (gems with this vox magica are collected by Michel 218f. n. 1044); this word is most often connected with the anguipedes, since it is believed to have a solar connection. On the other hand, it is thought to be an anagram of πλῆξον χάριν, “sporne Gunst an” (Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 375); see for this vox, e.g. Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 201, 245; Brashear 3594; at least the notion of the anagram was not in the mind of this engraver.

l.6f.: the Hebrew *šmš* ‘*olam*, eternal sun, is thought to be the origin of this vox, Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 58f.; it is most common on Chnubis stones, but “occurs also with other types, notably Harpocrates and the cock-headed god”; Brashear 3598; Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 376. – With *Gabriel* and *Uriel*, only two of the four archangels are mentioned. Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 171 quotes a prism from Michigan, which “has on three of its sides *Iao*, *Sabao*, *Michael*”.

ll.7-8: the *mu* looks a bit like *eta*.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Cf. E. Peterson, *RhM* 75, 1926, 393ff.; A. Delatte - Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, 1964; W. Brashear, *ANRW* II 18,5, 1995, 3380ff.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2510. Amulet with Greek inscription

Oval gem; obv.: God with a lion's head (leontokephalos) sacrificing over a burning altar; it seems that he is wearing a cuirass; his left hand holds a large palm branch; letters to his left; rev.: inscription; above and below the letters a star.

Findspot: According to IAA from Gaza area.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1931-111.

obv.: I

A

Ω

rev.: ABAANA

obv.: I|α|ω

rev.: αβλανα



fig. 2510.1 (obv.)



fig. 2510.2 (obv., imprint)



fig. 2510.3 (rev., imprint)

Comm.: obv.: Michel 308ff. on the leontokephalos with a human body; 309 on this figure with a kerykeion and/or a palm branch; one example can be found in Michel, *Magische Gemmen* 168 no. 273, where she interprets the palm branch as a syncretistic hint at Hermanubis. Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 135f. argues differently: he identifies a "lion-headed god, clothed only in the Egyptian apron, stands to left, his right holding a tall staff, his left a situla" with *Ιαλδαβαωθ*, which is certainly a form of *Ιαω* (p. 152f. on iconographic variations). – Michel seems to have no example of the figure sacrificing (furthermore, there seems no other figure sacrificing in this quasi-classical stance).

rev.: short for *αβλαναθαναλβα* vel sim. Michel 489 cites for this spelling Brandt et al. no. 2911; Panutti 277.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – Cf. E. Brandt et al., *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen Band I: Staatliche Münzsammlung München. Teil 3: Gemmen und Glaspasten der römischen Kaiserzeit sowie Nachträge*, 1972; U. Panutti, *Catologhi dei musei e gallerie d'Italia. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. La collezione glittica II*, 1994.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2511. Amulet with Greek inscription, 3 c. AD

Reddish brown jasper, oval; obv.: the Chnubis-snake to the left; around its head a halo with seven double rays; rev.: inscription; the *beta* in l.2 has the form of a swastika, perhaps, but not necessarily due to a late mutilation; in front of the swastika, the wavy lines that are so characteristic of Chnubis-gems. Brown stones are rarely used for Chnubis-amulets (on the variety of stones and their statistic, see Mastrocinque), but Michel still does not believe that this stone is a forgery.

Meas.: h 2.5, w 2.1, d 0.7 cm.

Pres. loc.: British Museum, London, inv. no. G 229, EA 56229 (former collection of the Rev. Greville J. Chester; bought in 1867).

XNOY

B

IΣ

Xvoũ|β|ις

Chnubis.

Comm.: Dated for stylistic reasons to the 3 c.

AD by Michel. The *beta* is turned into a swastika;

Michel compares another Chnubis-gem (Philipp, pl.

35, 133 c), where a *beta* is turned into a cross and Philipp believes that this was made on purpose. On Chnubis and Chnubis-gems in general, see CIIP II 1696 comm.

Bibl.: Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 60 n. 39 (ed. pr.). – S. Michel, *AW* 26, 1995, 386 n. 2; ead., *Magische Gemmen* 204 no. 320 (dr.) pl. 47 (ph.); Michel 256. – Cf. H. Philipp, *Mira et Magica*, 1986; A. Mastrocinque, in: C. Entwistle - N. Adams eds., *Gems of Heaven*, 2011, 67 n. 45.

Photo: Michel, *Magische Gemmen*, pl. 47 no. 320.



fig. 2511.1 (rev.)



fig. 2511.2 (obv.)

WA

2512. Amulet with Greek inscription

Oval gem made of hematite; obv.: rider on a horse, riding over a female figure on the ground and attacking it with his spear; a star in front of his head and letters at the border of the gem; rev.: inscription.

Meas.: h 2.1, w 2 cm.

Findspot: According to IAA from Gaza area.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1931-111.

obv.: ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ

rev.: ΣΦΡΑ

ΓΙΣΘ

ΕΟΥ

obv.: Σολομων

rev.: σφραγίς θεοῦ

obv.: *Solomon.*

rev.: *Seal of God.*



fig. 2512.1 (rev.)

Comm.: Spier: “Recent scholarship has tended to date the haematite Solomon gems later than most other magical gems, and it seems likely that they belong to the fifth century”. Dasen shows that σφραγίς has a double meaning: seal and medicine – and “medicine of god” is a possible translation, too. It is unknown, why this image and this inscription are mostly found on hematites. Dasen: “It may be noted that the iconography of the horseman subduing the female demon appears when the figure of Heracles mastering the lion disappears. Solomon seems to have taken over the capacity of the hero.” Cf. in general, CIIP II 1692 (comm.); Cosentino, esp. 47ff. on the “tradizione iconografica”.



fig. 2512.2 (obv., imprint)

Bibl.: F. Manns, SBF 28, 1978, 167 no. 63 pl. (ed. pr.). – Cf. A. Cosentino, in: A. Mastrocinque ed., *Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica*, 2002, 41ff.; J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*, 2007, 84; V. Dasen, in: C. Entwistle - N. Adams eds., *Gems of Heaven*, 2011, 72.

Photo: IAA.

2513. Ring with Greek inscription, 6-7 c. AD (?)

Made of copper alloy; thin, flattened hoop.

Meas.: \varnothing (bezel) 1.3 cm.

Findspot: According to Schwabe from "Gaza".

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1939-692 (former collection of A. Reifenberg, Jerusalem, later bought by IAA).

ΥΓΙΑ
ΑΜΟΥ
ΝΙΝ

ύγια | Ἀμοῦ|νιν

Health for Amunis.

Comm.: Rahmani dates the ring to the late 6 or early 7 c. AD. For this type of ring with a health wish, see CIIP II 1125 (comm.). Instances of the

name can be found in several papyri: (cf. Hagedorn, Wörterlisten) BGU 16, 17; P.Köln 10; P.Oxy. 77; P.Worp; SB 25; besides, cf. Ammonius in no. 2474 this vol.

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, JPOS 13, 1933, 89 n. 2 (ed. pr.). – Id., Tarbiz 7, 1936, 347 (Hebr.); SEG 8, 273; L. Rahmani, Atiqot 17, 1985, 178 no. 16 pl. 43,16 (ph.); SEG 35, 1531; Glucker, Gaza 155 no. 45; A. Łajtar, in: A. Segal et al., Hippos - Sussita. Tenth Season of Excavations (July and September 2009), 2009, 91f.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2513

WA

Dipinti**2514. Phoenician jar inscription, perhaps 4 c. BCE?**

An inscription of one word written in black ink on a jar.

Findspot: Purchased by R. Hecht in 1976 in Gaza; said to have been found in or near the town.

Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum, Haifa? Non vidi.

עבדבעל

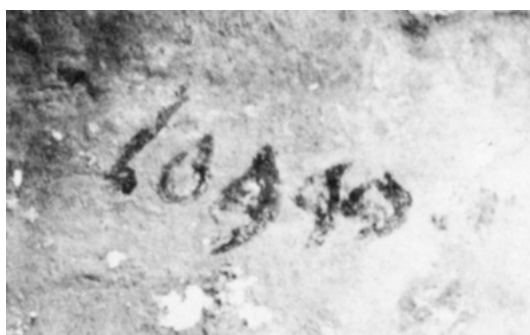


fig. 2514

Translit.: 'bdb'l

(Belonging to) 'bdb'l.

Comm.: This is a jar inscription with the name of the owner written in a formal Phoenician handwriting. According to the ed. pr. (p. 26), this jar was bought in Gaza in 1976 together with another jar. They were "said to have been found in or near the town" (ibid. 27). The popular name 'bdb'l ("the slave/servant of Ba'al") with the divine name of the Phoenician god Ba'al, appears on an 8 c. BCE Phoenician bulla (N. Avigad - B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, 1997 no. 743), and is also attested in six 4 c. BCE Aramaic texts on ostraca from Idumaea (ISAP 4, 869, 1043, 1579, 1849, 1940), as well as in an Aramaic ostrakon from Beersheba from the same period (J. Naveh, *Tel Aviv* 6, 1979, 182-98, no. 49 = ISAP 2249).

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *IEJ* 37, 1987, 26f. no. 3 pl. 1F (ed. pr.).

Photo: J. Naveh, *IEJ* 37, 1987 pl. 1F.

AY

2515. Phoenician jar inscription, perhaps second half of the 4 c. BCE?

An inscription of four short lines written in black ink on a jar.

Findspot: Purchased by R. Hecht in 1976 in Gaza; said to have been found in or near the town.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 80.3.4.

א
דנג
ינעזשבח
ב[--]למלך

א | דנג | ינעזשבח | ב[+3]למלך

Translit.: ' | dng | yn 'z šbh | b[3+]1 lmlk

A(lef) wax(?) wine of Gaza(?)/strong(?), improved. On the 4th (year?). Of the king.



fig. 2515.1

Comm.: This text is a jar inscription denoting the contents of the jar and a date, which here probably referred to the year of the reign of a certain (Hellenistic?) king, as indicated by the comparison with 5 Phoenician jar inscriptions of a similar nature mentioned by the publisher, and mainly the one dated to the 35th (year) of the king(?) (ed. pr. 28 D), which excludes the possibility that the number referred to a day in the month. "The script ... is a developed cursive" (ibid. 28). It is strange, however, that the name of the king does not appear and therefore the word *lmlk* ("of the king") perhaps is not part of the date, but denotes the ownership of the wine by the king.

l.1 contains only one letter (*alef*) which may have referred to the quality of the wine (cf. Mishnah Menahot 8.1,3,6 for the use of the letter *alef* to designate the first quality of certain commodities; see Naveh, p. 28).

The reading of l.2 is conjectural and may alternatively be a kind of mark (ibid. 28). If it is correct, the publisher suggests with reservation, it could perhaps mean that "the inner surface of the jar was lined with wax". He continues to tell us that this has not been confirmed (ibid. 28).

l.3: The word *yn* ("wine") is clear. The reading of *zayin* in the following word is uncertain (see Naveh's discussion on p. 29). If the reading is correct, the word 'z can mean "strong" or be a place name ('*azza*=Gaza). The word *šbh* may mean "improved". This root does not appear elsewhere in Phoenician texts, but appears in Jewish Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew (see Naveh's discussion on p. 30).

l.4 contains a date (see Naveh's discussion on p. 30).

Bibl.: J. Naveh, IEJ 37, 1987, 27-30 no. 4 pl. 2b (ed. pr.).

Photo: Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



fig. 2515.2

2516. Nabataean Aramaic inscription on a basalt vessel, end of 1 c. BCE or early 1 c. CE?

The beginning of one line engraved on a fragment of a basalt vessel, running along its side, about 1 cm below its edge.

Meas.: h 21.5, w 8 cm.

Findspot: Gaza?

Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum, Haifa, inv. no. H-1818.

דא קרב ואלו בר שלם[--]

Translit.: d' qrb w'lw br
šlm[--]

*This he offered, namely, W'lw
son of Šlm...*



fig. 2516.1

Comm.: This inscription is engraved in the Nabataean script of the 1 c. BCE (see the paleographic discussion in ed. pr. 32f.) on a fragment of a small, round basalt mortar with three legs, which had probably been donated to a temple or a public building. The radius of the vessel was about 11.5 cm and it had a round hole in its center with a diameter of about 5 cm. The



fig. 2516.2

fragment, now located in the Hecht Museum in Haifa, was acquired in 1978 and is said to have come from Gaza. Its precise provenance is unknown. The inscription may be dated, on paleographic and contextual grounds, to the end of the 1 c. BCE or the beginning of the 1 c. CE.

The name *W'lw* (Waalū) is attested in many Nabataean inscriptions. According to A. Negev (Personal Names 23 no. 323) the name derives from the Arabic root *w'l* which means “to seek refuge with” and it appears in hundreds of Nabataean inscriptions from various places, most of them from the Sinai peninsula. The name also appears in Nabataean documents from the Judaeian desert (see Yardeni, Textbook, vol. A 125, 135). The name ends with the letter *vav* which represents the Arabic nominal ending. Waalū's father's name may be reconstructed either as Shalm[ū], a hypocoristic name from the root *šlm* (“to be whole” or “to be blessed” or “to pay”), or as a theophoric name like “Shalam[ʾalahi] or the like. Shalmū was

quite popular (see Negev, *Personal Names* 64 no. 1146). It also appears in three Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea dating from the second half of the 4 c. BCE.

The root *qrb* has various meanings in Aramaic, one of them is “to offer” (in the Pa‘el and H’af‘el conjugations, see J. Hoftijzer - K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 1995, 1028ff.). The expression “da qareb” (“This he offered”) is a rare variant of the very well-attested *zy qareb* or *zy haqreb* (“that which he offered”), which can be found at the beginning of many inscriptions on various objects related to holy sites (e.g., scores of inscriptions on building stones discovered on Mount Gerizim; see also Yardeni 2008, 31), mostly referring to a donation of money rather than to the object itself.

Bibl.: A. Yardeni, *Michmanim* 21, 2008, 29-33 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; AE.

AY

2517. Clay stamp with Greek letters

Round clay stamp with letters on both sides. On one side a large A, flanked by a Σ and a M; on the other side a large B, flanked by a Σ and a M as well; inside the B a small X; cross above M. Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: ø 6.8, th 3.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: “This object was in possession of a member of the UN in Nov. 1963” (Saller).



fig. 2517.1

(a): ΣAM

(b): ΣBM

Comm.: The first editor interpreted the ΣAM on the one side and the ΣM on the other to be an abbreviation of the name Samuel, and the B to be an abbreviation for βοήθι, together yielding the expression: “O Christ, help Samuel”.



fig. 2517.2

Bibl.: S. Saller, SBF 21, 1971, 173 no. 19 (ph. and dr.) (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, *Alle origini della chiesa II*, 1982, 227 fig. 29,6, 229 (dr.).

Photo: S. Saller, SBF 21, 1971, 170 fig. 4,3 (ph.), 164 fig. 2,6 (dr.).

WE

E. Varia

2518. Gold leaves with wishes for newly married couples

Two gold leaves in the form of *tabulae ansatae*, each bearing an identical four-line inscription, found together with 12 golden leaflets (ca. 5 cm long), probably used as a necklace or a wreath. Lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: h (a and b) 3, w (a) 4.5, (b) 5 cm; letters (a and b) 0.3-0.6 cm.

Findspot: Said to come from Gaza (information by a dealer of antiques).

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 7 October 2013.

(a and b) ΕΥΤΥ

ΧΩΣ

ΤΟΙΣΝΥ

ΜΦΙΟΙΣ

(a and b) Ἐυτυχῶς | τοῖς νυμφίοις

(a and b) *Good luck to the newly-wed.*



fig. 2518.1 (a and b, detail)

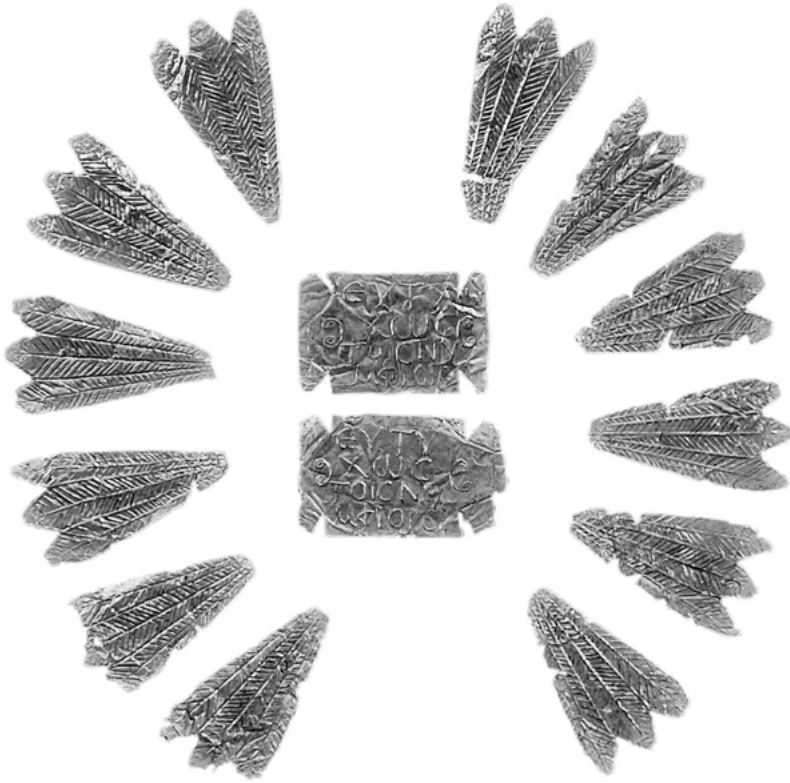


fig. 2518.2 (a and b)

Comm.: The first editor was not sure about the context: a Jewish context would date the pieces to the period before ca. 70 AD, if the rule enunciated in mSotah 9,14 was followed by all Jews (which is far from certain): “During the war with Vespasian, they [i.e. the Rabbis] decreed against the use of crowns worn by bridegrooms ... During the war of Titus, they decreed against [the use of] crowns worn by brides” (cf. bSotah 49a-b and bGitin 7). In a Christian context the wearing of a wreath (*corona*) was not common before the fourth century. But also a pagan context is possible. SEG dates the inscriptions between the first and third centuries.

Bibl.: F. Manns, SBF 29, 1979, 238f. (ph.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 29, 1607; G. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 4, 1987, 233.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

2519. Greek inscriptions on a painting

John of Gaza describes a painting called a *κοσμικός πίναξ* (“Weltgemälde” Friedländer, not a map). He mentions several inscriptions, identifying the figures of the painting – and it seems that several more were not mentioned, but used by him to identify the different figures on the painting.

Findspot: One reads as title in the only ms. Palat. gr. 23 + Paris. gr. suppl. 384: ἔκφρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πίνακος τοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῷ χειμερίῳ λούτρῳ. The first marginal note says: Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ Γάζης ἔκφρασις τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς κοσμογραφίας τῆς ἐν τῷ χειμερίῳ λούτρῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐν Γάζῃ. At the end of the poem, the note is repeated with the addition: ἢ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Friedländer connected this with a notice about the construction of baths in Gaza by Choricus, or. 3,55 (ed. Foerster p. 63): ἀνοίξω τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἕτερον χειμῶνος ὥραι λουτρὸν καὶ μετοχετεύσω λουομένοις πότιμον ὕδωρ καὶ λίαν ἐπιτήδειον εὐεξίαι σωματῶν.



fig. 2519.1 (reconstruction after Friedländer)

Friedländer 214: “Bewiesen aber wird das Vorhandensein (scil. der Beischriften) durch das ausdrückliche Zeugnis des Johannes (II 229ff. [see below]) ... Und ebenso beweisend ist die Bemerkung bei den zwei weiblichen Wesen in der Nähe der Erdkugel (II 55ff. [see below]) ... Denn man muß bedenken, daß diese Deutung so entschieden in die Irre geht, wie die Bezeichnungen sonst überzeugend und ohne Anstoß sind, um aus den Worten “ich aber glaube” den Schluß zu ziehen: Beischriften sind bei den allermeisten Figuren angebracht gewesen. Nicht bei allen.

Die Flügelgestalt, die den Erdball trägt (II 45) benennt Johannes nicht, ebenso wenig den ‘geflügelten Wächter des Okeanos aus der Engelschar’. Falsch wird die ‘siebente Hore’ benannt sein, die sich am Rade des Eoswagens zu schaffen macht (I 353ff.). Die Beischrift lautete gewiss nur Ὠραι und galt nur für die zweimal sechs Mädchen. Die Prüfung im einzelnen ergibt, daß wir die Benennungen der Figuren durchaus als authentisch anzusehen haben.”

II 229-31: ὁ δὲ θρασύβουλος ἐκεῖνος / τολμηροῖς καλάμοισιν ἀταρβήτοισι χαράξας / Εὐφορίας ἐκάλεσσε βαλὼν σημῆια μορφῆς.

II 55-7: καὶ χθονὸς εἶδον ἄρουραν ὀπιπεύουσαν ἐέρσην, / εἶδος δισσὸν ἔχουσαν· ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπιέλομαι εἶναι / Εὐρώπην Ἀσίην τε μεριζομένας ἐνὶ γαίῃ.

II 229-31: *Jener Mann kühnen Wollens, der sie mit mutiger Rohrfeder gezeichnet hat, hat ihnen die Benennung Euphoriai beigeschrieben.* (transl. Friedländer)

II 55ff.: *Und den Erdboden sah ich, wie er nach dem Tau ausschaute und zwei Gestalten trug. Ich glaube, daß es Europa und Asien sind, die sich in die Erde teilen.* (transl. Friedländer)

Comm.: Ioannes of Gaza was a pupil of Nonnus and lived in the times of the emperors Anastasius and Justinian. His poem was transmitted in the codex of the Anthologia Palatina (10-11 c. AD), but is usually not printed in the editions of the anthology, but edited separately. On the strength of the first marginal note, Friedländer and nearly everybody else argued that the painting and the baths were to be situated in Gaza. Only Cameron argued that the



fig. 2519.2 (reconstruction after Krahmer)

additional information in the marginal note was not based on information, but on simple assumptions of the writer: if the poet was Ioannes of Gaza, the bath had to be in Gaza, too (for an overview of scholarship on the pertaining question of Ioannes’s date, see Bargellini 2008, 67ff.). But there is, at least, another marginal note, referring to the painting: ταύτης τῆς γραφῆς μέμνηται καὶ Προκόπιος ὁ Γαζαῖος. While Procopius might have mentioned a bath in Antiochia, rebuilt after the quake

of 526, and while there was a winter bath in Antiochia (Liban. or. 11,220), the first premise is not proven, i.e. that the location in Gaza was just an assumption. It seems much more probable that the doubts expressed in the second notice reflect the author's insecurity about his information on Gaza when he remembered the baths in Antiochia (Procopius might have mentioned the bath in his monody on the destruction of Antiochia in 526, but can one assume that a painting was worth mentioning in this context? Furthermore, Euagrius, HE 6,8 reports that these baths were destroyed only in 588).

If then, these baths were in Gaza and Procopius mentions them, one faces another problem: Choricius dates the construction of the baths to 535/6, but Procopius died already in 530. Choricius really mentions ἕτερον χειμῶνος ὥραι λουτρόν, implying at least two winter baths in the city; the painting with its inscription must have belonged to the earlier of these baths (cf. Bargellini 2008, 71; as Friedländer 111f. said, there was no reason for Choricius to mention

any painting). It is therefore almost impossible to say anything about the date of the bath or the precise date of Ioannes' poem (which, of course, was later than Nonnus, whom Ioannes knew; Bargellini argues for the age of Anastasius. Gigli Piccardi 2006 argues that the poem was publicly recited at "la festa del Giorno delle rose" in Gaza (cf. Renaut 214f.).

Friedländer 107 on his reconstruction of the painting (pl. 1): "Es versteht sich, daß dieses Wagnis auf die weitgehendste Nachsicht rechnet und zumal auf stilistische Treue nicht den mindesten Anspruch erheben will." Cupane argued forcefully for a painting on a cupola in the baths (with a new reconstruction).

II 55ff.: Friedländer 196: "Da er ausdrücklich die Deutung als sein eigen in Anspruch nimmt, so war sie durch keine Beischrift gewährleistet." – II 229ff.: Friedländer 205: "Der Name Εὐφορία begegnet sonst nirgends. Als Horen zählt Hygin ca. 183 auch diese drei auf: Pherusa, Euporie, Orthosie; doch ist die mittlere wohl eher Εὐπορία als Εὐφορία." Gigli Piccardi 2005, 192ff. interprets them as figures "ad esemplificare in una mirabile densità semantica, la vita e la morte" (2006, 259 in a summary of his argument).

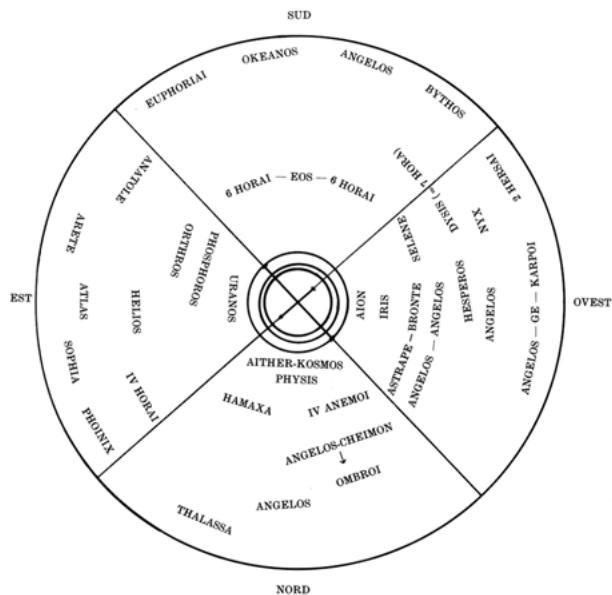


fig. 2519.3 (reconstruction after Cupane)

A scene similar to the one described by Ioannes – Gaia, Aroura and the Karpoi – was found on a mosaic in an Antiochene bath (cf. Downey), but the iconography is too prominent to be of much use in the question of the painting's origins (cf. for the Karpoi, e.g., CIIP II 1332f.). But it shows, cf. Hanfmann, that the iconography of the painting is not necessarily Christian – and that therefore almost nothing can be known about the date of the painting and its inscriptions: only the general assumption remains that it was a work of Late Antiquity. Talgam 2009, 100 refers to SEG 8, 281 (Beersheba), certainly a text from Late Antiquity, for the description of a roughly similar sight.

Bibl.: P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, 1912; G. Krahmer, *De tabula mundi ab Joanne Gazaeo descripta*, 1920; G. Downey, in: R. Stillwell ed., *Antioch on the Orontes II*, 1938, 205ff.; G. Hanfmann, *Latomus* 3, 1939, 111ff.; C. Cupane, *JÖByz* 28, 1979, 195ff.; A. Cameron, *CQ* 43, 1993, 348ff.; D. Renaut, in: Saliou, *Gaza* 197ff.; D. Gigli Piccardi, *MEG* 5, 2005, 185ff.; ead., *Prometheus* 32, 2006, 253ff.; F. Bargellini, *MEG* 6, 2006, 41ff.; id., *Prometheus* 34, 2008, 65ff.; R. Talgam, in: K. Kogman-Appel - M. Meyer eds., *Between Judaism and Christianity*, 2009, 91ff.; ead., *Bolletino di Archeologia* on line 1, 2010, 55f.

Photo: P. Friedländer, 1912 pl. 1; R. Talgam, in: K. Kogman-Appel - M. Meyer eds., *Between Judaism and Christianity*, 2009, fig. 2; C. Cupane, *JÖB* 28, 1979, 207.

WA

2520. Inscribed object of lead

An object made of lead. The letters are difficult to identify.

Meas.: h 1, w 7 cm.

Pres. loc.: IAA, inv. no. 1984-1729.

VIM KVPIYO

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2520

WE

F. Fragments

2521. Greek marble fragment

Fragment of marble containing three lines of inscribed Greek.
Meas.: h 21, w 13 cm (Dussaud).

Findspot: Gaza (Clermont-Ganneau).

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 1273.

[--]ΥΒΟΥ

[--]ΔΙΑΒΙ

[--]ΥΠΙΟΝ



fig. 2521

Comm.: Clermont-Ganneau claims to have found this inscribed fragment in Gaza. He speculated that ll.2-3 contained the word *διαβίου*, a suggestion not supported by available evidence (but cf. JIWE II 287 [Rome]). It is not possible to know the ethnic or religious identity of the author of the text.

Bibl.: Dussaud, Louvre 73 no. 90 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157-251 at 188 no. 70.

Photo: RMN Th. Ollivier, courtesy of the Museum of Louvre, Paris.

JJP

2522. Fragment of a Greek or Latin inscription

Flagstone (Clermont-Ganneau).

Findspot: In the central aisle of the great mosque (cf. nos. 2505, 2508).

[--]ΟΝ[--]

Bibl.: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 398 (ed. pr.). – Meyer, History 142 no. 16.

WA

2523. canceled

XXVII. Oga

2524. Greek graffito on storage jar sherd, 4-7 c. CE

Remains of five letters from an inscription incised before firing on a sherd of a bag-shaped storage jar. Following the first two letters there is a vertical line split at the bottom, which seems like the leg of a cross. Square uncial *sigma*.

Meas.: letters ca. 1 cm.

Findspot: Oga.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1968-518, lost.

[--]

ΣΟ_(cross?)ΥΙΗ[--]

Comm.: This inscription seems to have been incised on two sides of a cross. It probably had a religious character but no clear reading can be made out. For the site, which also has Late Antique remains (including mosaics), see bibl. in TIR p. 197.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2524

XXVIII. Tel Mefalsim

2525. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription?

Slab of marble with a rough back.
Traces of red paint in the letters.
Meas.: h 13.9, w 16.9 cm.

Findspot: Tel Mefalsim (Tell er-Rusum).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1947-2405. Autopsy: 26 April 2012 (WE).

[--]ΔΙΑΣΚΑΔ[--]

[--]ΗΘΕΝΤ[--]

[--]+Η[--]



fig. 2525.1

Comm.: l.1: [--]λίαν καί [--], perhaps [--'H]λίαν Rahmani; if this is a funerary inscription, ΔΙΑΣ is rather the genitive of a feminine personal name; the last letter does not begin with a vertical bar. – l.2: part of a participle, most probably ἐπιμεληθέντ-, κοιμηθέντ-. Rahmani assigned the text to the 6 c.



fig. 2525.2

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, IEJ 33, 1983, 230 no. 2 pl. 28D (ed. pr.). – SEG 33, 1268.

Photo: IAA; WE.

2526. Stamp with Greek blessing of Maria, mother of God

Round stamp of greenish-yellow clay; in the middle the virgin Mary on a throne and with a footstool; holding the infant Jesus. A star on each side of her head. Mary and Jesus with a nimbus, Jesus holding a codex, i.e. the gospels. Jesus raises one hand in benediction. To the right of Mary a winged figure; to the left a male saint (or an angel whose wings are not visible). On the back of the stamp is a knob-handle with an incised pattern. "Part of the disc split, perhaps through over-firing" (Rahmani); he believes that the stamp was a potter's reject and therefore not used. Meas.: Ø 10 cm.

Findspot: Tel Mefalsim (Deir Dusawi), 9 km east of Gaza. Rahmani shows that the site where this stamp was found is securely dated to the 6 c. AD.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1970-5196.

(cross) ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ[.]ΗΣΔΕΣΠΟΙΝ[--]
ΚΟΥΜΑΡΙΑΣ

εὐλογία [τ]ῆς δεσποίν[ης ἡμῶν Θεοτό]κου
Μαρίας

Blessing of our lady, mother of God, Maria.

Comm.: Rahmani quotes Choricus, laud. Marc. I 29 (ed. Foerster - Richtsteig 10), who describes the church of St. Sergius: Choricus' ecphrasis shows clearly the importance of Mary and her child in the iconographic program of the church; Rahmani therefore believes that the image on the stamp was copied from the mosaic in the apse of this church. Gucker compares Rosenthal - Sivan 142 no. 580: εὐλογία τῆς Θεοτόκ(ου) ἡ[μ]ῶν ἐπίγραμμα Ἰωάννου (part of a known and widely used formula, reading: εὐλογία τῆς Θεοτόκου μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπίγραμμα Ἰωάννου [examples on lamps are collected by Loffreda 48f., Tipo C 2.5-2.8; 125ff.]) and refers to Rahmani 1979 for the enthroned virgin.



fig. 2526.1 (stamp)



fig. 2526.2 (impression)

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, IEJ 20, 1970, 105ff. pl. 28A-C (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, Sacred Names 84f. no. 538 (without reference to the earlier edition); Gucker, Gaza 154f. no. 44. – Cf. R. Rosenthal -

R. Sivan, *Ancient Lamps in the Schoessinger Collection*, 1978; L. Rahmani, *IEJ* 29, 1979, 34ff.; S. Loffreda, *Lucerne bizantine in Terra Santa con iscrizioni in greco*, 1989; *Cradle of Christianity* 153, 223 (ph. and dr.).

Photo: Israel Museum.

WA

2527. Greek graffito on zoomorphic juglet, 6-8 c. CE

“Fragment of reddish brown, rather metallic ware, with a hollow neck, muzzle and ears broken off, incised heavy mane behind neck presumably indicating that a horse was represented.” (Rahmani 228). Two preserved lines of inscription incised before firing; letters of the second line are smaller than letters of the first; lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: h 9.5 cm; letters l.1: 2 cm; l.2: ca. 1 cm.

Findspot: Tel Mefalsim.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1942-416. Autopsy: 23 April 2012.

ABBA

ΣΩΒ

[--?]

Ἀββᾶ|ς Ωβ|[--?]

Of Father (or Abba) Ob...

Comm.: Since the inscription was indeed incised before firing, it is probable that the name mentioned on it is either that of the maker of the vessel or that of its owner (who was destined to receive the vessel before it was made?). Rahmani suggested the reading Ἀββᾶ|ς Ὡβ, SEG read Ἀββᾶ|ς [..] B. Rahmani suggested that the vessel was used to pour oil into oil lamps. He also suggested that it was used for anointment in Christian religious ceremonies, but noted that its crude material hints against this. “Abba” can simply be a name, but was also



fig. 2527.2



fig. 2527.1

used as an honorific title (from the Hebrew “father”) for elderly monks and members of the clergy (Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 235ff.); in many instances following the title “abba” comes the name of the person and his office (e.g. SEG 28, 1398 from Eboda).

The vessel was found among a large number of pottery from the 6-8 c. CE, hence the date of the inscription.

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, *IEJ* 33, 1983, 219-30 at 228ff. (ed. pr.). – SEG 33, 1269.

Photo: IAA; Rahmani 229 fig. 2,1 (dr.).

AE

2528. A toy inscribed with Greek names

A toy (according to Rahmani a horse) made of red clay; parts are missing; instead of legs(?), loops; the inscriptions were incised before firing.

Meas.: w 9, d 5 cm (IAA).

Findspot: According to IAA from Tel Mefalsim (Deir Dusawi).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1970-5217.

(a) (cross) ΛΕΟΝΤΑΚΙΣ

(b) ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ

(a) Λεοντάκις

(b) Στέφανος

(a) *Leontakis*.

(b) *Stephanus*.



fig. 2528.1 (a)



fig. 2528.2 (b)

Comm.: “The two names might refer to donor and recipient, or perhaps to siblings to whom the toy was given” (Rahmani 73 n. 7); (a) note the cursive *alpha*; on the – seemingly rare and certainly late – personal name Leontakios see MAMA III 557: *σωματοθήκη διαφέρουσα Λεωντακίου*; the editors refer to Moritz: “wohl Hypokoristikos des Taufnamens Λέων”. Cf. now SEG 36, 1270 (Mastar/Armenia) where *Περόζης* and *Λεοντάκης* are the builders of a 7 c. church.

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, *IEJ* 31, 1981, 73 pl. 12C, D (ed. pr.). – SEG 31, 1402. – Cf. H. Moritz, *Programm des Königlichen Humanistischen Gymnasiums in Landshut*, 1897/98, 15.

Photo: IAA.

WA

XXIX. Tell el-Ajjul

2529. Greek epitaph of Iaco(?), 600 CE

White marble plaque broken on all sides, polished front, rough unfinished back. Four lines of deeply incised Greek text; *alpha* with broken cross-bar, round *epsilon*, final *sigma*; serifs; date in l.3 marked by lines over and under the letters. Meas.: h 16.5, w 12, d 3 cm; letters 4 cm.

Findspot: Tell el-Ajjul.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1935-4247. Autopsy: June 2012.

[--]
 [--]+IAKO[--]
 [--]ΕΕΝΘΑ[--]
 [--]ΟΥΣΕΧΕ[--]
 [--]Κ+[--]

[--|--]+IAKO[--|--]Ε ἐνθά[δε
 κῆτε? --|-- τ]οῦ ζῆχ' ἔ[τους --|--]
 Κ+[--]

... *Iaco*(?) ... *here (lies?)* ... *year*
 666.

Comm.: This inscription was originally discovered by Petrie in Tell el-Ajjul, south of the ancient city of Gaza. The visible letters in l.2 may stand alone as a name, a hypocoristic of Ya'akov = Jacob, but equally it may come from the middle of a name (LGPN lists 27 Greek names containing IAKO); the trace of a letter appears before the *iota*. Thus there is no reason to consider this inscription Jewish. On the assumption that the Gaza era is referred to, the recorded date 666 = 28 October 605 - 27 October 606 CE, see Meimaris, p. 118. The age of the deceased may have been given at the end of the epitaph.



fig. 2529

Bibl.: W. Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* 4, 1934, 12 pl. 41, 153 (ed. pr.). – B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani della Giudea e del Neghev*, 1983, 151 fig. 23,6; *Meimaris, Chron. Systems* 133 no. 137; *DGI* 558f. no. 192 fig. 234; Bagatti, *Judaea* 163 fig. 23,6.

Photo: IAA.

JJP

XXX. Be'erot Yitzhak

2530. Tomb of Alexander with Greek inscription, 505 AD

The photo suggests that the stone was re-cut for another use. There seems to be something missing at the right side and two holes were inserted later. The carving was very carefully done.

Meas.: h 91, w 42, d 4 cm.

Findspot: Be'erot Yitzhak, 5 km southeast of Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, Gaza, inv. no. JKC 1627.

(cross) (cross) (cross)
ΘΗΚΗΤΟΥΤΡΙΣ
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥΑΛ
ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΠΡ
ΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΚΑ[.]
ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙ
ΤΟΥΑΝΕΠΑΗΤΗ
ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟΥΘΚ
ΤΟΥΕΞΦΕΤΟΥΣ
ΙΝΔΙΤΙ
(cross)

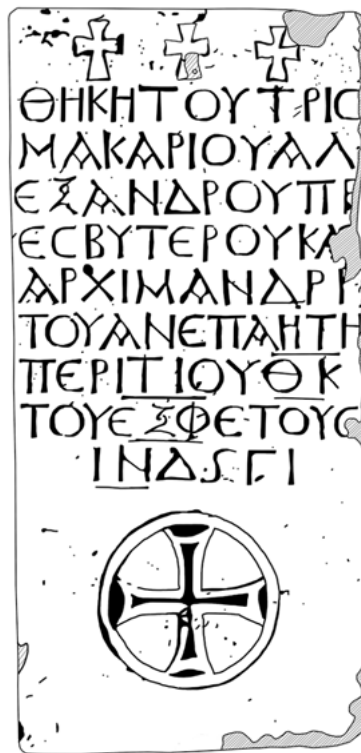


fig. 2530

θήκη τοῦ τρις|μακαρίου Ἀλ|εξανδρου πρ|εσβυτέρου κα[ι] | ἀρχιμανδρί|του. ἀνεπάη
τῃ | Περιτίου θκ'| τοῦ ἐξφ' ἔτους, | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γι'

Tomb of the thrice-blessed Alexander, priest and archimandrite. He rested on Periktios 29th, year 565, indiction 13 (= 23 February 505).

Comm.: On the monastic movements in the vicinity of Gaza, see Hirschfeld; Bitton-Ashkelony - Kofsky. On the title archimandrite, see Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 239f.: "This title gradually predominated over the other two, i.e. ἡγούμενος, and πατήρ ἡμῶν, and was given to the superior of a group of monasteries". For another possible instance of πρεσβ(ύτερος) καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης, see no. 2467 this vol.

l.7f.: τῇ | Περιτίου θκ' instead of μῆ(νός) was defended by Di Segni (DGI) with reference to Alt, *GIPT* 18 no. 18: τῇ Δεσίου τρίτη (scil. ἡμέρα).

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, *BIES* 15, 1950, 103-6 (Hebr.) (after a copy made in Be'erot Yitzhak) (ed. pr.). – SEG 17, 783; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 189 no. 932 (ll.2-6), 248 no. 1250 (ll.1-6); id., *Chron. Systems* 126 no. 112; DGI 560f. no. 193 fig. 235; C. Saliou, in: Chambon, *Gaza* 146f. (ph. and transl.). – Cf. Y. Hirschfeld, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky eds., *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, 2004, 61ff.; B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky, *The monastic school of Gaza*, 2006; C. Saliou, in: Haldimann et al, *Gaza* 161ff.

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).

WA

XXXI. Thabatha

2531.-2533. Ecclesiastical complex with mosaic floors

The inscriptions are from a rectangular building in the heart of the ecclesiastical complex, covering an area of about 200 sqm. The building, belonging to niveau 7 (the second of the recoverable levels at this place), represents the beginnings of the Late Antique phase. “À l’intérieur, au moins un caveau a été mis au jour. Des déformations dans le pavement de l’église I (niveau 6a) suggèrent la présence d’autres inhumations ... Le caveau découvert est rectangulaire et rappelle le principe du *loculus* romain. Une voûte en berceau le couvre. ... Il s’agissait probablement d’un enclos funéraire, aménagé autour de la tombe du saint, destiné aux premiers disciples” (ed. pr. 23, quoting Hier. vit. Hilar. 4,1 on the *cellula* of Hilarion, which they believe to have found: *extracta deinceps brevi cellula, quae usque hodie permanet. latitudine pedum quattuor, altitudine pedum quinque, hoc est statura sua humiliore, porro longitudine paulo ampliore quam eius corpusculum patiebatur, ut sepulcrum potius quam domum crederes*). In later times (level 6), a direct connection with the church was built. To this level belong two successive mosaic floors (6a and b), the one of which contained inscriptions a) on the eastern border of the mosaic carpet, near the eastern end of the underground chamber (no. 2531), and b) in the axis of the central nave (no. 2532), dating to the later phase 6b. The latter inscription was later replaced by no. 2533.

Di Segni 648 pointed out that, unfortunately, not everything is as clear as it seemed to Elter - Hassoune. Even if one believes that it is possible to reconcile this location with Jerome’s report, Hilarion’s *cellula* is described as a structure above the ground, not as built into the ground. There is no information on Hilarion’s tomb, only Hier. vit. Hilar. 32,6: *in antiquo monasterio condidit* (scil. Hesychius the corpse of Hilarion); *monasterium* signifies perhaps still a cell (as Hieronymus uses the term in the *vita Pauli*), not a monastery; this may have been in the vicinity of Maiumas, but the arguments of Di Segni 649 n. 26 against Thabatha are not conclusive. But on balance, Di Segni’s misgivings about the excavators’ ideas seem to be justified: they cannot prove that this structure contained the grave of Hilarion. On the other hand, as Di Segni rightly notes, John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* p. 101 Raabe (transl. on p. 96) mentions a church dedicated to Hilarion in Thabatha in the second half of the 5 c.; there was at least some local tradition connecting this place with Hilarion, even though it is difficult to reconcile everything in Thabatha with the notices in Jerome’s *vita*.

2531. Redemption with the help of St. Hilarion, Greek inscription on mosaic

Findspot: Umm el-‘Amr, roughly 15 km south of Gaza. On the monastery and the site, see Elter - Hassoune, ed. pr. 13ff.; for a plan of the excavated complex see 35 fig. 4 (and for a general map of the vicinity, Elter - Abd el-Rhadan 2007, 122 fig. 1; Elter - Hassoune 2011, 188).

ΕΥΧΕΣΚΑΙΠΡΕΣΒΙ
ΕΣΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΠΑ
ΤΡΟΣΗΜΩΝ
ΙΛΑΡΙΩΝΟΣΕΛΕΗ
ΘΩΜΕΝΑΜΗΝ



fig. 2531

εὐχῆς καὶ πρεσβί|ες τοῦ ἁγίου πα|τρὸς ἡμῶν | Ἰλαρίωνος ἐλεη|θῶμεν. Ἀμήν

Through the prayer and advocacy of our holy father Hilarion we will be redeemed. Amen.

Comm.: *πρεσβεία*, “esp. of intercession and advocacy on man’s behalf”, used of angels, saints and the virgin Mary, Lampe s.v. B 2 b. The Hilarion venerated here is the father of Palestinian monasticism, whose life was written by Jerome; cf. above for the discussion of the site in relation to the life of Hilarion. *πατὴρ ἡμῶν* signifies the superior of a group of monks. – The mosaics are dated stylistically to the 5 c. which is after the death of Hilarion, and Di Segni 647 agrees on paleographical reasons.

Bibl.: R. Elter - A. Hassoune, in: Saliou, Gaza 23f., 37 fig. 7; SEG 54, 1657.1 (edd. prr.). – Cf. R. Elter - A. Hassoune, CRAI 2004, 359ff. (no text, but phs.); P. Maraval, *Le monde de la bible* 169, 2006, 42 with ph.; L. Di Segni, JRA 20, 2007, 647ff.; R. Elter - A. Abd el-Rhadan, *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38, 2007, 121ff. with 128 fig. 5; R. Elter - A. Hassoune, in: A. Borrut et al. eds., *Le Proche-Orient de Justinien aux Abbassides*, 2011, 187ff. with 192 fig. 5; R. Elter, *Archéologia* 505, 2012, 34ff.; id., *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 18, 2012, 367ff. with fig. 1.; M. Comte, *Les reliquaires du Proche-Orient et de Chypre à la période protobyzantine (IVE-VIIIe siècles)*, 2012, 163ff.

Photo: R. Elter - A. Hassoune, CRAI 2004, 368 fig. 6.

WA

2532. Greek invocation for Nestorius

Octogonal medallion, surrounded by geometric designs.

Findspot: See no. 2531; this mosaic belongs to level 6a; “le pavement de la nef est divisé en trois panneaux” (ed. pr. 25); the northern one carries the medallion with the inscription, the southern one a bird.

(cross)

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙΚΕ
 ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ
 ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΜΕ
 ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ
 ΟΙΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΑΜΗΝ



fig. 2532

μνήσθητι, κ(ύρι)ε, | τοῦ δούλου σου | Νεστορίου τοῦ | σχολαστικοῦ, με|τὰ παντὸς τοῦ | οἴκου αὐτοῦ. | Ἀμήν

Remember, Lord, your servant Nestorius, the lawyer, with all his household. Amen.

Comm.: The style of the mosaic is said to provide the only indication of a date; it fits with a date in the 5 c. AD. Probably a donor.

Bibl.: R. Elter - A. Hassoune, in: C. Saliou, Gaza 24f., 37 fig. 8 (ed. pr.). – SEG 54, 1657.2. – Cf. R. Elter - A. Hassoune, CRAI 2004, 359ff. (no texts, but ph.); L. Di Segni, JRA 20, 2007, 647ff.; R. Elter - A. Abd el-Rhadan, Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa 38, 2007, 127f.

Photo: R. Elter - A. Hassoune, in: C. Saliou, Gaza 37 fig. 8.

WA

2533. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning Anastasius

Mosaic in the choir of the church, between the bema and the nave, replacing no. 2531.

Findspot: See no. 2531; this mosaic belongs to level 5.

Anastasius le très saint ...

Comm.: Elter - Hassoune just give the above translation and describe the inscription as very fragmentary. It replaces no. 2531 and is, therefore, held to be a sign that

the relics of Hilarion had been taken away and were moved to a newly built crypt east of the nave. But it seems not absolutely clear that Hilarion was not mentioned as an object of Anastasius' care: the text is too lacunary to allow any inference. On a St. Anastasius (perhaps the Persian), cf. a mosaic inscription from Kh. el-'Auja el Fauqa (Y. Magen, *The Good Samaritan Museum*, 2010, 218f.). Bishops, archbishops, even patriarchs are usually called *ἁγιώτατος*, but not a member of a monastic order (but there are some examples of members of the higher orders in a monastery being called *δσιώτατος*).

Bibl.: R. Elter - A. Hassoune, CRAI 2004, 359ff.; iid., in: C. Saliou, *Gaza* 25f.; SEG 54, 1657,3. – Cf. L. Di Segni, JRA 20, 2007, 647ff.; R. Elter - A. Abd el-Rhadan, *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38, 2007, 128f.; R. Elter - A. Hassoune, in: A. Borrut et al. eds., *Le Proche-Orient de Justinien aux Abbassides*, 2011, 193; R. Elter, *Archéologia* 505, 2012, 43; id., *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 18, 2012, 372.

WA

XXXII. Sheikh Raschid

2534. Fragment with Greek letters

Marble; inscription with contractions.

Meas.: w 45 cm.

Findspot: "Lying beside a rude wely, or cenotaph, on a sandy top some four miles south of Gaza. The place is called Sheikh Rashed, but the inscription is probably brought as an ornament from somewhere else" (Conder).

(cross) ΗΛΙΟΥΩ[--]

(christogram) +++Π[--]

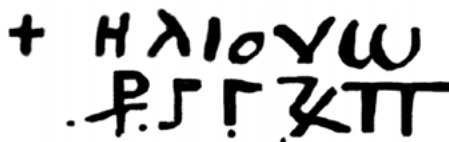


fig. 2534

Comm.: ΗΛΙΝ[--] Clermont-Ganneau;
text follows Conder - Kitchener. "It appears to be a Christian epitaph of one Elias", Clermont-Ganneau; "probably medieval" Conder - Kitchener.

Bibl.: C. Conder, PEQ 7, 1875, 159 no. 2 (ed. pr.). – Conder - Kitchener, Survey 3 Judaea 253 (dr.); Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 418 no. 26; Meyer, History 141 no. 12 (after Clermont-Ganneau); H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 718 no. 27.

Photo: Conder - Kitchener, Survey 3 Judaea 253 (dr.).

WA

XXXIII. Yizre' am

2535. Stamp with Greek inscription

Stamp made of light-brown clay with an inscription carved around a circle at its center, with a simple cross inside it; a cross appears also between the last and the first letter of the inscription. The letters on the stamp are in the “correct” order and as a result, the imprint would be reversed (see fig. 2). Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: Ø 7 cm; letters 1 cm.

Findspot: Found 1964 in a Late Antique site near Tequma, a settlement ca. 10 km southeast of Gaza, according to Figueras; at Yizre' am, which lies ca. 1 km southwest of Tequma, according to Israeli - Mevorah (Cradle of Christianity).

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1993-1719/1.

ΣΙΛΟΥΑΝΟΥ (cross)

Σιλουανοῦ

(Property) of *Silvanus*.



fig. 2535.1

Comm.: The object is taken to be a bread stamp. The cross excludes a date before the 4 c. AD.

Bibl.: P. Figueras, SBF 46, 1996, 267f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 46, 2022; Cradle of Christianity 96, 218.

Photo: Cradle of Christianity 96; IAA.



fig. 2535.2 (imprint)

XXXIV. Deir el-Balah

2536. Greek mosaic building inscription of a church, 586 AD

Mosaic inscription in the central nave of a church inside a tabula ansata (Saliou 281 fig. 1 for the general layout). For the text black tesserae were used, for the tabula ansata pink and brown tesserae. Ligatures, superscribed letters, abbreviation marks. Meas.: letters l.1: 7.5-8 cm; l.2: 6.5-7 cm.

Findspot: Abu Baraqeh (Deir el-Balah), 16 km south of Gaza.



fig. 2536

(star) ΑΓΙΟΣ ΟΝΑΟΣ ΣΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΥΜΑΣ ΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΟΞΟΤ
ΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΟΞΟΤ (sprig)
ΙΛΛΟΥΣ ΤΡΥΚΑΙΣΥΝΘΩΠΑΝΤΕ ΠΙΤΡΚ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΡΚΟΜ/ΚΕ ΠΙΤ
ΡΕ ΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΑΝΕΡΓ/ΜΗ ΑΡΤΕΜΙ/ΤΟΣ ΜΧ

Ἅγιος ὁ ναός σου, κύριε, θαυμαστός ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. Προνοία Γεωργίου
ἐνδοξοτ(άτου) | ἰλλουστρ(ίου) καὶ - σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ - παντεπιτρ(όπου) καὶ Φιλίππου
μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμ(η)τος καὶ ἐπιτρ(όπου) ἐγένετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργ(ον) μ(η)νὶ
Ἀρτεμ(ισίῳ) <ἔ>το(υς) ζ(η)μ(χ)

Holy is your temple, o Lord, admirable in justice. By the providence of Georgius, the most glorious and illustrious and – with the help of god – supercurator, and of Philippus, the most magnificent count and curator, the whole work was finished in the month Artemision in the year 646 (= April/May 586 AD).

Comm.: l.1: Ps 64,5 (LXX); cf. SEG 7, 875 (Gerasa); 44, 1406 (Madaba); Felle, *Biblia epigraphica*, nos. 79, 87. The quotation is separated from the rest of the inscription by a word divisor. – l.1ff.: “Leur titulature développée associe des titres sénatoriaux élevés à des fonctions des gestionnaires ... ces dignitaires avaient probablement pour ressort les domaines impériaux du Saltus Constantinianus, dont la frontière avec Gaza devait donc passer au Nord du site” (Feissel [BE]).

l.2: παντεπίτροπος is new, but Feissel (BE) believes that it can be found also in PG 114, 1429 D (πεντεπιτρόπου συζύγου). The fact that the inscription does not refer to the saltus in question might give rise to the idea that the church was erected

on the saltus itself. If the year 646 refers to the era of Gaza, the church was built in 586 AD in the month Artemision = between 26 April and 25 May.

Bibl.: C. Saliou, RB 115, 2008, 275-86 pl. 2 (ed. pr.). – AE 2008, 1550; SEG 58, 1757. – Cf. M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., Gaza 178f.; BE 2009, 522.

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).

WA/WE

2537. Greek funerary inscription (?)

Two pieces of marble, found near to each other. As far as can be seen from the drawing, they do not match. However, since the stones are of the same height and the same lettering, Abel suggested that they form parts of a single text (Bagatti still speaks of two inscriptions).

Meas.: (a) h 45, w 78 cm; (b) h 45, w 63 cm; letters 3.75 cm.

Findspot: Fragment (b) was found in the pavement of the mosque of el-Khader Abu'l Abbas; fragment (a) comes from the cover of a small cistern in the court of the mosque; the last one has a hole in its middle (ø 10 cm). Abel 69 believes that the stone must have come from the necropolis of Darum (Darum is the name the pilgrims used for this place).

Pres. loc.: Abel 68 mentions a squeeze “conservé aux Archives du Musée de Jerusalem”, but calls this squeeze as unhelpful as Conder’s drawing.



fig. 2537 (fragm. a and b)

(a) ΕΤΕ[...]_{NT}[...]_O[...]

ΜΑΥΡΕ[...]_{ΑΡΑΒΙΑΝΟΥ}[...]

ΑΠΟ[...]_{ΝΗΣΙΟΥ ΛΙΘ}[...]

(b) [...]_{ΙΤΙΩΕΙΣΑΚΑΤΟΙΚΩ}

[...]_{ΥΑΜΑΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΩ}

[...]_{ΟΥΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΥΧΑ}

(a and b) ΕΤΕ[...]_{NT}[...]_O[...]_{ΙΤΙΩΕΙΣΑΚΑΤΟΙΚΩ}

ΜΑΥΡΕ[...]_{ΑΡΑΒΙΑΝΟΥ}ΥΑΜΑΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΩ

ΑΠΟ[...]_{ΝΗΣΙΟΥ ΛΙΘ}[...]_{ΟΥΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΥΧΑ}

(a and b) ἐτέ[λεσεν τὸ]ν τ[όπ]ο[ν Τ]ιτίω Εἰσᾶ κατοίκω | Μ. Αὐρ. Ε[...]_{Ἀραβιανοῦ}
 ἄμα Ἀπολλοδώρῳ | ἀπὸ [χειρὸς] Νησίου λιθ[ουρ]γ[οῦ] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 εὐχα(ριστοῦντες)

This place was perfected for Titius Isas, katoikos, by Marcus Aurelius E... (son of??) Arabianus together with Apollodorus, by the hand of the stonemason Nesius, with their own money, in thanksgiving.

Comm.: The reading text printed is Abel's. l.1: Conder 1875: "The first line is almost obliterated by the feet of visitors"; he read on (b): ITIΨΘΙΣΛΡΑΣ...Ω; Abel: "Le début de la première ligne demeure conjectural ..., mais il doit comporter l'érection d'un monument funéraire"; ἐτέ[λεσαν--] Abel, perhaps rightly; l.2: Αὐρέ[λιος --] Clermont-Ganneau; ΑΡΑΡΙΑΝΟ Conder; l.3: ΙΝΗΣΙΟΥΑΤΘ Conder; ἀπό [--]ινης τοῦ λιθ[οστρώτου] εὐχα[ριστοῦντες] Clermont-Ganneau; [--Αἰ]νησίου? Abel; this would at least fit with the vertical bar Conder noted before the *nu*.

Date: according to the names, the inscription belongs at least to the late 2 c. – perhaps even to later times.

l.1: PAES III A 2, 185: ὁ τόπος [{τοῦ δεῖνα} ἐτ]ελέσθη; IGLS IV 1523: σ<υ>νετέλεσθ(αν) τὸν μνημῖον; 1529: ἐ<τέ>λεσεν τὸ κοιμητήριν; 1539: ἐτελέσθη τὸ ἡρόειον; none of these provides a perfect parallel. – Ἰσᾶς is surely the hypocoristic of Ἰσίδωρος – even though Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 45 has Εἰσας (cf. this vol. no. 2193). Abel refers to Oertel and concludes: "le défunt, comme les dédicants, pourrait avoir appartenu à un groupe de militaires établis comme tenanciers de l'oasis". This interpretation would emphasize the connection of Titius Isas to Egypt – and it would be, it seems, a very late date for a *κάτοικος* in Oertel's sense. Does the word relate to the inhabitant of the grave? Cf. SEG 47, 1110 (unknown provenance) with the quotation of Ps 131,14: [νῦ]ν ἐνταῦθα ἤρετ[ί]σατο κατοικεῖα; ICUR n.s. VIII 22815 (play on words on a prominent Christian motif): παροικῆσας ἔτη τεσσεράκοντα κατοικῶ τὸν ἔωνα.

l.2: Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 25 places Arabianus among the Semitic personal names, but it is difficult to believe that people were aware of this linguistic connection. But there may have been a certain lacuna between the *omicron* and the *upsilon* of the name (cf. the drawing).

l.3: There seems to be no parallel for this supplement, and εὐχα(ριστοῦντες) is no common term in funerary inscriptions, either (but see CIIP II 1456 [Caesarea], where the term is not really explained: μεμόριον τῆς προσσυλήτου Ἀσση καὶ Παρηγορίου, εὐχαριστοῦσα). One can form no hypothesis on the links between Aurelius E[--], Apollodorus and Titius Eisas.

Bibl.: C. Conder, PEQ 7, 1875, 159f. nos. 3-4; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 247f. (drs.) (ed. pr.). – C. Conder, PEQ 26, 1894, 202 no. 20; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 419 no. 27; Meyer, History 141f. nos. 13-14 (after Conder 1875); F. Abel, RB 49, 1940, 68f. – Cf. F. Oertel, RE XI 1, 20; Bagatti, Judaea 186.

Photo: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 248 (two drs., rearranged here).

2538. Crosses with Greek letters

Slab of stone, decorated with two squares, each square containing a (Maltese) cross; under the arms of the crosses the letters.

Meas.: h ca. 76, w ca. 183 cm (preserved).

Findspot: From the same place as no. 2537. "The mosque in the village is called Jamia el Khudr and stands, traditionally, on the site of a large monastery. The building was entered from a courtyard on the south. It proved to be a Christian chapel" (Conder - Kitchener). The stone was on the floor of the chapel.

(a) A Ω

(b) A [Ω]

(Christ is the) *alpha* (and the) *omega*.

Comm.: Conder - Kitchener believe this to be a tombstone.

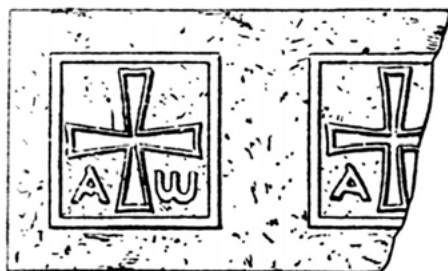


fig. 2538

Bibl.: C. Conder, PEQ 7, 1875, 160; Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 247f. (dr.) (edd. prr.). – Bagatti, Judaea 181 fig. 2 (dr.), 185f. – Cf. F. Abel, RB 49, 1940, 69.

Photo: Conder - Kitchener, SWP 3 Judaea 248 (dr.).

WA

XXXV. H. Gerarit

2539. Greek building inscription for a church, 599 AD

Mosaic pavement with a seven-line inscription inside a medallion. The letters are formed by red tesserae, the frame by red, white and black tesserae. The *eta* of $\mu\eta(\nu\iota)$ in l.6 is set over the *mu*. The abbreviation mark for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ occurs several times. Lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*, OY in ligature.

Meas.: Outer \varnothing 138, inner \varnothing 102 cm; frame of the medallion 18 cm; letters 9-11 cm.

Findspot: The Byzantine church was found in 1917, but excavated only in 1976 by J. Porath. The inscription was found in the northern aisle of the church on the bank of Nahal Ha Besor (Wadi Ghazze), "some hundred of metres from the ruins of the ancient village at Horvat Gerarit" (ed. pr.) = Umm Jarrar, ca. 6 km west of Kibbutz Beeri.

Pres. loc.: Archaeological collection of Kibbutz Beeri, IAA inv. no. 2006-1955.



fig. 2539

ΕΠΙΜΙΣΑΗΛ
 ΤΟΥΤΑΓΙΩΗΜ|ΕΠ|
 |ΖΑΧΑΡΙΟΥΤ|Ρ|ΧΩ
 |ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥΔΙΑΚ|ΟΙ
 ΚΟΝΟΜ|ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΗ
 ΨΗΦΩΣ|ΜΗΠΑΝΗΜ|
 ΤΟΥΘΝΧΙΝΒ

Ἐπὶ Μισαήλ(ος) | τοῦ ἁγιο(τάτου) ἡμ(ῶν) ἐπισκόπου) | (καὶ) Ζαχαρίου
 πρεσβυτέρου) (καὶ) χω(ρεπισκόπου) | (καὶ) Ἀλφείου διακ(όνου) (καὶ) οἰκονόμου)
 ἐγένετο ἡ | ψήφωσις) μηνί) Πανήμου) | τοῦ θνηχ' ἐν(δικτιῶνος) β'

*Under our most holy bishop Misael and Zacharias, priest and chorepiskopos, and
 Alpheius, deacon and financial administrator, the mosaic was laid in the month of
 Panemos of the year 639 (= 598/99 AD), second indiction.*

Comm.: l.1: Μισαήλ ed. pr.; but cf. SEG 30, 1688: ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ ὡσιωτάτου
 ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Μισαήλος κτλ.; l.7: ΕΤΟΥ ed. pr., but *epsilon* is not visible on the
 photos. For τοῦ θνηχ' instead of ἐτους(ς) θνηχ' cf. nos. 2483 and 2495.

The mosaic is dated by the year 639 of the era of Gaza to 598/599 AD; however,
 the month Panemos, which falls between the 25th of June and the 24th of July, nar-
 rows it down to June/July 599 AD. The mosaic was laid under the bishop Misael
 from Gaza, known from another mosaic inscription from a church near Kissufim
 (no. 2542); the village where the mosaic was found, belonged to the bishopric of
 Gaza, not to the neighboring saltus Gerariticus (see the arguments of Di Segni).
 The presbyter Zacharias was at the same time the *chorepiskopos*, that is ecclesi-
 astical superintendent of the country district (for literature on the *chorepiskopos*,
 see comm. to no. 2314), since the territory of Gaza was quite large. The deacon
 Alpheius was probably responsible for the execution of the mosaic since he was the
 financial administrator of the church of Gaza.

Bibl.: L. Di Segni, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky eds., *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*,
 2004, 56ff. (ed. pr.). – J. Porath, HA 61/62, 1977, 37f. (Hebr.) (only mentioned); AE 2006, 1620; BE
 2007, 522; L. Di Segni, JRA 20, 2007, 645f.; SEG 54, 1656. – Cf. also http://www.iaa-conservation.org.il/Projects_Item_eng.asp?site_id=17&subject_id=9&id=37 (viewed: 2 March 2014).

Photo: IAA.

WE

2540. Stamp with Greek inscription

Ceramic stamp with two surfaces: an inscription on one side and a palm branch on the other. As in no. 2535, the letters are in the “correct” order and as a result the imprint would be reversed.

Meas.: h 6.5, Ø 5 cm (according to IAA).

Findspot: H. Gerarit.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1995-7720.

ΙΘΙΩΚΟΟΥ (?)



fig. 2540.2



fig. 2540.1

Comm.: The object is taken to be a bread stamp; consequently the letters are likely to contain a name in the genitive case; if this is correct, then one should take the *iota* following the OΥ to be the beginning of that name. Whether there are abbreviations remains unclear.

Bibl.: Cradle of Christianity 96, 218 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA.



fig. 2540.3

XXXVI. Kissufim

2541. Hebrew fragment of the 24 priestly courses, 5-6 c. CE?

Limestone fragment with remains of four Hebrew letters in a “square” script on the polished front, and traces of incised letters or symbols on the smoothed back.
Meas.: h 6.5, w 11.5, d 3.1 cm; letters 2.5 cm (ed. pr.).

Findspot: Chance find west of Kissufim, near Gaza.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1964-1452 (not located).

[--]
[--]ה פתח[--]
[--]

[--|משמרת תשע עשר|ה פתח|יה|--]

Translit.: [--| mšmrt tš‘ ‘šr]h pth[yh |--]

... *The nineteenth course, Petaḥia.* ...



fig. 2541.1 (front)

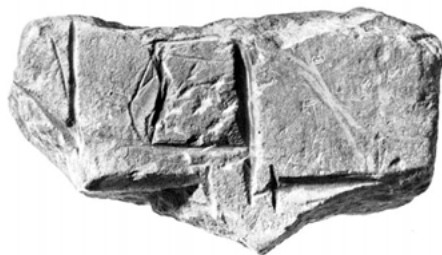


fig. 2541.2 (back)

Comm.: According to Naveh (p. 91), the stone was discovered in 1961 by a soldier on reserve duty, somewhere west of Kibbutz Kissufim, close to the border of the Gaza Strip. The reading and restoration were proposed by Baruch Engelhardt, a graphic artist at the then-Israel Department of Antiquities. The stone may have belonged to a synagogue in that region. If the restoration is correct, this fragment was part of a much longer inscription containing the list of the twenty-four priestly courses at the Temple (I Chron 24,7-18; M.Taan. 4,2), similar to those of which fragments have been found in Caesarea (CIIP II 1145), Ascalon (no. 2324 this vol.), Rehov (unpublished), Yemen (Naveh 106), possibly Nazareth (Eshel; see comm. ad CIIP II 1145). The present fragment is of limestone, not marble.

The actual use and meaning of these inscriptions are not clear; much depends on the function of the priests themselves in the ancient synagogue, a matter of considerable contention, see now Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz - Z. Weiss eds., *Was 70 CE*

a Watershed in Jewish History?, 2012, 91-111, with previous bibl.; and cf. bibl. at no. 2324 and CIIP II 1145 as well.

The indecipherable scratches on the smoothed back side, described by Ilan in ed. pr. as perhaps letters, may indicate that this stone was in secondary use.

Bibl.: Z. Ilan, *Tarbiz* 43, 1973/74, 225ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 11, 1964, 6 (Hebr.); Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 91f. no. 56 (Hebr.); R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, 1988, 225f.; H. Eshel, *Tarbiz* 61, 1992, 159-62 (Hebr.); J. Branham, *Art Bulletin* 74,3, 1992, 375-94 at 387; ead., in: D. Urman – P. Flesher eds., *Ancient Synagogues* 2, 1995, 319-45 at 334; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 409f.; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 2nd. ed. 524 (with references to earlier studies); Z. Weiss, in: D. Schwartz – Z. Weiss eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?*, 2012, 91-111 at 95. – On the list of priestly courses indicating the scope of priestly settlement throughout the Galilee, see bibl. to no. 2324 and CIIP II 1145.

Photo: Z. Ilan, *Tarbiz* 43, 1973/74, 227.

JJP

2542.-2547. Church with mosaic floors

A mosaic floor which belonged to a Byzantine church was discovered on the fields of the Kibbutz Magen – to be precise: in the fields at Abu Radi (Birket el-Wazza), about 1 km NW of Tell Jamma (Tel Gamma). The excavation took place in 1977. The basilica, dedicated to St. Elias (no. 2542), measured about 16x13 m; its eastern part, including the apse, was destroyed during earlier construction works. The church was divided in a nave and two aisles; there were two rows of five columns, which had probably been taken away in antiquity – roughly at the same time the kurkar walls had been dismantled. The narthex, 11x3 m, and the atrium were paved with stones; a cistern was found in the atrium. The mosaic in the nave was almost completely destroyed; only a strip near the entrance (no. 2542) survived. The remaining mosaics are in the northern aisle (nos. 2546f.) and between the columns separating this aisle from the nave (nos. 2543-2545). One part of the mosaic is dated to 576, the other part to 578 AD.

The 12 pictures of the mosaic floor are each 1.3 m long and between 60 and 80 cm wide. For a photo of the mosaic in situ, see fig. 2542.A below. The hole on the left hand side is a tomb with an inscription around it. Once the mosaic was taken out, dismantled and re-assembled for display they “cut” out the tomb and with it some parts of the inscription that surrounded it and are now not on exhibition. For a photo of the reconstruction in the Israel Museum, cf. fig. 2542.B below.



fig. 2542.A

Photo: R. Cohen, Qadmoniot 12, 1979, 22 (A).

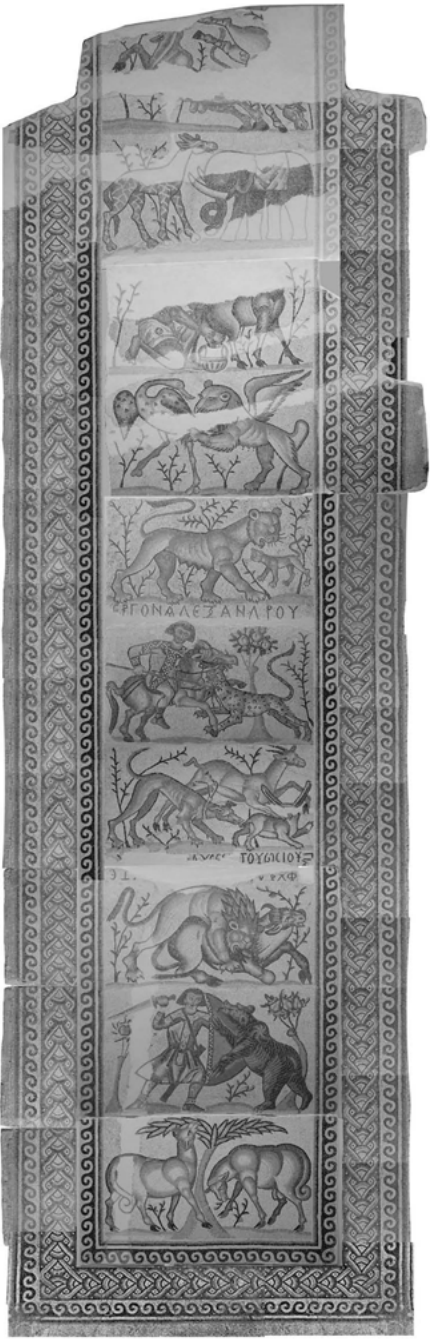


fig. 2542.B

Photo: Israel Museum (B).

**2542. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning bishop
Misael and deacon Theodorus, 576 AD**

Meas.: “At the entrance of the nave of the church” (Cohen 1977, 255), not directly connected with the other mosaics; cf. the photo of the general outlay, fig. 2542.A above).

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2542-2547.

Pres. loc.: In situ (Donderer, Di Segni).

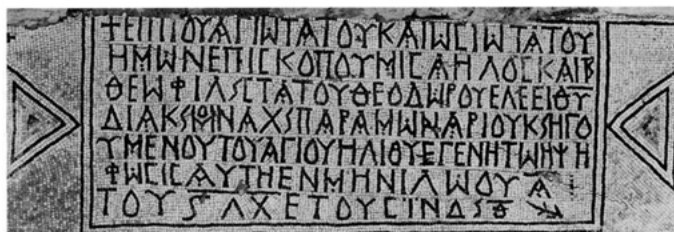


fig. 2542

(cross) ΕΠΙΤΟΥΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΩΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΗΜΩΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΜΙΣΑΗΛΟΣΚΑΙΤ
ΘΕΩΦΙΛ(Ε)ΣΤΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥΕΛΕΕΙΘΥ
ΔΙΑΚ(Ο)ΝΟΥΜΟΝΑΧ(Ο)ΠΑΡΑΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΥΚ(ΑΙ)ΗΓΟ
ΥΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥΗΛΙΟΥΕΓΕΝΗΤΩΗΨΗ
ΦΩΣΙΣΑΥΤΗΕΝΜΗΝΙΑΛΩΟΥΑΙ
ΤΟΥΣΛΧΕΤΟΥΣΙΝΔΥΘ (branch)

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ ὡσιωτάτου | ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Μισαήλος καὶ τ(οῦ) |
θεωφιλ(ε)στάτου Θεοδώρου, ἐλέει θε(ο)ῦ, | διακ(όνου) μοναχ(οῦ) παραμωναρίου κ(αὶ) ἡγο
υμένου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἑλίου ἐγένητω ἡ ψή|φωσις αὕτη ἐν μηνὶ Λώου αἰ' |
τοῦ ςλχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'

This mosaic was made under our most holy and most god-fearing bishop Misael and the most god-loving Theodorus, by the grace of God, deacon, monk, administrator and abbot of the (monastery of the) holy Elias, Loos 11, year 636, indiction 9 (= 4 August 576 AD).

Comm.: l.3: the *epsilon* was intended as an abbreviation mark, but then the mosaicist decided to write the word in full. – The church was part of a monastery dedicated to St. Elias. The bishop is mentioned in no. 2539, too, dating from June/July 599. On the name, cf. Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 76: Μιζαηλ.

Bibl.: R. Cohen, *Qadmoniot* 12, 1979, 19ff. with ph. and dr. (ed. pr.). – SEG 30, 1688; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 94 no. 574 (l.5), 152 no. 801 (l.4f.), 172 no. 868 (ll.2-5), 211 no. 1057 (l.1f.), 233 no. 1158 (ll.2-5), 244 no. 1226 (ll.2-5), 261 no. 1291 (ll.2-5); id., *Chron. Systems* 132 no. 134. – Cf.

R. Cohen, IEJ 27, 1977, 254ff.; HA 63/4, 1977, 58f. (Hebr.); RB 85, 1978, 104ff.; id., BAR 6, 1980, 16ff. (ph.); Keel - Küchler 126; A. Ovadiah - S. Mucznik, in: R. Ginouvés et al. eds., *Mosaïque*, 1983, 273ff. pl. 187,1; SEG 33, 1267; SEG 34, 1472; SEG 37, 1486; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung*, 1989, 53; P. Figueras, in: *Actes du XIème Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, 1989, 1775; A. Ovadiah - S. Mucznik - C. Gomez Silva, *Qadmoniot* 24, 1991, 122ff. (ph.) (Hebr.); R. Cohen, in: Y. Tsafir ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed*, 1993, 277ff., 280 (ph.); DGI 677ff. no. 229 fig. 281.

Photo: R. Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements*, 2009, 237 fig. XI-6 a.

WA

2543. Greek mosaic inscription donated by father Theodorus, 578 AD

Meas.: tabula ansata: h 70, w 140 cm; letters 9 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2542-2547.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1977-416.



fig. 2543

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΧΑΡΙΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ
ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΒΟΛΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΒΒΑΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΕΛΕΘΥΔΙΑΚΟΜΟΝΑΧΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΝ
ΗΨΗΦΩΣΙΣ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΗ ΠΑΝΗΜΟΙ
ΙΤΟΥ ΗΛΧΕΤΟΥΣΙΝ ΔΑΙ

καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χαριέστατον ἔργον | τοῦ ἐν βόλου ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ | αὐτοῦ
θεοφιλεστάτου ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου, | ἐλέ(ει) θε(ο)ῦ, διακό(νου), μοναχ(οῦ) καὶ
ἡγουμ(ένου). | ἡ ψήφωσις αὕτη ἐν μηνί Πανήμο(υ) | ι', τοῦ η'λχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'

And this most gracious work of the aisle was done under the same most god-loving father Theodorus, deacon, monk and abbot by the grace of god. This mosaic (was finished) on Panemos 10th, year 638, indiction 11 (= 4 July 578 AD).

Comm.: l.1: καὶ τοῦτο indicates that other constructions took place under Theodorus, too. These must have been mentioned in other, now lost inscriptions. Perhaps this refers back to no. 2542. χάρις is a common quality of a mosaic, but χαριέστατος seems

very rare. One can read in the *thermae* of Gadara (SEG 47, 2004): ἐν τῷ χαριεστάτῳ τόπῳ τούτῳ μνήσθητι κτλ., but this is no proper parallel; a part of a church is characterised in IGLS 21,2, 74 (Siyagha): τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ διακον(ι)κὸν μετὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἁγίας κολυμβήθρας τῆς παλιν γένεσας καὶ τοῦ χαριεστάτου κηβωρίου, but χαριέστατος here possibly carries the meaning “full of grace”.

l.2: ἔμβολος = stoa = “nef latérale”, Feissel, quoting SEG 30, 1667 b; 1689 (present text); ZPE 80, 1990, 213ff. (at least the two examples from SEG belong to the 6 and 7 c. AD). ἔργον τοῦ ἐνβόλου could mean the building, i.e. the aisle itself, but it is perhaps much easier to understand ἔργον only as the mosaic (cf. Donderer; SEG 40, 1620: ἐψήφωσεν τὸν ἐνβόλον τῆς ἐκκλησίας), thus equating ἡ ψήφωσις αὕτη with τὸ χαριέστ(ατον) ἔργον τοῦ ἐνβόλου. On the titles cf. Meimaris, *Sacred Names*.

l.6: ἰβ' Bingen apud SEG, transcribing the photo; but it seems that there was no *beta* (or it was destroyed without any trace by a restoration).

Bibl.: R. Cohen, *Qadmoniot* 12, 1979, 19-24 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 30, 1689; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 172 no. 869 (l.2f.), 233 no. 1159 (l.2f.), 238 no. 1196, 244f. no. 1227 (l.2f.). – Cf. R. Cohen, *IEJ* 27, 1977, 256; *HA* 63/64, 1977, 58f.; R. Cohen, *BAR* 6, 1980, 16-23 (phs. and dr.); id., in: Y. Tsafir ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed*, 1993, 277-81 (drs.); Keel - Kuehler 126; A. Ovadia - S. Mucznik, in: R. Ginouvés ed., *Mosaïque*, 1983, 273ff. pl. 187,2; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 132f. no. 135; D. Feissel, *BCH* 118, 1994, 289f.; J. Sodini, *L'organisation liturgique des églises en Palestine et Judée*, 1995, 309f.; *Cradle of Christianity* 78f., 217; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., *Gaza* 177; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike* 2, 2008, 21. On the place cf. *RB* 85, 1978, 104ff.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2544. Greek mosaic inscription of Lady Silthus

Two richly dressed women, one of them in the act of tossing coins (“Mit der angewinkelten Linken faßt sie einige Falten ihres Untergewandes zu einem Bausch, in dem sie weitere Münzen aufbewahrt” [Baumann 237]); the other, older woman holds a platter with some kind of animal on it; the most elaborate description is by Ovadia - Mucznik 275: “a vessel with a high cylindrical base, the round upper part of which is seen from above. The inner top part of the vessel is decorated with a bird which is difficult to identify and is presented in a stylized, flat way. It seems that it is a metal vessel and its decoration is probably made in one of the following techniques: hammering, applique, niello, or enamel. It does not appear to be hollow, because the central area of the bird’s body is shown in white and not in a dark colour, which would have indicated the opening and the dark interior of the vessel. Moreover, the coins are dispersed close to it, but are not introduced into the vessel” (only Sodini suggests that the vessel was perhaps used to receive the coins). Baumann 237 describes this as “ein Kelch, auf dem eine mit einem Schlangenmuster verzierte Patene liegt”. – Cohen, *IEJ* 27, 1977, 255f. compares the two female attendants of Theodora in San Vitale, Ravenna.

Meas.: “length of each scene is about 1.30 m, and the width varies from 0.60 to 0.80 m” (Cohen 1977, 255); letters 8.7 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2542-2547.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1977-416. Autopsy: 15 March 2012 (WE).

ΚΑ ΛΗΩΡΑΗΚΥ ΡΑ
ΣΙΛ ΘΟΥΣ



fig. 2544

Καλή Ὥρα - ἡ κυρά | Σιλθοῦς

Beautiful Hour - the Lady Silthus.

Comm.: καλή ὥρα Ovadiah - Mucznik; ΣΙΛΤΟΥΣ Baumann 237. – The inscription relates to the two figures; the first one is Καλή Ὥρα, the second one the Lady Silthus (or, less likely, of Siltho). Καλή Ὥρα is a personification, “bon moment”, “belle occasion”, as Sodini translates, who understands “la dame Silthous” as the donator of part of the floor. Ovadiah - Mucznik offered a different interpretation: “In good time, the Lady Silthous”. Their main reason to do so is the absence of the article, indicating, as they say, a different grammatical case. On the other hand, one might argue, that the addition of the title to the name made the article necessary. The interpretation καλή ὥρα would leave the left figure in the panel without any kind of identification – and, as Ovadiah - Mucznik pointed out – one would not be able to put her in a row with the many other female personifications known from mosaics (e.g. Τρυφή, Εὐχαρπία, Ἀπόλαυσις, Σωτηρία, Ἀνανέωσις, Μεγαλοψυχία – to name only those who have a slight conceptual similarity with Καλή Ὥρα). The Beautiful Hour, as Baumann 239 pointed out, “läßt sich mit ‘rechte Stunde’ übersetzen, d.h. dem guten Zeitpunkt, zu dem die Stiftung eingesetzt wurde”. Only Britt argues differently: “considering the woman’s age and dour expression” it seems unlikely to him that she is a personification. – Ovadiah - Mucznik, Sodini and others interpret the 16 circles emanating from “la dame Silthous” as coins, representing the donation. ἡ κυρά Σιλθοῦς is depicted in the act of a sparsio (Baumann). Brown 121 n. 95 refers to the consular sparsio of Constantius II in the calendar of 354; he seems to believe that Silthus was the donor of the mosaic and looked to be remembered by her portrait on the same mosaic; on 28 he comments: “They (scil. the benefactors)

wished, in church also, to wear the ancient 'halo' of the euergetes. Indeed, some succeeded in doing just that. ... the lady Silthous is shown staring forward with an outstretched right hand, from which coins rain down in the gesture of the classical megalopsychos, the person of open-handed generosity. Her left hand clutches her robe in a gesture that makes the folded end of the robe seem like the mappa ... In an otherwise remote provincial church, a pious Christian woman was able to show herself performing public benefactions to the Christian community in a manner that echoed ancient gestures associated with the greatest figures in the land" (Britt remarks that this would be the first woman with a securely identified mappa). The iconography of this picture is taken from consular diptychs or representations of empresses on steel-yard weights (Britt fig. 12 gives an example). – Baumann translates: "Frau des Siltos", which is improbable on many counts. The name itself is not attested hitherto, but the "name Σίλθα, which derives from the Nabataean name šl', was very popular among the local inhabitants (scil. of Zoora), since it is attested eight times ... In six of these occurrences it is certain that the name Σίλθα applies to women ... The fact that in two cases the accompanying participles are masculine ... does not prove that these examples refer to men, since the disharmony between the gender of the deceased (feminine) and that of the participle (masculine) is not an uncommon phenomenon in the epithaphs of Ghor es-Safi", *Inscriptions of Palaestina Tertia I a*, p. 105f.

Bibl.: R. Cohen, *Qadmoniot* 12, 1979, 19-24 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 30, 1690. – Cf. R. Cohen, *IEJ* 27, 1977, 255f.; *HA* 63/4, 1977, 58f.; R. Cohen, *RB* 85, 1978, 106; id., *BAR* 6, 1980, 16-23 (dr.); A. Ovadia - S. Mucznik, in: R. Ginouvès ed., *Mosaique*, 1983, 275f.; *BE* 1989, 1007; R. Cohen, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed*, 1993, 277-80 (drs.); A. Ovadia - S. Mucznik - C. Gomez Silva, *Qadmoniot* 24, 1991, 122-6 (ph.) (Hebr.); J. Sodini, *L'organisation liturgique des églises en Palestine et Judée*, 1995, 309f.; Bagatti, *Judaea* 184; P. Baumann, *Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land*, 1999, 237ff. fig. 30; *Cradle of Christianity* 86f., 217; P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* 2002, 28, 55, 121 n. 95 (ph. of this mosaic on the jacket); K. Britt, *Medieval Feminist Forum* 44, 2008, 126ff. fig. 11; B. Poulsen, in: S. Birk - B. Poulsen eds., *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity*, 2012, 169f. with fig. 1.

Photo: Israel Museum.

WA

2545. Greek mosaic inscription written "Orbicon"

Mosaic panel with a man leading a camel carrying jars and baskets; the man has grapes or dates in his right hand, a stick in his left.

Meas.: "length of each scene is about 1.30 m, and the width varies from 0.60 to 0.80 m" (Cohen 1977, 255); letters 6.2 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2542-2547.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1977-416. Autopsy: 15 March 2012 (WE).

ΟΡΒΙΚΟΝ

Ὀρβικόν

Orbicon

Comm.: Sodini: “Le chamelier Orbikon, dans l’entrecolonnement suivant, est sans doute lui aussi un contributeur.” If one

might just believe that the lady Silthus is represented in no. 2544, the portrait of a camel driver as benefactor seems out of proportion, since the payment of camel drivers was very low (Baumann 227 n. 179); Baumann 228 concludes (starting from another example): “Vielmehr ist der Kameltreiber ein ‘Statussymbol’ für einen reichen Herren, der nicht notwendigerweise Vormann einer Karawanengenossenschaft war”. Commenting on the iconography he finds another reason for this interpretation: “In seiner rechten Hand hält er den Treiberstab, in der Linken einen Gegenstand, der einem Palmzweig gleicht und mehrfach bei den Karawanenführern in Palmyra begegnet.” Palm branches as symbol of a donator, Baumann 208ff. – On camel trade and the representation of camels in mosaics, see also Habas. Is the name a Greek version of the Latin Urbicus (eds.) (as in Ὀρβίκιος=Urbicius)? Cf. CIL 5, 1851: M. Orbici – which could be resolved in M. Orbici(i), though.

Bibl.: R. Cohen, Qadmoniot 12, 1979, 19-24 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 30, 1691. – Cf. R. Cohen, IEJ 27, 1977, 255ff.; HA 63/4, 1977, 58f.; R. Cohen, RB 85, 1978, 105f.; id., BAR 6, 1980, 16-23 (dr.); Keel - Küchler 126 fig. 102a; A. Ovadia - S. Mucznik - C. Gomez Silva, Qadmoniot 24, 1991, 122-6 (ph.) (Hebr.); R. Cohen, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 277f. (drs.); J. Sodini, L’organisation liturgique des églises en Palestine et Judée, 1995, 309f.; Bagatti, Judaea 184; P. Baumann, Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land, 1999, 226ff. (on representations of camels in general), fig. 38 (present mosaic); L. Habas, in: Studies Tsafrir 54*ff. fig. 5.

Photo: WE.

fig. 2545



WA

2546. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning a father Zonainus

Cohen 1977, 255: “In the centre of the northern aisle a tomb was exposed. At the level of the mosaic floor, it had been indicated by a large marble slab, of which a few fragments were scattered in the area. The tomb itself, below floor level, was covered with stone slabs still in situ. Five skeletons were found ... On the floor-level border surrounding the tomb on all four sides was a mosaic inscription in Greek. This inscription was partially destroyed ...”

Meas.: letters 7.5 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2542-2547.

Pres. loc.: Parts are in the Israel Museum, parts in the restoration department of the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. IAA inv. no. 1977-416. Autopsy: 15 March 2012 (WE).



fig. 2546

[--]+++ΟΣ+[.]ΤΟΥΩΣΙΟΥ
 ΠΑΤΡ[Η]ΜΩΝΖΟΝΑΙΝΟΥΠΡΕ[--]ΜΑΡΙΑΣ
 ΚΣΦΥΛΑ[--]+ΤΕ
 ΤΗΝΚΑΡΠΟΦ[--]ΤΟΣΑΜΗΝ

[--]+++ΟΣ+[.] τοῦ ὁσίου | πατρ(ος) ἡμῶν Ζωναίνου πρε[σβυτέ(ρου) --] Μαρίας. |
 Κ(ύριο)ς, φύλα[ξον --]+ΤΕ | τὴν καρποφ[όρον --]ΤΟΣ. Ἀμήν

... of our holy father Zonainus, the priest ... of Maria ... Lord, protect ... the offering
 ... Amen.

Comm.: l.1 init.: some form of ἀναπαύω? l.3: τὴν καρποφ[όρον --]ΤΟΣ edd.; τὴν
 καρποφ[ορίαν --]ΤΟΣ (personal name in the genitive)?

The beginning of the text is established by a) the place of the ἀμήν, and b) the direction of the other inscriptions on the mosaic. – I.1: Figueras does not believe that the title πατήρ ἡμῶν needs to be interpreted “dans le sens de supérieur monastique” – as Cohen 1980, 22f. wanted it; but Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 239 understands a superior of a monastery, too, and adds: “A hellenized form of the local word ‘abuna.’” The examples collected by Meimaris 246ff. show that πατήρ ἡμῶν usually precedes the personal name and that a further qualification like presbyter or episkopos is often added. On the name Zonainus, cf. no. 2445. – I.2: The mention of Mary is not easy to explain; is it possible that Zonainus was presbyter of a church consecrated to Mary?

Bibl.: R. Cohen, *Qadmoniot* 12, 1979, 19ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 30, 1692; Meimaris, *Sacred Names* 35 no. 171, 247f. no. 1247. – Cf. R. Cohen, *IEJ* 27, 1977, 255ff.; *HA* 63/4, 1977, 58f. (Hebr.); R. Cohen, *BAR* 6, 1980, 16-23 (dr.); P. Figueras, in: *Actes du XIème Congrès International d’Archéologie Chrétienne*, 1989, 1771; A. Ovadiah - S. Mucznik - C. Gomez Silva, *Qadmoniot* 24, 1991, 122-6 (ph.) (Hebr.); R. Cohen, in: Y. Tsafrir ed., *Ancient Churches Revealed*, 1993, 277ff., 281 (drs.); J. Sodini, *L’organisation liturgique des églises en Palestine et Judée*, 1995, 309f.

Photo: IAA.

WA

2547. Greek mosaic inscription mentioning one Alexander

Rider with lance attacking a leopard under a pomegranate tree; the inscription above the figures on the whole width of the panel.

Meas.: “length of each scene is about 1.30 m, and the width varies from 0.60 to 0.80 m” (Cohen 1977, 255); letters 9 cm.

Findspot: See introduction to nos. 2542-2547.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1977-416. Autopsy: October 2011 (WA); 15 March 2012 (WE).

ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

ἔργον Ἀλεξάνδρου

Work of Alexander.



fig. 2547

Comm.: This is either the signature of a mosaicist or one of the exploits of Alexander the great. Ovadiah 2004, 693ff. gives an overview of mosaicists' signatures in Israel (including the present inscription) and refers to Sophocles s. v. *ἔργον* for its late antique meaning "work" (695 n. 13 examples from mosaics; cf. Ovadiah - Mucznik 274f., who quote a plethora of inscriptions with *ἔργον* as work of a craftsman or artist, even in regard to mosaics, e.g. τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς ψηφώσεως – see some examples at the end); exploits were, mostly, called *πράξεις*. Hachlili 1997, 106 agreed, but already Balmelle - Darmon 235 had argued: "c'est sans doute à tort, qu' A. Ovadiah lit à Kissufim (Israel) ἔργον Ἀλεξάνδρου comme la signature du mosaïste là où il s'agit tout simplement du titre du tableau figuré qui représente un exploit de chasse d'Alexandre"; BE 2005, 86: "mais la disposition du texte, qui occupe toute la largeur de la scène, donne l'impression d'une légende plus que d'une signature;" contra Tybout apud SEG 54, 1642, who refers for similar dispositions of signatures to Donderer A 16; 28; 37; 42. Of course, no confrontation of Alexander and a leopard is known, but the popularity of hunting in the Macedonian royal house has always been known. Cohen 1993 cites a Coptic tapestry from the 7-8 c. AD depicting Alexander as a hunter on a horse (Berliner 1962; in Berliner 1963 he studied the motive of the hunter on horseback on late antique textiles, which was not restricted to representations of Alexander). On the other hand, one might argue that the inscription does not refer only to this mosaic, but also to the lioness and her cub which can be found directly above the inscription. G. Foerster interpreted the huntsman as the ideal prince. Hachlili 1997, 99 comments on the rarity of mythological scenes in churches.

Donderer considers this a "gesicherter Mosaizist" and in 1989 he knew of two parallels for *ἔργον* in signatures of mosaicists: SEG 7, 993 (el-Hit, Syria): *ἔργον [Λιβ]ανίου καὶ Προκοπ(ίου)*; Lifshitz, Donateurs 66f. no. 77 (Beth Alfa): *μνισθοῦσιν ὁ τεχνίτ(αι) εὗ κάμνοντες τὼ ἔργον τοῦτω...* In 2008, Donderer 21f. knew of four more examples. – For *ἔργον* in the simple sense of mosaic, see, e.g., Ovadiah, MPI 180 (Battir); cf. SEG 52, 1642b (lintel from Gadara): *Ἀραβίου τεχνίτου ἔργον*.

Bibl.: R. Cohen, Qadmoniot 12, 1979, 19ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 30, 1693; SEG 34, 1472; M. Donderer, Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung, 1989, 53 pl. 1. – Cf. R. Berliner, Textile Museum Journal 1, 1962, 14ff.; id., ibid. 2, 1963, 39ff.; R. Cohen, IEJ 27, 1977, 255ff. pl. 40A; HA 63/4, 1977, 58f. (Hebr.); RB 85, 1978, 104ff.; R. Cohen, Qadmoniot 2, 1979, 23 (dr.) (Hebr.); id., BAR 6, 1980, 16ff. (dr.); K. Jaroš, AfO 27, 1980, 265; Y. Dan, Cathedra 23, 1982, 17ff. (ph.) (Hebr.); Keel - Küchler 126; A. Ovadiah - S. Mucznik, in: R. Ginouvès et al. eds., Mosaïque, 1983, 273ff. pl. 186; E. Lipinski, in: id. ed., Recherches archéologiques en Israël/Archeologisch Onderzoek in Israël, 1984, 90, 92 pl. 50; I. Pomerantz ed., The Israel Museum. Highlights of Archaeology, 1984, 110f. with pl.; G. Foerster, in: Πρακτικὰ τοῦ XII διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου κλασσικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας I, 1985, 133 pl. 20,2; C. Balmelle - J.-P. Darmon, in: X. Barral i Altet ed., Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge I, 1986, 235ff.; P. Figueras, in: Actes du XIème Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, 1989, 1772; A. Ovadiah - S. Mucznik - C. Gomez Silva, Qadmoniot 24, 1991, 122ff. with ph. (Hebr.); R. Cohen, in: Y. Tsafir ed., Ancient Churches Revealed, 1993, 277ff. (drs.); J. Sodini, in: J. Humphrey ed., The Roman and Byzantine Near East, 1995, 309f.; Bagatti, Judaea 184; R. Hachlili, ZDPV 113, 1997, 99,

106; Kuchler, Jerusalem 1074; A. Ovadiah, in: M. Fano Santi ed., *Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari* 2, 2004, 693ff. with fig. 3; BE 2005, 86; SEG 54, 1642; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike* 2, 2008, 105 no. A1; R. Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements*, 2009, 160, 237f., 246.

Photo: IAA.

WA

XXXVII. Kh. Jamma

2548. Ostracon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

Two halves of an ostracon, joined together, with 2 lines written in black ink on its convex side.

Meas.: h ca. 5.5, w 10 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 1/2C 6 2), inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-232.

ב6 למרחשו[.] בעלרעי בר ונהב/רי [--]
קבן חמשה נשיף [--] 3 [--]



fig. 2548.1

ב6 למרחשו[?] בעלרעי בר ונהב/רי [קמח?] | קבן חמשה נשיף [--] 3 [--]

Translit.: b6 lmrḥšw[n] b'lr'y br w/nhb/ry [qmḥ?] | qbn ḥmšh nšyp [--] 3 [--]

On the 6th of Marḥešwan, B'lr'y son of Whby/Nhry (gave?/received?) flour(?) qabs, five, semolina(?), ... 3 ...

Comm.: This text resembles a quite large group of texts from Idumaea in the forthcoming Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea recording the delivery of *nšyp* and *qmḥ* (semolina[?] and flour). However, in all these texts, the word *nšyp* precedes the



fig. 2548.2

word *qmḥ* and therefore the restoration of the latter here is uncertain, and, secondly, none of these texts is dated to Marḥešwan (Naveh did not read the word *nšyp*). This indicates that this text does not belong to the group of texts mentioned above. *B'lr'y* ("Ba'al is my shepherd"? or "Ba'al is my friend"? [Naveh's reading *B'lpdy* seems to be wrong; he also did not read the rest of the line]) son of *Whby* (alternative reading *Nhry*) does not appear elsewhere in the forthcoming Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea, but a certain *B'lr'y* appears in a list of names (ISAP 1626), and the name *Whby* appears there in about 10 more texts, referring to more than one person. The name appears as the patronymic of a certain '*bd'dh* in a record of the delivery of wheat written on Tammuz 25, year 3 of Antigonos (ISAP 1855) probably referring to another person than the *Whby* appearing here.

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

AY

2549. Ostrakon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

An ostrakon, with the remains of 5 lines written in black ink on its concave side.
Meas.: h ca. 5, w ca. 4 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 2/2D), inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-233.

[--]+++
יהונתן[--]
חס 1 ק[--]
מן כרם ש[--]
[--]+

Translit.: +++[--] | yhwntn[--] | ḥs 1 q +[--] |
mn krm š/š[--] | +[--]

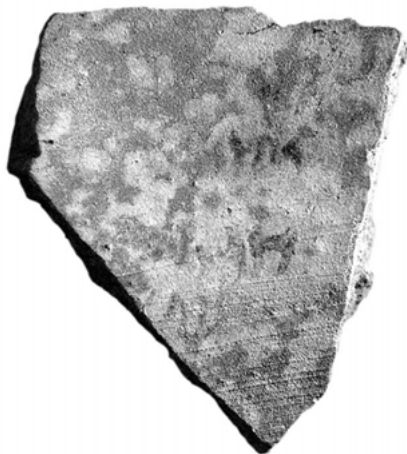


fig. 2549.1

... Yehonatan ... (gave?/received?) wheat, se'ah 1, qab(s), ... from the vineyard/grove of š/š...

Comm.: The Biblical name *Yhwntn* (“Yhw gave”) appears in two 4 c. BCE Aramaic ostraca from Arad (nos. 13, 14) and in a list on a 4 c. BCE Aramaic ostrakon from Gezer (ISAP 2070). In l.4, the word *krm* “vineyard/grove of” seems to appear preceded by *mn* “from”. It may have been followed by a personal name (of its owner?), perhaps beginning with *shin* or *sin*. Alternatively it could have been followed by a word designating the product of the vineyard or grove (e.g., *šqdy* “almonds”). The connection between this *krm* in l.4 (Naveh did not read this line) and the wheat in l.3 is unclear. Perhaps another product appeared at the end of l.3 which is now missing. The word *krm* appears in about 31 more Idumaeen ostraca mostly followed by a personal name. The only word following *krm* beginning with *shin* or *sin* in the forthcoming Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea, is *š/štn* which may have been a nickname (ISAP 36).



fig. 2549.2

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

AY

2550. Ostrakon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

An ostrakon, with the remains of 4 lines written in black ink on its convex side.
Meas.: h ca. 7, w ca. 8.5 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 3/2D 6), inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2002-234.



fig. 2550.1

ב 6--
ב 6--++++
יהיב אגר גבריא--
שכ 2 ס 6 כל שכ 2 <ס> 10

Translit.: b 6[--] | bh+++++[--] | yhyb 'gr gbry' [--] | šk 2 s 6 kl šk 2 <s> 10

On the 6th ... gave/given the rent/wages of the men barley, kors 2, se'ahs 6; all total: barley, kors 2, se'ahs 10.

Comm.: The text is fragmentary. Its structure resembles that of the large group of records of the delivery of products on the Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea, except for l.3, which seems to indicate a different formula. The text begins with a date of which only the number of the day has survived. The reading of l.2 is unclear. The reading of l.3 is conjectural (Naveh did not read this line). The word *yhyb* may be the

passive participle of *yhb* "he gave", the subject of it probably appeared at the end of l.2. The Aramaic word *'gr*, here in the construct state, has more than one meaning, but in this context it could mean "rent/wages" (see Jastrow, Dictionary 14) of the *gbry* "men". Since the word *kl* "total" in l.4 sums up the amount of barley (probably given to the men), one expects an additional amount of 4 se'ahs, which possibly appeared before, either in l.2 or at the end of l.3; the numeral 10 at the end of the text no doubt referred to se'ahs, the designation of which has been omitted (see A. Yardeni, IEJ 40, 1990, 135-40).

Bibl.: J. Naveh, Atiqot 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).



fig. 2550.2

AY

2551. Ostrakon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

An ostrakon, with the remains of two lines written in black ink on its convex side.
Meas.: h ca. 5.4, w ca. 6 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma, inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2002-235.

ב 3 לניסן שנת ++[--]1[--]l
 4 ק 1 ס +++[--]l [--]



fig. 2551.1

Translit.: B 3 lnyšn šnt ++[--]1[--]l [--]+++ s 1 q 4

On the 3rd of Nisan, year ... , ... se'ah 1 qabs 4.

Comm.: The text very much resembles that of the large group of 4 c. BCE Idumaeian ostraca recording the delivery of products, the formulation of which often begins with the date, continues with a personal name of the supplier or the recipient, and ends with the product and its amount. The word *šnt* "year" is here followed by numerals of which only one unit is clear. The year may have been 5 or 6, possibly referring to the reign of Artaxerxes III (see B. Porten, *Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea*, forthcoming, lists and glossary). The *lamed* in l.2 may have belonged to a personal name, which has not been reconstructed. This would leave only a small space for the designation of the product, which probably appeared in its abbreviated form (perhaps *het* for wheat or *sin* for barley).



fig. 2551.2

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

2552. Ostracon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE?

An ostracon, with 3 lines written in black ink on its convex side.

Meas.: h ca. 3, w ca. 4 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 5/III/AI PI), inside the East Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2002-231.

חמר כרם
פבי
קוסיתע [?]



fig. 2552.1

Translit.: ḥmr krm [?] | pby | qwsyt' [?]

The wine of the vineyard of Pby. Qwsyt'.

Comm.: This text records the delivery of wine from the vineyard of a person named *pby* (the reading is conjectural [Naveh's reading *zby* is less certain, the first letter possibly being *pe* rather than *zayin*]). This name appears only once more in the group of Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea (ISAP 2001), preceding the word *krm* in an unclear context. This may indicate that both texts referred to the same *pby*.

The second name appearing in this text *qwsyt'*

(Naveh's reading is wrong) is probably that of the signatory. This name is very well attested in ostraca from Idumaea, appearing in about 18 more texts, in 5 of these as the signatory (ISAP 230, 436, 1086, 1829, 2528), but none recording the delivery of wine. It also appears in a list of names on an ostracon from Beersheba (no. 14 = ISAP 2214).



fig. 2552.2

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

AY

2553. Ostracon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

An ostracon, with two short lines written in black ink on its convex side.

Meas.: h ca. 3, w ca. 3 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 6/III/A PI), inside the East Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2002-236.

חמר
זבידי

Translit.: ḥmr | zbydy

The wine of Zbydy.



fig. 2553.1

Comm.: This seems to have been a label designating the contents of a jar – the wine of *Zbydy* (*zbd* = donate, bestow/gift). This name does not appear elsewhere in the forthcoming Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea but its Arabic variant – *Zbydw* – appears in about 40 of these ostraca, referring to more than one person.



fig. 2553.2

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

AY

2554. Ostracon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

An ostracon, with the remains of one line written in black ink on its convex side.
Meas.: h ca. 2.5, w ca. 3.5 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM7/IC/0), inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-237.

כפר צנפר[--]

Translit.: kpr šnpr[--]

The village/tomb of Šnpr...

Comm.: The text is too fragmentary to enable reconstruction. Since a space precedes the first word, it may be the beginning of the line. The reading is conjectural. If it is correct, the first word is *kpr*, which in the Aramaic ostraca of the 4 c. BCE could mean either village or tomb. It is here in the construct state with the following word which may be a name. Naveh prefers the reading *Šnpt* to *Šnpr* claiming that the last letter looks more like *tav*, and reconstructs a final *alef*, offering three possible meanings to the word: “fringe”, “border” and “the uppermost branches of the tree” (Biblical Hebrew *myr* [Isa 17,6]). He suggests a possible translation also for *kpr*: “cyprus flower” (Cant 1,14). This is very uncertain, the word possibly being *Šnpr* “bird” (a final letter, either *alef* or *yod* may be missing), the text perhaps referring to a place called “bird village” (cf. the name of the city Šippōri).

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).



fig. 2554.1



fig. 2554.2

AY

2555. Ostracon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

An ostracon, with the beginnings of two lines written in black ink on its concave side.

Meas.: h ca. 2, w ca. 4 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 8/IC 2a), inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-238.

[?--] צדקנתן

[?--] כרם רוי

Translit.: ṣdqntn [--?] | krm rwy [--?]

Ṣdqntn ...? vineyard/grove of Rwy ...?



fig. 2555.1

Comm.: This may have been a label designating the owner and contents of a jar. The reading differs from that of Naveh 52. The name Ṣdqntn “Ṣdq gave” (or, less likely, “<God> gave justice”?) does not appear elsewhere, but both elements appear in other theophoric names, such as Qwsntn, Ntnb ‘l, ‘lntn, Yhwntn, mṣdq etc. appearing on Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea, and cf. also Biblical Y(h)wṣdq (e.g., Hag 1,1 etc.; Neh 12,26), Ṣdqyh(w) (e.g., II Kings 24,17; Neh 10,2; etc.) and also the name Ṣdwq (e.g., Ez 40,46, etc.). Theophoric names with the verb ṣdq “to be just, righteous” appear also in West Semitic seals and in Moabite as well as in Sabaean names (see N. Avigad, Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals, 1997, 527f.). The problem with this name is that the element Ṣdq rarely appears as a divine nickname (this may have been the reason that Naveh refrained from reading this name [his reading Ywdh ntn “Yudah gave” is wrong]). However, the name ‘bdṣdq “the slave/servant of Ṣdq” [or, less likely, “<God> did justice”?]) appears in about 5 Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea (ISAP 1, 20, 735, 1008, 1233). In l.2, the vineyard/grove of Rwy is mentioned, perhaps referring to the source of the wine or another product in the jar to which this ostracum or label was perhaps attached. The word krm “vineyard/grove” (the reading here is conjectural) appears in about 32 more Idumaeian ostraca, mostly followed by a personal name of its owner. The name Rwy (perhaps from the root rwy “to quench someone’s thirst”) appears in 3 or 4 more Idumaeian ostraca (ISAP 761, 1256, 1877[?], 1899).



fig. 2555.2

Bibl.: J. Naveh, Atiqot 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

2556. Ostracon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

A triangular ostracon, with three short lines written in black ink on its concave side against the wheel marks leaving margins to the left and to the right of the text.
Meas.: h ca. 6.5, w ca. 6.5 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 9/2S prob. 5 2), inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.
Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-239.

יָא[--]
חמֵעוּ
שקד/רן

Translit.: [--]y' | ḥm'w | šqd/rn

... they leavened/turned sour/fermented almonds.

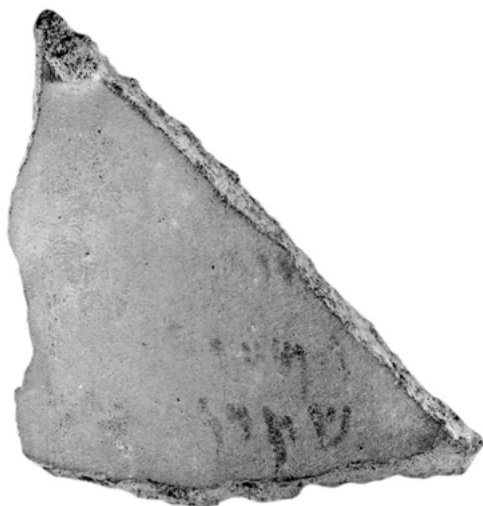


fig. 2556.1

Comm.: This text may be intact unless more lines existed at the bottom. The context is unclear. In l.3, the word *šqdn* “almonds” probably appears, perhaps being the subject of the verb *ḥm'w* “they leavened/turned sour/fermented”(?) in l.2. The first word (l.1) which ends with the masculine plural determinative *y'* has not been reconstructed so far. The verb *ḥm'* “to be sour” (Hebrew *ḥms*, see Jastrow, Dictionary 478) does not appear elsewhere in the group of the Idumaeen ostraca.



fig. 2556.2

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

2557. Ostracon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4-3 c. BCE (?)

An ostracon with the remains of one line written in black ink on its convex side parallel to the wheel marks leaving large margins at the top and at the bottom of the text.

Meas.: h ca. 11, w ca. 4 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 10/2D +), inside the West Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G.W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-240.

בסון שנת 2 [?--]

Translit.: [--?] bswn šnt 2

... in Sivan(?), year 2.

Comm.: This may have been a jar inscription, consisting of only the date formula. The beginning of the line may be missing, which perhaps recorded something that occurred in Sivan (spelled without *yod*; conjectural reading), year 2 of an unnamed ruler. Because of the *bet* prefixed to the month's name no day number is expected, since in the date formula in all the Aramaic texts in the ostraca from Idumaea which include a day number, a *lamed* rather than *bet* is prefixed to the month's name. There is no clue to the identity of the ruler. The script could indicate a date in the 4 or 3 c. BCE.

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).



fig. 2557.1



fig. 2557.2

AY

2558. Ostrakon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 375 BCE?

A large sherd with the remains of two lines written in black ink on the left half of its convex side.

Meas.: h ca. 12[+?], w ca. 12.2 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 11/III/AI PI), inside the East Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G. W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-241.

+++א
30 שנת

Translit.: '+++ | šnt 30

... year 30.



fig. 2558.1

Comm.: This seems to be a jar inscription consisting of two lines. The first consists of 4 letters, the first of which is *alef*, the rest not having been deciphered so far. l.2 contains a year number – 30 – apparently referring to the reign of Artaxerxes II and corresponding to year 375 BCE.

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).



fig. 2558.2

AY

2559. Ostrakon with Aramaic inscription, ca. 4 c. BCE (?)

A large sherd, with the remains of one line written in black ink on the left half of its convex side.

Meas.: h ca. 18.5, w ca. 13.5 cm.

Findspot: Tell Jemmeh/Kh. Jamma (GM 12/III/A PI), inside the East Granary; the excavations took place in 1970 headed by G.W. Van Beek.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 2003-242.

[--] 10 [--] מעצ

Translit.: m's[] 10 š[]

... 10 ...



fig. 2559.1

Comm.: This seems to be a jar inscription consisting of one fragmentary line, the end of which is missing. The reading of the first word is uncertain. If the third letter is *tsadi*, this could be the word *m'srt* "oil press" but then it is difficult to explain the number 10 that follows (the number usually comes after the item it designates). Therefore one would expect a noun in the plural. The *shin* following the number could be the beginning of various words, such as *šnt* "year", *šql* "shekel", *š'rn* "barley", or of a personal name.



fig. 2559.2

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Atiqot* 21, 1992, 49-53 (ed. pr.).

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

XXXVIII. Khan Yunis

2560. Lintel with Greek inscription

Lintel with a vertical and a horizontal inscription; a cross where the two inscriptions meet. Part of a building?

Meas.: h 50, w 150 cm.

Findspot: In secondary use in the tomb of Sheikh Hamada at Khan Yunis.

Pres. loc.: Said to be in the Musée de Notre Dame de France, Jerusalem, now lost (perhaps during the war of 1948).

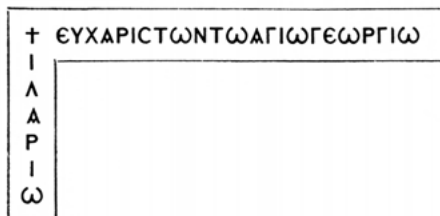


fig. 2560

vertically: (cross) ΙΛΑΡΙΩ

horizontally: (cross) ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ

ΙΛΑΡΙΩ – εὐχαριστῶν τῷ ἁγίῳ Γεωργίῳ

Hilarion - giving thanks to St. Georgius.

Comm.: Ἰλαρίῳ or Ἰλαρίῳ[ν--].

This can be understood as one text, if one reads Ἰλαρίῳ[ν --] which is perhaps the most probable interpretation, but an invocation to St. Hilarion, the great saint of Gaza, seems not excluded. – Lagrange thought it possible that the stone might have belonged to an “édicule funéraire”, but in view of its text, this seems impossible.

Bibl.: M. Lagrange, RB 26, 1917, 572f. (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Bagatti, Judaea 181 fig. 27,3, 187 (dr.). – Cf. C. Dauphin, La Palestine Byzantine, 1998, 952 no. 25 pl. 13.

Photo: M. Lagrange, RB 26, 1917, 573 (dr.).

XXXIX. Abasan el-Kabir

2561. Greek dedication of a mosaic

According to Sadeq, the mosaic “has an excavated area of ca. 9x4 m in plan, partially damaged, and it is made of very fine colored square cubes (averagely 0.5 cm), and different kinds of stones and glass. It shows geometrical and floral forms, birds, cups filled with fruits, as well as parts of the plaited band that framed it. In the centre of the pavement is a Greek inscription”; cf. Piccirillo. Up to the present, no photos of the mosaic seem to have been published.

Meas.: letters ca. 15 cm (Figueras).

Findspot: Abasan el-Kabir, 20 km south of Gaza and 10 km from the sea; “une pièce rectangulaire de 9 m sur 4 m devant le tombeau de Shaykh Ibrahim, probablement une chapelle avec une double salle flanquée d’une tombe sur le côté nord” (Piccirillo); first discovered, photographed and reported by D. Gatenyo around 1986 (“unfortunately, only a fragment of it was uncovered and photographed” [Figueras]). The area was excavated in 1995 by the Gaza Department of Antiquities (Sadeq). Pres. loc.: According to Sadeq, the artifacts found by the excavation team were exhibited “in the antiquities office in Khan Yunis”; but “the artifacts” do not necessarily include the mosaic.

[--]ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥΚΕΝΤΟΥΤ[--]
[--]ΛΛΟΠΙΣΕΝΜΗΔΑΙΣ[IN[--]

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ:ΚΕΝΤΟΥΤΩ
ΛΛΟΠΙΣΕΝΜΗΔΑΙΣ[INΔ

fig. 2561

[--] Θεοδώρου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ --|-- καλλόπισεν, μηνὸς Δαῖσιος(ίου), ἐν[δ(ικτιῶνος) --]

... of Theodorus and in this ... made beautiful ... in the month of Daisios, indiction ...

Comm.: l.1: [-- τοῦ ἁγίου (?)] Θεοδώρου Figueras; ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ --?] SEG; l.2: [-- ἐκα]λλόπισεν AE.

In Gaza, Daisios begins on May 26th. Sadeq saw more of the mosaic, but did not publish his information, since he comments: “a Greek inscription dating the pavement to the month Desios of the year 666 of the Gaza calendar. This date corresponds to the month of May in the year 606 CE.” Normally, one would expect ἔτους χξς’ after the verb and before the indiction, but cf. nos. 2485, 2493. – Feissel points out that καλλωπίζω is much less frequent than, e.g. καλλιεργέω or φιλοκαλέω.

Bibl.: P. Figueras, SBF 46, 1996, 277f. no. 10 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – AE, 1996, 1570; SEG 46, 2030. – Cf. M. Sadeq, in: M. Piccirillo - A. Alliata eds., *The Madaba Map Centenary*, 1999, 215; Feissel, *Chroniques* 251 no. 798; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., *Gaza* 178 (on the mosaic).

Photo: P. Figueras, SBF 46, 1996, 277 (dr.).

WA

XL. Raphia

Introduction

Raphia is without doubt to be identified with modern Rafah, 30 km south of Gaza. Before the Hellenistic period it is not mentioned in the Old Testament, but occurs in Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources and, later, in Talmudic sources.¹ Among the Egyptian texts we should mention a satirical letter of the end of the thirteenth century BC, which refers to Jaffa and Gaza: “Raphia (Rph) – what is its wall like? How many stages marching is it as far as Gaza?”² It is also mentioned in an inscription regarding the campaigns of Seti I (about 1303-1301) in Asia.³ Like Azotus, Raphia was taken as a result of Sargon II’s victory over the Egyptians in 711.

Raphia was important as a town and station along the coast road from Egypt to Syria and as such is mentioned frequently.⁴ It was a station along the road, but it had no proper anchorage. It was the southernmost city of Iudaea/Palaestina along the coast. It played a role in history when large armies moved from Egypt to Syria and as a way station for individuals traveling over land, along the road from Egypt to Syria, such as Theophanes (below).

The characteristics of Raphia are emphasized by Diodorus in connection with events in 306 BC. “Demetrius’ ships, setting sail from Gaza faced a sudden north wind ... so that many of the quadriremes were driven dangerously by the storm to Raphia, a city which affords no anchorage and is surrounded by shoals.”⁵

The next episode in which the city appears is the one that gave its name to one of the greatest battles of Hellenistic history, that of Raphia in 217, described by Polybius. “It was the Syrian city nearest to Egypt.” Ptolemy, marching from Pelusium “reached the spot he was bound for on the fifth day and encamped at a distance

1 Targum Dt 2,23; Tosefta Sheviit 4.11 (ed. Lieberman, p. 181); JT Sheviit vi (1), 36c. Y. Sussman, The Inscription in the Synagogue at Rehob, in: I. Levine ed., *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, 1981, 146-51; id., *The Rehob Inscription. A Translation*, *ibid.* 152f.

2 P. British Museum 10247 = P. Anastasi 1, transl. J. Wilson in J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. 1969, 478; cf. the introduction to Jaffa, above. For Raphia, see F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* 3rd ed. 1967, vol. 2, 431f.; Schürer 2, 97f.; TIR 212f.

3 Pritchard (n. 2) 254. Cf. Abel (n. 2).

4 For Raphia and the road in earlier periods: A. Gardiner, *JEA* 6, 1920, 99-116; N. Na’aman, *Tel Aviv* 6, 1979, 68-90. Cf. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5, 1992, 622.

5 Diod. 20,74: ἐπειτα τῆς Πλειάδος περικαταλαμβάνουσης αὐτοὺς καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου βορίου συνέβη πολλὰ τῶν τετρηρικῶν σκαφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος κατενεχθῆναι παραβόλως ἐπὶ πόλιν Ῥαφίαν, οὖσαν δυσπροσόρμιστον καὶ τεναγώδη.

of fifty stades from Raphia, which is the first city of Coele-Syria on the Egyptian side, after Rhinocolura.⁷⁶ Then follows the description of the battle.⁷

Not much later, in 194-93, the marriage between Ptolemy V Epiphanes and Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III, was celebrated there.⁸ It is mentioned once again in connection with major troop movements when Titus, in 70, marched from Pelusium to Caesarea. He “rested at Rhinocolura, whence he advanced to his fourth station, Raphia, at which city Syria begins. His fifth camp he pitched at Gaza ...”.⁹

Related evidence that should be mentioned here are two inscriptions containing the phrase: ἀπὸ ὄρων Συρίας Παλαι[στ(ίνης)] μίλια ...¹⁰ One was said to come from the vicinity of Raphia, the other found near el-Arish (Rhinocolura). These inscriptions marked the coast road in Sinai, from Pelusium to the border of Syria-Palaestina and beyond. They showed the distance to the border, but did not mark the border itself. They date to 233 and were almost certainly set up in connection with Severus Alexander’s Persian war.

Alexander Jannaeus captured Raphia, together with Gaza and Anthedon,¹¹ and thus extended his territory along the coast to the border of Judaea, for Rhinocolura is mentioned also among the coastal cities controlled by the Jews in these years.¹² Raphia was among the cities re-settled by Gabinius.¹³ The town had an era of 60 BC, which is too early for Gabinius. This means it cannot have been formally re-founded by him. It is not referred to in connection with either the Herodian monarchy or Judaea under the prefects.

The city is duly listed by the various geographical sources available. Pliny mentions it between Rhinocolura and Gaza and, mistakenly, calls it an inland town, perhaps because it had no proper anchorage, or he may simply have been in error, for he also calls Anthedon an inland town which it evidently was not.¹⁴ Ptolemy lists Raphia as the southernmost city on the coast of Judaea, followed by Gaza,

6 Pol. 5,80,3: διανύσας δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον πεμπταῖος, κατεστρατοπέδευσε πενήτηκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχὼν Ῥαφίας, ἥ κεῖται μετὰ Ῥινोकόλουρα πρώτη τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πόλεων ὡς πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. For the battle, see the study of E. Galili, SCI 3, 1976-77, 52-126; B. Bar Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, 1976, 129-31.

7 See also: Strab. 16,2,31: Μετὰ δὲ Γάζαν Ῥαφία, ἐν ἣ μάχῃ συνέβη Πτολεμαίῳ τε τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Μεγάλῳ. εἴτα Ῥινोकόρουρα.

8 Liv. 35,13,4: *Antiochus rex, ea hieme Raphiae in Phoenices Ptolemaeo regi Aegypti filia in matrimonium data, cum Antiochiam se recepisset ...*

9 Jos. BJ 4,662: μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Ῥινोकουρούροις ἀναπαύεται, κάκειθεν εἰς Ῥάφειαν προελθὼν σταθμὸν τέταρτον, ἔστι δ’ ἡ πόλις αὕτη Συρίας ἀρχή, τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Γάζῃ τίθεται στρατόπεδον.

10 D. Barag, IEJ 23, 1973, 50-2 with discussion of the location of the border (cf. AE 1973, 559; below, no. 2563), also: AE 1973, 559 bis.

11 Jos. BJ 1,87; AJ 13,357.

12 Jos. AJ 13,395.

13 Jos. AJ 14,88, cited in the introduction to Anthedon; BJ 1,166.

14 Plin. NH 5,68: *Oppida Rhinocolura et intus Rhaphe, Gaza et intus Anthedon, mons Argaris*. Mons Argaris is Gerizim, out of place here.

Iamnia and Lydda.¹⁵ It is similarly mentioned among the stations on the coast road in the Antonine Itinerary (presumably of the early third century AD) which gives the distance both from Gaza and from Rhinocolura as 22 km.¹⁶ In the early fourth century Eusebius mentions “the village of Bethafu, fourteen miles from Raphia on the road to Egypt and which marks the border of Egypt.”¹⁷ In the sixth century Theodosius gives slightly different distances: From Gaza to Raphia he counts 24 miles and from Raphia to Betulia 12 miles.¹⁸ These differences have no bearing on the identification of Raphia with Rafah, of course.

In the fourth century Theophanes, on his outward journey, bought loaves at Raphia and Ascalon.¹⁹ He gives the distance from Boutaphion (= Eusebius’ Bethafu) to Raphia as 3 miles, which is incorrect and should be 13, and from Raphia to Gaza as 24 miles.²⁰ During the homeward journey, Theophanes spent a night at Raphia and purchased various foodstuffs and wine, the latter for “lunch with the party of Hermodorus”. He also bought wine and drinks again for dinner.²¹

Still in the sixties of the fourth century there is evidence of one person of prominence from the town: Maximus, correspondent of Libanius, who was governor of Armenia, Galatia and Egypt, appointed public teachers in Ancyra and established rhetorical contests.²²

In the fifth century Raphia is among the group of cities that are mentioned with dissatisfaction by the church historian Sozomenus: “There were still pagans in many cities, who contended zealously in behalf of their temples; as, for instance, the inhabitants of Petraea and of Areopolis, in Arabia; of Raphia and Gaza, in Palestine.”²³

15 Ptol. 5,15,5 (ed. Didot), 5,16,6 (ed. Nobbe); M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 2, 1980, no. 337a: τῆς δὲ Ἰουδαίας ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ... Ῥαφία ... Γάζα... Ἰάμνια...

16 It. Ant. 150-151 (ed. Cuntz, p. 21): *Caesarea m.p. XX; Betaro m.p. XVIII; Diospoli m.p. XXII; Iamnia m.p. XII; Ascalona m.p. XX; Gaza m.p. XVI; Rafia m.p. XXII; Rinocolura m.p. XII.*

17 Eus. On. 50,18: Βηθαφοῦ (Jo 15,53). φυλῆς Ἰούδα. κώμη ἐπέκεινα Ῥαφίας σημείοις ἰδ εἰσιόντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ἥ καὶ ὄριόν ἐστι Παλαιστίνης. Cf. Jerome, On. 51,18: *Bethaffu in tribu Iudae. vicus trans Rafiam milibus quattuordecim euntibus Aegyptum, qui est terminus Palaestinae.* Also: 98,6-8 and 99,6-8.

18 Theodosius, de Situ Terrae Sanctae 3,138,19 (CCSL 175, p. 116): *De Gaza usque ad Rafia milia XXIII. De Rafia usque ad Betuliam, ubi Olofernis mortuus est, milia XII.* Betulia, also named Bitulion occurs in a variety of sources and is usually identified with Sheikh Zuweid: cf. TIR 91. See also below.

19 P.Ryl. 627,314.

20 P.Ryl. 627,236f.

21 P.Ryl. 630,436-53. Cf. J. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 2006, 55, 59, 127, 132, 135.

22 PLRE I 583 no. 19; O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius*, 1906, 207 no. 6.

23 Sozomenus, HE 7,15,11 (PG 67,1457): Εἰσέτι δὲ κατὰ πόλεις τινὰς προθύμως ὑπερεμάχοντο τῶν ναῶν οἱ Ἕλληניσταί. παρὰ μὲν Ἀραβίοις, Πετραῖοι καὶ Ἀρεοπολίται παρὰ δὲ Παλαιστινοῖς Ῥαφιώται καὶ Γαζαῖοι.

Raphia is listed by Hierocles (sixth century, reign of Justinian) for Palaestina Prima and so it is by Georgius Cyprius (AD 600-610).²⁴ Stephanus mentions it with an ethnic which, as often, is not found in precisely this form in any other source.²⁵ The Madaba Map 119 shows a “Ra[---]” between Hagios Biktor and Bethylium. The border between Palestine and Egypt is marked on the map between Bethylium and Rhinocolura. Hierocles, 726,4 and Georgius Cyprius, 691 also list Rhinocolura as belonging to Egypt.

Raphia issued coins from M. Aurelius (177/8) to Philip (244/5). The main deities on the coinage are Leto and her children.²⁶ Note, in this connection, P.Oxy XI, 1380, col.V, l.96, an invocation of Isis of the early second century AD. So far, there are only weights from the third-fourth centuries AD. The latest is from 316/7 (this still mentions an agoranomos, no. 2633, below).

Bishops of the town appear in the acts of the church councils: Romanus was at Ephesus in 431; Epiphanius took part in the Council of Jerusalem in 518, and Stephanus attended the Jerusalem synod in 536.²⁷

Raphia has hardly been explored by archaeologists.²⁸ In the nineteenth century G. Schumacher²⁹ and V. Guérin³⁰ visited the site. At Khirbet Rafah Schumacher and Guérin observed a copious well, Bir Rafah, with ancient remains. As Guérin remarked: “all caravans on their way to – and from el-Arish pause there.”³¹ Half a mile to the west Schumacher identified a substantial tell as the site of Raphia. Settlement remains from the Persian period were found in a brief salvage operation in the southeastern corner of the tell, where sections of walls, floors, pits, and installations with quantities of imported Greek pottery were recorded. This suggests that in the Persian period the site of the town of Raphia was rather extensive and probably unfortified. At a distance of about one kilometer west of Tell Rafah, the badly damaged remains of a small cult site were explored. It functioned for a relatively long period, from the seventh to the third centuries BC, reaching its zenith in the Persian period.³²

24 Hierocles, Synecdemos 719,8 (ed. Honigmann, p. 42, ed. Parthey, p. 44) lists under Palaestina Prima: *Anthedon, Diocletianoupolis, Sykamazon, Ono (Onous), Sozousa, Ioppe, Gaza, Ra(m)phia, Ascalon, Ariza, Bitule*. Georgius Cyprius 1010 (ed. Honigmann, p. 67). Cf. Glucker, Gaza 26, for Bethlelea and Bitylion.

25 Stephanus Byz., Eth. 543,20: Ῥάφεια, πόλις Συρίας. ὁ πολίτης Ῥαφεώτης. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

26 For a summary: Y. Meshorer, RN 1976, 57-68 pls. 3-7. H. Yashin, From Ascalon to Raphia, 2006, nos. 486-516.

27 M. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, vol. 3, 1740 (reprint 1958), 630.

28 M. Sadeq, Adumatu 2, 2000, 27-42 at 38f.

29 G. Schumacher, PEQ 18, 1886, 171-97 at 183f.

30 V. Guérin, Judée 2, 1869, 232-5.

31 Ibid., 233: “c’est là aussi que font halte, dans le même but, toutes les caravanes qui se rendent à El-A’rich ou qui en reviennent.”

32 E. Oren, NEAEHL 4, 1993, 1393; M. Sadeq (n. 28).

Scattered architectural remains of a spacious building, probably a Nabataean temple, were investigated near Raphia. Stratigraphic considerations indicate that from the second to first centuries BC, and prior to the main phase of Nabataean activity (in the first-second centuries AD) when solid structures were introduced, some of these sites (along the coast road in northern Sinai) already functioned as caravan stations and encampments. These probably represent the early phase of Nabataean commercial enterprise in northern Sinai.³³ Direct evidence of a Roman military presence in the town or its vicinity is the Latin inscription, discussed below, no. 2565.³⁴

BI

33 Oren (n. 32) 1396.

34 W. Eck, ZPE 184, 2013, 117–25.

Inscriptions

2562. Greek inscription mentioning peace and faith

Rectangular slab, upper left corner is missing. The back is smoothed. Three horizontal, dividing lines. Red color preserved in the letters.

Meas.: h 54, w 27, d 6.5 cm; letters 5.7-6 cm.

Findspot: Bought in Rafah.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no R-773; IAA inv. no. 1943-12. Autopsy: 19 March 2012 (WE).

(cross)

ΕΡΗΝΗ

ΠΙΣΤΗΣ

εἰρήνη | πίστις

Peace. Faith.

Comm.: Neither the formula πιστή ἐν εἰρήνῃ nor its variant ἐν πίστι καὶ εἰρήνῃ gives any sense; but cf. the enumeration of virtues in G. Lefebvre, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte, 1907, 115 no. 613 (Taphis, Nub.): πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, δικαιοσύνη, εὐ<ιρ>ήνη. Of course, both Πιστή and Εἰρήνη are well attested female names.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WA.



fig. 2562

WA

2563. Building inscription with the name of Severus Alexander, 232/233 AD

Plaque of hard kurkar sandstone, broken on top and at the bottom. The face and margins are smooth; the back is rough. Lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*.

Meas.: h 37, w (at the top) 32.2, (at the bottom) 34, d ca. 14 cm; letters 3-4 cm.

Findspot: "The Department of Antiquities and Museums recently acquired a Greek inscription which is said to come from the vicinity of Rafah, ancient Raphia" (Barag 1973); exact place unknown.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1975-715. Autopsy: 14 March 2010; 19 March 2012.

[--]
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ Μ ΑΥΡ
 ΣΕΟΥΗΡΩ
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ
 ΕΥΣΕΒ·ΕΥΤΥΧ·
 ΣΕΒ·ΔΗΜ·ΕΞΟΥΣ·
 ΤΟΙΒ·ΥΠΑΤΟΣ
 ΤΟ·ΓΑΝΘΥΠΑΤ·ΠΠ
 ΑΠΟ·ΟΡΩΝ·
 ΣΥΡΙΑΣ·ΠΑΛΑΙ[--]
 [--]



fig. 2563

[Αὐτοκράτορι] | Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) | Σεουήρῳ | Ἀλεξάνδρῳ | Εὐσεβ(εῖ)
 Εὐτυχ(εῖ) | Σεβ(αστῶ), δημ(αρχικῆς) ἐξουσ(ίας) | τὸ ιβ', ὕπατος | τὸ γ', ἀνθύπατ(ος),
 π(ατήρ) π(ατρίδος) | ἀπὸ ὄρων | Συρίας Παλαι[στ(ίνης/είνης)] | μ(ίλια) --]

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, pious, fortunate Augustus, invested with tribunician power for the twelfth time, consul for the third time, proconsul, father of his country; from the borders of Syria Palaestina ... miles.

Comm.: ll.1f.: [Αὐτ(οκράτορι) Καίσ(αρι) Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ)] Barag, AE; l.12: [μίλια] Barag.

This inscription doubles as both a milestone and a building inscription: It gives the distance from the border of Syria Palaestina to the place where it was erected, while inserted into the wall of a building. Thus it is neither a coincidence nor a mistake by the stonecutter that the name of the emperor is in the dative, as on most milestones of this period, whereas the titles appear in the nominative case, as in building inscriptions; another example of this inscription with an identical text, found not far away from Raphia at Rhinocolura, corroborates these assumptions (SB 3, 7018 = AE 1973, 559 bis). Perhaps both inscriptions were inserted into the wall of *stationes* along the road used by the *cursus publicus*.

The date: 232 (10 December) - 233 (9 December) AD is determined by the *tribunicia potestas XII*. The first lines of the inscription are restored from the text in Rhinocolura as well as from many other inscriptions bearing the name of Severus Alexander: *Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι* is almost never abbreviated, but fully written out. The name Alexander was erased in the inscription from Rhinocolura (see drawing in R. Clédat, *Recueil de Trav. à la phil. et à la arch. égypt.* 37, 1915, 37f.), but survived here.

The border mentioned in the inscription is the one between the provinces of Syria Palaestina and Aegyptus, marked on the Madaba map with *ΟΡΟΙ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΙΝΗΣ*; for *fines* on milestones see for example AE 1983, 898, 901 (cf. AE 1983, 899): ... *a Nicomedia ad fines XXII* (Pontus-Bithynia); AE 1984, 920: ... *viam ab Euphrate usque ad fines regni ... Ab(g)ari a novo munierunt ... m(ilia) p(assuum) XXXXVIII* (Mesopotamia); CIL 8, 10083 = 22073, 22123 (and other inscriptions): ... *viam a Karthag(ine) usque ad fines Numidiaae provinc(iae) ... LXXXVI* (Africa proconsularis). It is not often, however, that an inscription mentions the border of a province to give the distance from it.

Bibl.: D. Barag, *IEJ* 23, 1973, 50ff. (ph.) (ed. pr.). – AE 1973, 559; D. Barag, *Qadmoniot* 7, 1974, 43f. (ph.) (Hebr.); H. Verreth, *AncSoc* 28, 1997, 107-19 at 114ff. – Cf. R. Talbert, *Rome's Provinces as Framework for World-View*, in: L. de Ligt - E. Hemelrijk - H. Singor eds., *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*, 2004, 21-37.

Photo: WE.

WE

2564. Tomb of Ablabius with Greek inscription, 411 AD

Slab of kurkar, margins slightly bevelled, which Barag takes as an indication of the stone having been inserted into a mausoleum or tomb. Front, back and sides are smooth.

Meas.: h 41, w 73, d 5.5-9 cm; letters 3-5 cm.

Findspot: Brought from Rafah and said to have been found in the area.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1976-983.

ΕΤΟΥΣΟΥΜΗ
 ΝΟΣΜΕΧΙΡΒΙ
 ΑΒΛΑΒΙΟΣΑΒΑ
 ΒΙΛΟΥΕΤΩΝ
 ΣΓΘΑΡΣΙΟΥ
 ΔΙΣΑΘΑ



fig. 2564

ἔτους ου', μη|νὸς Μεχίρ βί',| Ἀβλάβιος Ἀβα|βίλου, ἐτῶν | ξγ'. θάρσι, οὐ|δὲς ἀθά(νατος)

Year 470, Mechir 12th (= 6 February 411). Ablabius son of Ababilus, 63 years. Be of good courage, nobody is immortal.

Comm.: 1.1f.: Barag did not believe that the date represented the era of Raphia, but thought of the eras of Arabia or Gaza, whereas Meimaris believed this to be the era of Gaza (which – to tell the truth – is not on record in Raphia after the coins minted in the 3 c. AD). The calendar used, on the other hand, is Egyptian – which is not unusual in the vicinity of Egypt. – 1.3: on Ἀβλάβιος, Harmless, as a typical name in Late Antiquity, see Barag 129. – 1.3f.: Ababilus is identified as a rare Semitic name (not in Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen*, but cf. Teixidor [Syria/BES]: “Dans l’építaphe grecque noter le patronyme Ἀβαβίλος, en sémitique hbb’l, voir Jaussen - Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie II* (1914), p. 575 (nom thamoudéen). Pour les transcriptions grecques de l’élément hbb dans l’onomastique nabatéenne, palmyrénienne, hatréenne et pré-islamique, voir J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyr. Inscr.*, p. 87.”); note the phonetic similarity of the two names. – 1.5f.: this formula was used by pagans, Jews and Christians, cf. e.g. the comments on CIIP II 1515 (Caesarea).

Bibl.: D. Barag, *IEJ* 24, 1974, 128ff. pl. 19c (ph.) (ed. pr.). – Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 135 no. 142; *DGI* 565f. no. 195. – Cf. Stark 87; Syria/BES 1975, 36.

Photo: D. Barag, *IEJ* 24, 1974 pl. 19 c.

WA

2565. Funerary monument with a poem for a tribunos militum, beginning 3 c. AD (?)

Plaque of local sandstone called “kurkar”, flanked on both sides by partly preserved columns which are standing on a small basis. Part of the plaque is missing at the

top, and the lower edge is partly damaged. However, the part which contained the text of the poem itself suffered no damage, although the letters on the upper left-hand side are now almost totally effaced. In much of the text the letters are written in ligature, especially the Is and the Ps; for reasons of space one must assume that there were ligatures also in the upper left-hand side. On the right-hand side some letters seem to have been written on the frame.

Meas.: h 41, w 50, d (left side) 14, (right side) 10 cm; space for the inscription: w (at the top) 35.8, (at the bottom) 38.5 cm; letters 1.3-2 cm.

Findspot: Vicinity of Raphia/Rafah.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1943-18. Autopsy: 14 March 2010; 19 March 2012.



fig. 2565

[--]M/NASTRIB
 L[--]SA LEVIS FRAGILIS BONA VEL MALA FALLA
 [--]OMINI NON CERTO LI[.]TE CRET
 P[--]ASVS TENVATO STA[--]PENDES
 5 V[--]IS DVM DANT TIBI [--]CAE
 SEV [..] RVRA [...]ENS VRBES VEL CASTRA VEL AEQVOR
 FLORES AMA VENERIS CERERIS BONA MVNERA CARPE
 ET NVSII LARGAS ET PINGVIA DONA MINERVAE
 IAM PVER ET IVVENIS IAM VIR IAM FESS[.] AB ANNIS
 10 TALIS ERIS TVMVLVS SVPERVMQ OBLITVS ONORE
 AVR MAXIMIANVS NEPOS EIVS DE S P
 INSTANTIBVS CONTVBERNALIBVS

- [--]m/nas trib(unus).
 L[ubrica quas]sa levis fragilis bona vel mala falla(x)
 [Vita data est h]omini non certo li[mi]te cret(ae)
 P[er varios c]asus tenuato sta[mine] pendes.
 5 V[ivito mortal]is dum dant tibi [tempora Par]cae.
 Seu [te/et?] rura [col]ens urbes vel castra vel aequor
 Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe
 Et N'y's'y'i larga{s} et pingua dona Minervae.
 8a <Candida(m) vita(m) cole iustissima mente serenus>
 Iam puer et iuvenis iam vir iam fess[us] ab annis.
 10 Talis eris tumul'o' superumq(ue) oblitus <h>onore(s).
 Aur(elius) Maximianus nepos eius de s(ua) p(ecunia)
 instantibus contubernalibus

... mas/nas military tribune. The life assigned to man is slippery, agitated, elusive and fragile, deceitful as to good and bad, with no certain end; you hang by a slender thread through fateful events. Live your life, conscious of being mortal, so long as the Fates give you time, in the countryside, in the city, in the camp or on the sea! Cherish the joys of Venus (love), reap the good gifts of Ceres (the fruits), and the affluent presents of Dionysus (wine) and the fat presents of Minerva (oil). <Lead a pure life, serene in your righteous mind,> (do it) already as a boy, as a youth, as a grown-up man (and) as an old man worn down by the years. In this frame of mind you will lie in the grave, oblivious to (earthly) honors. Aurelius Maximianus, his grandson (erected the tomb) with his own money, prompted by his comrades.

R. Egger attempted a verse-translation of the poem:

Rasch entschließend, morsch und billig, ein gebrechlich Ding, zur Hälfte gut, zur andern schlecht, voll Trug ist das Leben, das dem Menschen von dem Schicksal zuge-dacht. Keinen sichern Bannkreis hast Du, mußt durch tausend Abenteuer, hängst an einem schwachen Faden. Eingedenk des nahen Todes sollst Du leben in der Weile, die die Parzen Dir bescheiden, ob Du Bauer oder Städter, ob Soldat auch oder Seemann, liebe, wo die Liebe blühet, nimm, was Ceres Gutes schenkt, nimm vom Wein auch nicht zu wenig, nimm vom fetten Öl der Pallas. Müh Dich um ein reines Leben, lebe in Gerechtigkeit, hebe Dich zu Gottes Sphäre schon als Knabe, dann als Jüngling, als ein Mann und als ein Greis: dies mein Los wird auch das Deine, wirst im Grabe liegen müssen und vergessen wirst Du haben bald, was Streben heißt auf Erden.

Comm.: l.3: the last two letters of PENDES are very shallowly chiseled on the frame; l.8a: forgotten, but integral part of the poem; see below on the two other copies of the poem; l.10: *tumulus*, but the two other copies have *tumulo*.

The fragment is part of a funerary monument. The very beginning of the inscription, which contained the name of the deceased, is almost entirely lost. At the end of l.1 the last syllable of a cognomen ending in *-mas* or *-nas* and the rank of

trib(unus) are preserved. The main part of the inscription, ll.2-10, is taken by an acrostic funerary poem, each line containing one verse. The name and motivation of the dedicator of the monument come in the last two lines.

The acrostic poem, whose author is identified in the initial letters of ll.2-10: *Lupus fecit*, "Lupus made/composed it", is known in its entirety from two inscriptions found in the province of Pannonia Inferior: one from Aquincum (Tituli Aquincenses II 512) and the other from nearby Ulcisia (AE 1965, 165).

The grandson, Aurelius Maximianus, tells the reader that he erected the tomb instigated by the *contubernales*, who, whether his own or his grandfather's, must be taken to be comrades of a soldier, as implied by the rank of *tribunus* in l.1., rather than companions of slaves or freedmen. *tribunus*, despite the nominative instead of the usual dative case, is likely to refer to the dead person: no other name (and title), aside from that of the deceased or the dedicator's, is likely to stand in the nominative case in a funerary inscription; however, the dedicator's name and kinship, in the nominative case (*Aur(elius) Maximianus nepos eius*), appear only at the end. Cognomina ending in *-mas* or *-nas* are attested; cf. for example *Aurel(ius) Damas veter(anus) Hemesen[o]rum* in an inscription from Intercisa (AE 1929, 51 = J. Fitz, *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* 5, 1991, no. 1068) or an *Aur(elius) Sallumas vet(eranus) ex tess(e)r(ar)io coh(ortis) (milliariae) Hemes(enorum)* in a text from Brigetio (CIL 3, 10318), both serving in Pannonia like the *Aur(elius) Zenas b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XIV G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis)* attested in Neviodunum (AE 1934, 78 = M. Lovenjak, *Inscriptiones latinae Sloveniae* 1, 1998, no. 10). Names ending in *-mas* or *-nas* are very often of semitic origin; the tribune may well have originally hailed from the Roman Near East but was stationed for a while in one of the Danubian provinces, from where the poem was imported to Syria Palaestina (see below).

The two copies of the poem from Pannonia Inferior allow a complete reconstruction of the present copy despite the many damages, especially in the first part, suffered by the stone. With the exception of few details, the text is identical, but a whole verse, crucial for its understanding, has dropped out between ll.8 and 9 of the poem: *<candidam vitam cole iustissima mente serenus>*.

The philosophic outlook expressed in the poem is a mixture of Epicurean and moderate Stoic elements. The author encourages the enjoyment of life and its pleasures, regardless of one's station in life, on the one hand, but recommends the *vita candida* in each stage of one's life on the other: the latter leads to a stoic *ataraxia*, a cultivated indifference to the world of the living and its values. The exhortation to be oblivious to earthly *honores* hardly fits the life of a soldier and his funerary monument, where a successful career (*cursus honorum*) was sought by the living, not least in order to be recorded after their death. This consideration no less than the applicability of the philosophic principles enunciated in the poem to men from all walks of life, make it very unlikely for the poem to have been composed specifically for military funerary monuments, despite the fact that out of the three copies discovered so far, two were found in such a context.

l.3: *creta* refers to a whitish clay, used to mark the starting or the finishing line in the Roman circus and the Greek stadium; cf. Sen. de ben. 5,1,1: *Cursor cretam prior contigit*; Plin. n.h. 8,160: *equi ... peracto legitimo cursu ad cretam steterē*; CIL 6, 2067b = 32389b: *deinde mag(ister) Ael(ius) Secundinus ... super carceres adscendit et sign(um) quadrig(is) big(is) desult(oribus) misit praesid(entibus) Fl(avio) Archesi-lao et Saenio Donato ad cretam*.

For possible echoes and reminiscences from Roman poets like Lucretius, Horace, Virgil or Ovid see the detailed analysis of the examples from Pannonia, especially Cugusi - Sblendorio Cugusi.

The funerary monument is a striking example of the transfer of regional cultural phenomena in the Roman military circles: not only the poem, but also the type of stele, with two columns flanking the text with a pediment above the columns, reached Syria Palaestina all the way from Pannonia.

The reference to comrades in-arms, either of the deceased or of his grandson, suggests that a group of soldiers was stationed near Raphia, which in turn suggests a military camp there, likely to be built on the provincial border. The inscription gives no precise information about the time, but it should probably be dated to the first decades of the 3 c. AD.

Bibl.: W. Eck, ZPE 184, 2013, 117-25 (ph.) (ed. pr.). – On the texts from Pannonia inferior cf. E. Nagy, AErt 52, 1939, 118-22; G. Révay, AErt 56, 1943, 144ff.; AE 1947, 3; R. Egger, JÖAI 39, 1952, 145ff.; AE 1953, 12; W. Schmid, RhM 100, 1957, 301-27; J. Zarker, Studies in the Carmina Latina Epigraphica, 1958, 82; S. Soproni, Folia Archaeologica 14, 1962, 51-5; AE 1965, 165; T. Adamik, AErt 103, 1976, 203-6; AE 1977, 634; Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns 3, 1981, 910; B. Féher, AAntHung 38, 1998, 71ff. nos. 12-13; P. Cugusi - M. Sblendorio Cugusi, Studi sui carmi epigrafici, 2007, 38ff.; P. Kovács - Á. Szabó, Tituli Aquincenses II, 2009, 512.

Photo: WE.

WE

2566. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription

Upper left corner of a slab of marble.

Meas.: h 28, w 22 cm.

Findspot: Rafah.

Pres. loc.: Formerly in the collection of the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 1943-6; now lost.

(cross) ΤΟΥΤ[--]
 ΗΣΕΝ[--]
 ΚΟΣΜ[--]
 ΑΥΤΟ[--]
 ΤΟΥΑ[--]
 +ΙΝ[[-]]



fig. 2566

τουτ[--]|HΞEN [--]|KOΣM[--]|AYTO[--]|TOYA[--]|+ ἐν(δικτιῶνος) [--]

... of the indiction ...

Comm.: l.2: end of a verb, perhaps indicating the building of this monument. – The cross at the beginning and the date at the end make this most likely a funerary inscription.

Bibl.: QDAP 10, 1944, 204 (ed. pr.).

Photo: IAA.

WA

2567. Aramaic ostracon, late 4-early 3 c. BCE

An ostracon with 2 lines written in black ink on its convex side, parallel to the wheel marks.

Meas.: h ca. 3.8, w ca. 7.5 cm.

Findspot: Raphia (R-1001.D11+8).

Pres. loc.: Dagon Grain Museum, Haifa.

חא תבן פחלשן
שתה [--]קר/ד בר עבדמראן

Translit.: [--]ḥ' tbn pḥlšn | šth
[--]qr/d br 'bdmr'n

... straw, bales(?), six (by
the hands of?) ...qr/d son of
'bdmr'n.

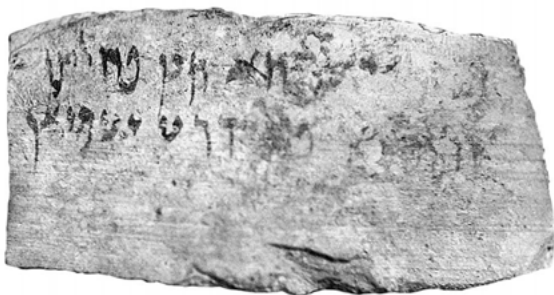


fig. 2567.1

Comm.: This text records the delivery of bales (? the exact meaning of *pḥlš* is unclear [see Naveh 1985, 118]) of straw (*tbn*). The beginning of l.1 has not been deciphered. One would expect a date and a personal name of the supplier, but the remains do not

enable a reconstruction of the text. l.2 begins with the number of the bales(?) designated by the word *šth* (six [masculine]). The line ends with a personal name,

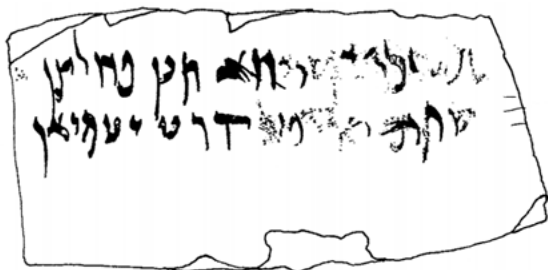


fig. 2567.2

which has not been reconstructed, and patronymic. The compound word *lyd* ("by the hand of") perhaps preceded the name, in which case he would have been the agent (this reconstruction is uncertain, however). The father's name was *'bdmr'n* ("slave/servant of our master/lord", see Naveh 1985, 118f.). This name is attested in defective spelling (without the *alef*) in one of the Idumaeian ostraca (ISAP 30) as that of an agent in a transaction of *nšyp* (semolina?).

Bibl.: J. Naveh, *Leshonenu* 37, 1973, 270-4 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., *Atiqot* 17, 1985, 114–21 at 118f. no. 9.

Photo: AY (ph. and dr.).

AY

2568. Mosaic with Greek inscriptions

A mosaic with inscriptions was found in hall (a) of the building (cf. findspot; for another mosaic inscription in the *thermae* of the site see no. 2569). "The figures are stylised, lack proportions and plasticity, and have no charm or refinement. We may assume that the artists who executed this mosaic had a model from which they copied these pictures", Ovadiah, MPI 51.

The mosaic is divided in three panels. Upper panel: "Two naked Erotes, each holding one of the two handles of a *tabula ansata*" with inscription (Ovadiah). Below the inscription is a scene of Phaedra and Hippolytus; on the left, Phaedra sits in front of a Corinthian temple, looking at her nurse who delivers a letter to Hippolytus (the letter is marked not with the name of the addressee, but with the name of the sender). Some hunters stand to the right of Hippolytus, evidently his entourage. Eros, above the nurse, is pointing at Hippolytus. All figures are identified by inscriptions. Cf. Linant de Bellefonds 1990, 463: "la mosaïque ... donne une version plus développée de la scène de la révélation et reprend, trois siècles plus tard, la composition utilisée par la peintre de la *Domus Aurea* ...; mais Phèdre est assise à l'intérieur de son palais et n'est donc pas supposée assister à la rencontre entre H. et la nourrice, et l'aveu d'amour se fait au moyen de la tablette. H. porte le même équipement de chasse que sur la mosaïque d'Antioche."

Middle panel: Triumph of Dionysus combined with the representation of the drunken Heracles. Some of the figures are identified by inscriptions.

Lower panel: Birds, flowers, and plants; a *tabula ansata* with an inscription, pomegranates in the *ansae*.

Meas.: Mosaic: h 4.75, w 3 m.

Findspot: Sheikh Zuweid (Tell esh-Sheh, Tell Shech Zuwejid A), roughly 50 km south-west of Gaza; the place has been identified as Boutafis or Bitulion, TIR 91f.; cf. Keel - Kückler 110 fig. 90 a for the surroundings. A building with many rooms is on the summit of the hill, at its north-western part (on the general outlay of the buildings see Clédat 22 fig. 3); some of the rooms are covered with mosaics. The

function of the building – and hence its rooms – is not known (Clédat [and Levi] thought it to be a fortress and part of a chain of Roman fortresses [18 fig. 1]; Bernard 486, Ovadia 1998, 384, Baumann 165 identify it as a villa). Hall (a) (6.6x7.25 m) with its elaborate mosaic will have belonged to the living quarters of an official (or officer).

Pres. loc.: Ismailiya Museum, Egypt.



fig. 2568.1 (a-c)

(a) upper panel - tabula ansata:

ΝΑΟΙΣΝΕΣΤΟΡΑΤΟΝΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΟΝΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ

(b) designation of figures:

ΦΕΔΡΑ - ΕΡΩΣ - ΤΡΟΦΟΣ - ΦΕΔΡΑ - ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ - ΚΥΝΑΓΟΙ

(c) inscription between upper and middle panel:

ΔΕΥΡ-Ι-ΔΕΤΑΣΧΑΡΙΤΑΣΧΑΙΡΩΝΦΙΛΕΑΣΤΙΝΑΣΗΜΙΝΤΕΧΝΗΤΑΙΣΨΗΦΟΙΣΕΜΒΑΛΕΠΗΞΑΜΕΝΗ
ΤΟΝΦΘΟΝΟΝΕΚΜΕΣΣΟΥΚΑΙΟΜΜΑΤΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΙΗΣΤΗΣ-Ι-ΛΑΡΗΣΤΕΧΝΗΣΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ

(d) middle panel:

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ - ΕΡΩΣ - ΤΕΛΕΤΗ - ΣΚΙΡΤΟΣ - ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

(e) lower panel:

ΕΙΜΕΦΙΛΕΙΣΩΝΘΡΩΠΕΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΠΙΒΑΙΝΕΜΕΛΑΘΡΩΝ
ΨΥΧΗΝΤΕΡΠΟΜΕΝΟΣΤΕΧΝΗΜΑΣΙΝΟΙΣΙΝΠΟΘΗΜΙΝ
ΠΕΠΛΟΝΙΜΕΡΟΕΝΤΑΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΗΚΥΠΡΙΣΥΦΑΝΕΝ
ΛΕΠΤΑΛΕΝΨΗΦΙΔΙΧΑΡΙΝΔΕΝΕΘΗΚΑΤΟΠΟΛΛΗΝ

- (a) upper panel - tabula ansata:
ναοῖς Νέστορα τὸν φιλόκαλον κτίστην
- (b) designation of figures:
Φέδρα - Ἔρως - τρόφος - Φέδρα - Ἰππόλυτος - κυναγοί
- (c) inscription between upper and middle panel:
Δεῦρ' ἴδε τὰς χάριτας χαίρων, φίλε, ἄστινας ἡμῖν τέχνη ταῖς ψήφοις ἔμβαλε,
πηξάμενη | τὸν φθόνον ἐκ μέσσου καὶ ὄμματα βασκανίης τῆς ἱλαρῆς τέχνης
πολλάκις εὐξάμενος
- (d) middle panel:
Δίονυσος - Ἔρως - Τελέτη - Σκίρτος - Ἡρακλῆς
- (e) lower panel:
εἴ με φιλεῖς, ὦνθρωπε, χαίρων ἐπίβαινε μελάθρων, | ψυχὴν τερπόμενος
τεχνήμασιν οἷσιν ποθ' ἡμῖν | πέπλον ἱμερόεντα Χαρίτων ἢ Κύπρις ὕφανεν |
λεπταλέῃ ψηφίδι, χάριν δ' ἐνεθήκατο πολλήν

- (a) (Put the statue of) Nestor the builder, lover of beauty, (in the) temples.
- (b) Phaedra - Eros - nurse - Phaedra - Hippolytus - hunters
- (c) Come here, observe with pleasure the charming things which art has placed for us in the mosaic cubes, fixing them (at their place). Frequently pray away jealousy and the eyes of envy from the middle of enjoyable art.
- (d) Dionysus - Eros - Telete - Scirtus - Heracles.
- (e) If you love me, gentleman, enter gladly into this hall and be glad in your soul (looking at) the works of art like those with which Cypris formerly wove the splendid peplos of the Charites by a mosaic of delicate cube stones, into which she put a lot of charm.



fig. 2568.2 (d)



fig. 2568.3 (e)

Comm.: Upper panel: ΝΑΟΙΣ mosaic, [ἴδ]οις Perdrizet; cf. Ovadiah 1998, 385 n. 4. *Ναοίς*=*Ναίς* with a change due to iotacism, Plassart; *νάοις*=*ναίοις* Gallavotti; *ναοῖς* Merkelbach - Stauber.

Middle panel: ΔΕΥΡΙ ΔΕ, ΦΙΛΕΑΣ ΤΙΝΑΙ, ΤΕΧΝΗΤΑΙΣ, ΕΚΜΕΣΣΟΥ Clédat, corr. Plassart; *ἄς τινὰς* Perdrizet.

Lower panel: l.1: “*χαίρων* contra metrum, nisi *ῶνερ* pro *ὠνθρωπε* scribas, sed *χαρών* aut *χαρεῖς* possis” Gallavotti, but Bernand believes that the first syllable in *χαίρων* might have been pronounced as a short one; l.3: Clédat omitted the article before Cypris; “*nota sine augmento ὕφανεν* doricum, nisi imperfectum *ὑφα(ι)νεν* sine augmento praeferas aut *ὑφ(η)νεν* corrigas” Gallavotti; l.4: *δὲ ἐνεθήκατο* Perdrizet.

Clédat dated the mosaics of hall (a) to the 2 c., but already Perdrizet argued on stylistical grounds for the 3 or 4 c. AD; for other opinions cf. Ovadiah et al., in: *Tesserae*, 1991, 189f.; they themselves date the mosaic in hall (a) to ca. 350-450. According to Clédat, the system of fortresses he believed to have discovered was abandoned during the 4 c. AD (he states p. 17 that the latest coins found on the spot belonged to the reign of Constantius II); some of Olszewski's observations (280f., 286f.) agree with the date supplied by the coins. It is therefore difficult to believe in a date in the 5 or rather 6 c. (Talgam 219, following Török 24, 51f.; Baumann 1999, 310, who points out that Phaedra-Hippolytus-mosaics were produced as late as the 6 c. AD). It is not necessary to interpret the scenes as signs of a purely pagan Hellenism.

Upper panel:

(a) J. et L. Robert, BE 1964, 546: “L'inscription (a) ne nous paraît pas compréhensible.” To believe in an error in the first word of the text (Perdrizet) is a desperate solution. Plassart saw a name here and continued: “elle se rapporte sans doute à un portrait, statue ou buste, qui se trouvait entre le panneau décoré et la paroi voisine”; but this seems completely impossible; a hint at a statue or a portrait outside the mosaic is almost unheard of (even though Perdrizet's change rested on the same idea). Gallavotti understood the optative as an imperative directed at the room itself – also a notion without parallel, it seems. Merkelbach - Stauber

translated: "In den Tempeln sollte man aufstellen", which makes sense and does no violence to the text, but implies a thoroughly pagan surrounding, which is, of course, possible with this date and in this region (Gaza is near!). But do we know many honorary statues which were placed in a temple (not in a *τέμενος*)? The name Nestor is relatively rare and carries memories of Hellenic education.

(b) Choricus of Gaza indicates clearly that the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus was still a well-known subject in the theater (nothing indicates the genus of the plays – tragedy, mime, or whatever), or. 21,1 (p. 248 ed. Foerster); 29,30ff. (p. 322f. ed. Foerster); Procopius of Gaza mentions paintings with Phaedra and Hippolytus (Friedländer) and Talgam 219f. compares this mosaic with the painting described by Procopius. Baumann emphasizes that the tragic quality of the story is not to be found in the representation of this scene: the subject matter is less important than its inherent possibilities of representation – of demonstrating membership in a certain class and group.

(c) One hexameter, three pentameters. *πηξάμενη* used as a technical term for the mosaicist, cf. Olszewski 282. Gallavotti saw that *ἐκ μέσσου ... τῆς ἱλαρῆς τέχνης* goes together. He translated: "Qua lietamente, o amico, ammira le grazie che a noi l'arte musiva infuse nelle tessere, senza smettere di augurare che lungi restino dalla felice arte l'invidia e gli sguardi della malignità." The prayers against envy and the evil eye are to be repeated (*πολλάκις εὐξάμενος*) – and the position of the mosaic at the entrance of the room makes it clear that everybody entering is encouraged to offer his prayer (Olszewski 284f. adduces parallels that connect the idea of envy with the story of Hippolytus and Phaedra and asks himself if these lines were set completely fortuitously at this place). – On envy as a motive, see Dunbabin - Dickie 7ff.; Dunbabin 1989, 33ff.; ead. 1991; Scheibelreiter - Gail 149; CIIP II 1420 (Caesarea) with comm.; cf. here no. 2572.

Middle panel:

(d) *Διόνυσος - Ἔρως - Τελετή - Σκίρτος - Ἡρακλῆς*. Generally, the story of Hippolytus and Phaedra is rarely put side by side with Dionysiac images. Talgam 220ff. on the depiction of this Dionysiac thiasos as compared to the painting described by Procopius.

τελετή is understood variously: Ovadia et al., in: Tesserae 1991, 184: "The Greek word *τελετή* indicates the theme of the upper register, namely rite, orgiastic ceremonies, initiation in the mysteries, the celebration of mysteries." They see a conceptual link between the Dionysiac procession and the theme of the drunken Herakles, "as expressed by the satyrs and manads ... forming a continuous narrative scene." Savillia-Sadeh uses the word *τελετή* to interpret this scene as consecration or initiation – a part of a (very late) mystery religion. Baumann believes that Dionysus and Hercules hint at the pleasures of drinking and eating. Talgam 221f.: "That the entire scene is labeled TEΛETH, whose common meaning is an initiation into the mysteries, is puzzling. There are two reasonable explanations for this: (1) the term had acquired a more general, more neutral meaning; (2) the term had continued to exist since the iconography of initiation persisted, but it did not

imply that the cultic interest remained.” She concludes that this thiasos represents the “mime of a mythical choral group.” It is, of course, not completely impossible, to refer it to the female centaur and understand it as a significant personal name. – The silen Scirtus is mentioned by Nonn. Dion. 14,111 (and *passim*); his name is derived from *σκιρτάω*, to sing, to dance; he can be found on the mosaic of the house of Aion in Nea Paphos, too.

Lower panel:

(e) Four partly irregular hexameters. Generally, the theme of the first epigram is continued; on the owner of a place as lover of art, see Neudecker 127f. – 1.1: *μελάρων* – either a poetic plural designating this room or intended to designate the whole building. *τέχνημα=τέχνη*, relating to both *ὑφανε*ν and *ἐνεθήκατο*. *οἷσιν* is metrically wrong, but the suppression of the *nu* corrects this; cf. Merkelbach - Stauber 453: “Das Wort soll wohl gleichbedeutend mit *οἷοισι* verstanden werden.” Interestingly, the mosaic reflects on its own quality; part of it was made out of opus vermiculatum, which is meant by *λεπταλέη ψηφίδι*. Gallavotti saw that it would be metrically more correct to write *ἡμεροέντα πέπλον*. Bernand believes that the aorist *ὑφανε*ν is some kind of quotation, hence he is not inclined to correct. Bernand: “il est clair que l’épigrammatiste compare implicitement l’art du mosaïste à celui d’Aphrodite, en suggérant que l’artisan a été inspiré par la déesse dans son travail”. Bernand reminds us, too, that Clédât found two marble statues of Aphrodite on this hill.

Bibl.: J. Clédât, ASAE 15, 1915, 21-8 (with facs. 25 fig. 5; pls. II-V) (ed. pr.). – A. Plassart, BCH 40, 1916, 359f.; P. Perdrizet, in: Recueil d’études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de J.-Fr. Champollion, 1922, 93ff.; P. Fraser, JEA, 38, 1952, 124 no. 58 (after P. Arias, ASAA 24-26, 1946-8, 331 fig. 26); C. Gallavotti, Maia 15, 1963, 459-62; E. Bernand, Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine, 1969, 483ff. no. 122 pls. 84-7; SEG 24, 1197; Ovadiah, MPI 51ff. no. 69 pl. XL (dr.); A. Ovadiah, Gerión 16, 1998, 384f. (with ph.); Merkelbach-Stauber, Steinepigramme IV 450ff. no. 22/77/01 (with Bernand’s ph.). – Cf. SEG 1, 584; P. Friedländer, Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza, 1939; BE 1953, 231; 1964, 546; D. Levi, Antioch Mosaic Pavements I, 1971, 72 fig. 29; Keel - Küchler 111 fig. 90 a; K. Dunbabin - M. Dickie, JbAC 26, 1983, 7ff.; F. Zayadine, in: L. Kahil - C. Augé - P. Linant de Bellefonds eds., Iconographie classique et identités regionales, 1986, 423 fig. 16; R. Neudecker, Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien, 1988; K. Dunbabin, PBSR 57, 1989, 6ff.; BE 1990, 998; P. Linant de Bellefonds, LIMC V 1, 1990, 445ff. (esp. 452 no. 49*); A. Ovadiah et al., Qadmoniot 24, 1991, 122ff. (Hebr.); K. Dunbabin, in: E. Dassmann - K. Thraede eds., Tesseræ, 1991, 26ff.; A. Ovadiah - C. Gomez de Silva - S. Mucznik, *ibid.* 181ff. pls. 22-7; BE 1992, 432, 652, 656; P. Linant de Bellefonds, LIMC VII 2, 1994, pl. 320 I 49 (upper panel); L. Török, The Hunting Centaur, 1998; P. Baumann, Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land, 1999, 310ff.; M. Olszewski, in: D. Paunier - C. Schmidt eds., La mosaïque gréco-romaine VIII, 2001, 276ff. with pl.; P. Baumann, AW 34, 2003, 165ff. figs. 2-10; R. Talgam, in: B. Bitton-Ashkelony - A. Kofsky eds., Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity, 2004, 209ff. figs. 4, 7; M. Piccirillo, in: Haldimann et al., Gaza 184ff. fig. 119f.; N. Sevilla-Sadeh, Cathedra 127, 2008, 5ff. (Hebr.); V. Scheibelreiter-Gail, in: S. Birk - B. Poulsen eds., Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity, 2012, 148f.

Photo: J. Clédât, ASAE 15, 1915 pls. 3-5.

2569. Mosaic with inscription

The mosaic in hall (F) shows geometric patterns in black and white; according to Clédat there was no order whatsoever to the different geometric patterns; he therefore concluded that the parts of this mosaic came from other places of the building and were only later re-assembled to adorn hall (F). He believes that part of the border came from the original pavement of this room.

Findspot: See no. 2568. Hall (F) belonged to the frigidarium of the thermae of this site (located in the north-east; see Clédat 20 fig. 2; 31 fig. 6 shows a plan of the baths).

Pres. loc.: Ismailiya Museum, Egypt.

ΚΑΛ

ΩΣΛ

ΟΥΗ

καλ|ῶς λ|ούη

You should bathe in beauty!

Comm.: Clédat thought the mosaic in hall (F) to date from the 2 c. AD, but Levi believes it to come from the 4 c. or even later times; see comm. on no. 2568 for the early 4 c. AD. – Clédat 31 used the inscription to argue for public thermae which is not implausible; on comparable wishes, see Russell 22ff. – J. and L. Robert (BE) compare MPerp 21,2 where a martyr is acclaimed by the public in the circus: *salvum lotum! salvum lotum!*, see Dölger 1926 and 1930.

Bibl.: J. Clédat, ASAE 15, 1915, 32 (ed. pr.). – C. Gallavotti, Maia 15, 1963, 463; Ovadiah, MPI 53 no. 69. – Cf. F. Dölger, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 3, 1926, 199ff.; id., Antike und Christentum II, 1930, 129f.; BE 1964, 546; D. Levi, Antioch Mosaic Pavements I, 1971, 72; J. Russell, The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium, 1987.

WA

2570. Greek inscription on the base of a statue

Fragment of a base supporting the statue of a child of which only the feet and a part of the left leg survived. To the left of the child a bird or another animal. Lunate letters.

Meas.: h 17 cm.

Findspot: Boutafis/Sheikh Zuweid, roughly 50 km south-west of Gaza. Cf. no. 2568.

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΑ[--]
ΒΕΛΗΣΣΤΕΦΑ[--]

Comm.: l.1: Ἀρίστων Α[--] or Ἀρίστωνα [--]; l.2: the letter-sequence ΒΕΛΗΣ is not very common (Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnennamen* has only a genitive Βελεου [SB 935] and Βελλεου [Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura*, 1926]); [-Κυ]βέλης στεφα[--] is much too optimistic.

Bibl.: J. Clédat, *ASAE* 15, 1915, 30 no. 2 pl. IX, 1 (ed. pr.).

Photo: J. Clédat, *ASAE* 15, 1915, pl. IX,1.



fig. 2570

WA

2571. Greek inscription

“Terre jaune légèrement rosée. Forme conique. Sur la face plate on lit le nom ... profondément imprimé en creux” (Clédat). Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 2.1, Ø 6.5 cm.

Findspot: Boutafis/Sheikh Zuweid, roughly 50 km south-west of Gaza. Cf. no. 2568.

ZH
NOB
ΙΣ

Ζη|νόβ|ις

Zenobius.

Comm.: It seems that this is not a mass product; Clédat thinks it to be a “cachet en terre cuite”, therefore specially made. The letters suggest a date from the late 2 c. AD or later.



fig. 2571

Bibl.: J. Clédat, ASAE 15, 1915, 39 no. 1 fig. 12 (ed. pr.).

Photo: J. Clédat, ASAE 15, 1915, 39 fig. 12 (dr.).

WA

2572. A bracelet with Greek inscription

Casted strip of lead, bent into a bracelet. The ornaments and letters are in relief; evidently, the caster did not bother to mirror the letters: the inscription can be perfectly read when mirrored vertically. Lunate *sigma*.

Meas.: h 3.2, w 17.2 cm.

Findspot: Boutafis/Sheikh Zuweid, roughly 50 km south-west of Gaza. Cf. no. 2568.

ΕΞΩ
ΒΑΣ
ΚΑΝΟΣ

ἔξω, | βάσ|κανος

Out, envious (daemon)!

Comm.: ὥς ἐ βάσκανος Clédat, who did not understand the way the inscription was made ("les deux dernières [scil. lignes] sont écrites de droite à gauche"); only the *xi* is a bit mishappen; the correct reading was found by Perdrizet.

l.2: "Ein Nominativ statt Vokativ neben Imperativ macht einen Befehl streng", Schwyzer - Debrunner 63. – βάσκανος δαίμων is a common phrase, especially in sepulchral inscriptions (ἤρπασε με βάσκανος δαίμων vel sim.). This is a phylactery against any such demon. On envy, cf. no. 2568.

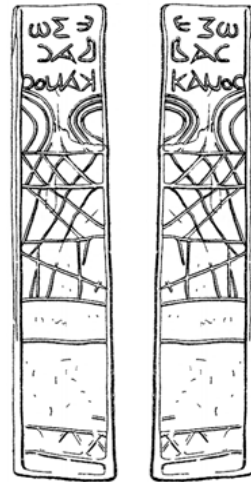


fig. 2572.1

fig. 2572.2
(mirrored)

Bibl.: J. Clédat, ASAE 15, 1915, 41f. fig. 16 (ed. pr.). – P. Perdrizet, in: Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de J.-Fr. Champollion, 1922, 93 n. 1; E. Schwyzer - A. Debrunner, Griechische Grammatik II, 1950; C. Gallavotti, Maia 15, 1963, 462f.

Photo: J. Clédat ASAE 15, 1915, 41 fig. 16 (dr.).

WA

XLI. Items of unknown provenance

A. Res sacrae

2573. Greek dedication to a God

White marble. After the last letter in l.8
“un dessin primitif d’un oeil” (ed. pr.).
Meas.: h 90, w 45 cm; letters 3 cm.

Findspot: Unknown. Bought in Gaza by
M. Dayan.

ΜΑΡΑΥΡΗ
ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ
ΑΒΔΕΟΥΣ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ
ΣΥΝΤΩΑΔΕ
ΛΦΩΜΑΤΡΙΝΩ
ΕΣΤΗΣΑΕΠΑ
ΓΑΘΩ



fig. 2573

Μᾶρ. Αὐρή. | Μακεδών | Ἀβδέους | εὐξάμενος | σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ματρίνῳ | ἔστησα
ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ

Marcus Aurelius Macedon son of Abdes, having made a vow erected (this) with his brother Matrinus for the good.

Comm.: The god is not mentioned and the symbol at the end of the inscription does not give a clue. – On Ἀβδες, Ἀβδης, Ἀβδος and the like see Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 7f. – l.6: from the Latin Matrinus, Matrinus (CIL 10, 6115 [Formiae]: Q. Trebellio Q. lib. Matrino).

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, ZPE 7, 1971, 156 no. 10 pl. 7b (ed. pr.). – BE 1971, 698; Syria/BES 1972, 39.

Photo: B. Lifshitz, ZPE 7, 1971 pl. 7 b.

WA

B. Funerary inscriptions

2574. Tomb of Anastasia with Greek inscription

White marble. Despite the drawing, the right edge is not preserved.

Meas.: h 15, w 15 cm; letters 2.2 cm.

Findspot: “de provenance ... incertaine” (Germer-Durand).

Pres. loc.: Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. no. C 41659 (part of the collection of Baron Ustinov).

ΧΑΙΡΕΣΥ[--]
ΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ[--]
ΘΕΟΣΚΑΤ[--]
ΥΣΕΙΕΝΕΙ[--]
ΗΣΙΝΑΓΑ[--]
ΦΩΤΗ/ΙΙ[--]



fig. 2574.1

χαῖρε ΣΥ[-- Ἀ]|ναστασία [--]| θεός ΚΑΤ[--]|ΥΣΕΙ ἐν ΕΙ[--]|ΗΣΙΝΑΓΑ[--] | ΦΩΤΗ/ΙΙ[--]



fig. 2574.2

Comm.: χαῖρε, σύ[μβιος Ἀ]ναστασία
[--] θεὸς κατ[απα]ύσει ἐν εἰ[ρήν]ῃ
συναγα[γών] | φωτί [σου] Germer-Du-
rand, who translated: “Adieu, compagne
Anastasia ... Dieu te fasse reposer en paix,
en l’admettant à la lumière (éternelle).”

Battifol had seen problems with the restoration: “La discussion de ces di-
verses restitutions est insuffisante.”

l.1: a) most epitaphs do not start
with a greeting, and when they do, the
greeting is usually followed by a name;
χαῖρε ΣΥ[(personal name) Ἀ]ναστασία[ς
γαμέτης ... is equally impossible; b) Ger-
mer-Durand’s supplement in l.1 is decided-
ly longer than his other supplements.

l.3f.: θεὸς κατ[απα]ύσει needs an
object, which cannot be supplied; only
κατάπαυσις, but not καταπαύω (intrans.) is used in a funerary context.

l.5: the last *alpha* is not completely certain; there seems no parallel for
συναγα[γών] φωτί (and συναγαγών has no direct object).

l.6: [σου] is excluded, because there are two vertical bars, either ΦΩΤΗ or ΦΩΤΙΙ.

Bagatti mentions – without further references – an inscription which he trans-
lates as: “Dio ti faccia riposare in pace ammettendoti nella luce eterna.” It seems to
me that this is meant to be a translation of l.3ff. with Germer-Durand’s supplements.
Germer-Durand wanted to connect this fragment with his no. 11 (no. 2468 this vol.):

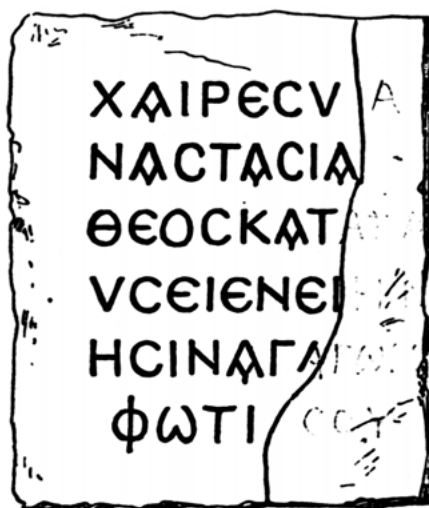


fig. 2574.3

the present stone belongs “probablement à l’építaphe de la même Anastasie. La physionomie du marbre et celle des lettres sont analogues.” But this identification rests solely on the debatable outer similarity and on Germer-Durand’s long since abandoned reading and interpretation of no. 2468, not on any precise information.

The eternal light of the Christians contradicts the expectation found in some pagan epitaphs of νύξ αἰώνιος, σκότος αἰώνιος vel sim. Clem. paed. 1,6 has the eternal light as the aim of the soul after baptism: πρὸς τὸ αἰδιδιον ἀνατρέχουμεν φῶς. Cf. otherwise Lampe s.v. φῶς 6 G g “divine light as possession of blessed in future”, quoting e.g. Acta Thom. A 12: δέχονται αὐτοὺς τόποι φωτὸς καὶ ἀνέσεως καὶ αἰωνίας ἀπολαύσεως; Bas. hex. 2,5: οἱ τὰ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξια εἰργασμένοι, ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ φωτὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσιν.

Bibl.: J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 249 no. 12 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – H. Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 719 no. 32 fig. 4906 (dr.). – Cf. P. Batiffol, BZ 1, 1892, 616; B. Bagatti, Alle origini della chiesa II, 1982, 248f.

Photo: L. Chepstow-Lusty, courtesy of Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo; J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 249 (dr.).

WA

2575. Greek funerary inscription of Zacharias son of Cyricus and of Theophrus

Marble slab; the back is rough. The cross below the inscription stands on a trilobed hill, symbolising Golgotha (cf. no. 2483).

Meas.: h 23.5, w 49.5, d 4.5 cm; letters 2.5 cm.

Pres. loc.: Greek Orthodox Patriarchy, Jerusalem, inv. no. 399 or 322.



fig. 2575

(cross) ΘΕΚΕΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΥΣ ΖΑΧ
ΑΡΙΟΥΚΥΡΙΚΟΚΙΤΗΕΙΣΑ
ΥΤΗΘΕΟΦΙΡΟΣΑΔΕΡΦΟ
(cross)

θέκε διαφέρου(σα) Ζαχαρίου Κυρικῶ. κῆτε εἰς αὐτῆς Θεόφιρος ἀδερφό

Tomb belonging to Zacharias son of Cyricus. In it lies (also) Theophrus, (his) brother.

Comm.: The origin of this inscription is not recorded. The formula *θέκε διαφέρου(σα)* is quite common, but not on the Palestinian south coast (no other example in this volume); Caesarea or Jerusalem would fit much better. The cross on the trilobed hill, signifying Golgotha, is – on the other hand – typical for Gaza and its environs, even though the crosses are usually a bit larger. – l.1: note the two abbreviation marks; l.2: read Κυριχο(ῦ); the abbreviation mark at the second *kappa* of the name makes no sense; for ου > ο in final, accented position, see Gignac I 211; l.3: note the double change of *lambda* to *rho*, Gignac I 105f.; fin.: on the omission of the final *sigma*, see Gignac I 124.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: B. Zissu.

WA

2576. Fragmentary Greek epitaph, 3-5 c. CE (?)

Marble slab, polished front, smooth but unpolished back, broken into four pieces glued back together; top, right and bottom edges preserved; break on left is not fresh, compared to breaks between pieces. Remains of six lines of Greek text, shallowly incised; hederæ at end of ll.2-5 and between words in l.2; diagonal lines in ll.1 and 5 may be abbreviation marks or word separators. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar, *alpha* and *lambda* with hyper-extended right leg; rounded *epsilon*, lunate *sigma* and w-shaped *omega*; cursive *mu*; *upsilon* with long stem. *Epsilon* in l.1 different in style and size from those in ll.2 and 5.

Meas.: h 28.5, w 21.5, d 2 cm; letters 1.3-2.2 cm.

Pres. loc.: IAA Central district, Tel Aviv.

[--]N-MEBAE
 [--]N (hedera) METAHN (hedera)
 [--]ΣAN (hedera)
 [--]ΘΑΛΑΜΩΝ (hedera)
 [--].ΚΗΔΕΥΣΕΝ (hedera)
 [--]ΣΤΟΣ



fig. 2576

[--]ν ΜΕΒΑΕ[--[]ν ΜΕΤΑΗΝ[--[]σαν |[--έκ?] θαλάμων |[--] (ἐ)κῆδευσεν |[--]ΣΤΟΣ

... of/from rooms ... tended to/buried ...

Comm.: The exact provenance of this inscription is unrecorded. Y. Levi, the director of the IAA regional office in Tel Aviv, reports finding it in the safe in his office when he started his job 20 years ago; the likelihood is that it was found in the environs of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The letters are well executed and easy to read, but their interpretation is far from obvious. Some words are separated by hederæ; the diagonal strokes in ll.1 and 5 could be abbreviation markers. The two intelligible words, *θαλάμων* and *(ἐ)κῆδευσεν*, in ll.4 and 5, suggest a funerary context, perhaps the end of a pentameter in l.4. The word *κηδεύειν* is particularly prominent in Jewish epitaphs from Phrygia, see Ameling, IJO II 189 etc. (cf. index s.v.), and the combination of wedding and funeral imagery is especially prevalent in poetic epitaphs (the index to W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, 1955, lists 95 uses of the word *θάλαμος*, often combined with *νυμφιδίων*, *πατρικῶν*, etc.).

l.2: ΜΕΤΑΗΝ, with a hedera on either side, seems to be a complete word; possibly from *μέτειμι*?

Paleography does not allow precise dating; the letter-forms resemble those in local dated inscriptions from the 3-5 c., but the inscription could be later than that.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

2577. Greek funerary inscription

“Reddish-looking hard stone, on which is carved the figure of a human female with two wings in a recumbent position. The hands and feet instead of ending in fingers and toes, end with fish tails. Close to the feet on the top side stands ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ, and on the front side is a longer Greek inscription” (Schick).

Findspot: “Was brought to the Baron [i.e. Ustinov] from the land of the Philistines” (Schick).

upper side: ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ

front side: ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΤΕ
ΧΑΙΡΕ ΖΗΣΑΣΕΤΗ

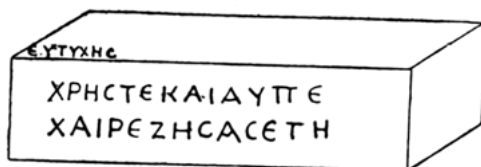


fig. 2577

upper side: Εὐτύχης

front side: χρήστε καὶ ἄλ>υπε, | χαῖρε, ζήσας ἔτη

upper side: *Eutyches*.

front side: ... *honest and causing nobody grief, greetings, having lived ... years ...*

Comm.: Upper side: Εὐτυχῆς? – The place of the name(?) ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ on a different side than the two other lines makes it very probable that those two lines belong to a secondary use of the stone. It is almost impossible to believe that a text began on the upper side of the stone and was then continued on the front side. If this is correct, then the funerary monument was made of at least three stones: an upper one, where the name and father's name of the dead stood, the present stone, and a lower one recording his age (and perhaps additional information). – l.2: the dead was male.

Bibl.: C. Schick, PEQ 25, 1893, 296 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *ibid.* 306.

Photo: C. Schick, PEQ 25, 296 fig. 14 (dr.).

WA

2578. Fragment of a Greek funerary inscription, ca. 619/20 AD

Lower left corner of a slab of marble.

Meas.: h 20.5, w 28, d 4.9-5 cm.

Findspot: Sawafir el-Gharbieh (according to the IAA). Cf. DGI 480: "The only site of this name known to the Survey of Israel is Sawafir el-Gharbiya in the southern Shephela, between Ashdod and Ascalon".

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1934-2768. Autopsy: March 2012 (WE).

[--]
+ΟΣΚΑΙ[--]
ΜΗΑΠΕΛΛΑ[--]
ΓΚΨΕΤΟΥ[--]



fig. 2578.1

[--]|+ΟΣ καὶ [--]| μὴ(νὸς) Ἀπελλα[ίου --]| γκψ' ἔτου[ς --]

... and ... month of Apellaios ... year 723 ... (= Dec.-Jan. 619/20 AD).

Comm.: $\mu\eta(\nu\iota)$ Ἀπελλα[ίου --]
 Meimaris; Ἀπελλα[ίου -- τοῦ]
 DGI. – Meimaris dated this
 text according to the Ga-
 zan era, therefore 723=662
 AD. Di Segni referred to the
 findspot of the inscription
 which makes the Ascaloni-
 tan era much more probable,
 hence the date printed above.

Bibl.: Meimaris, *Chron. Systems*
 134 no. 140 (ed. pr.). – DGI, 479f.
 no. 139; L. Di Segni, *ARAM* 18-19, 2006/07, 120 n. 34.

Photo: WE.

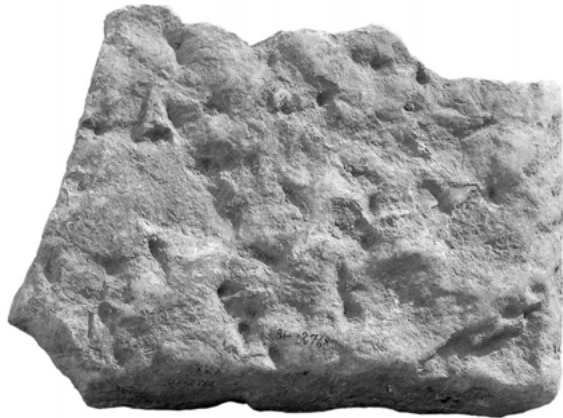


fig. 2578.2

WA

C. *Instrumentum domesticum*

2579. Lead object with Greek inscription

Round disc made of lead with a raised rim and with two lugs, one at the top and one at the bottom. Incised on both sides: on the obverse, in addition to the inscription, there are many x-shaped signs between two horizontal lines and on the reverse, similar and s-shaped signs between two circular lines.

Meas.: Ø ca. 8 cm; wt 394 g.

Findspot: Found inside the Gaza Strip.

Pres. loc.: Collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, Gaza, inv. no. JKC 1040.

ΑΓΑΘ

ΗΤΥΧΗ

Ἀγαθὴ ἡ τύχη

Good luck.



fig. 2579.1 (obv.)

Comm.: In the ed. pr. the object is identified as a weight of one mina, but all the normal features of a weight are missing. The lugs were probably meant for pulling a string, and if the many X-shaped signs represent a net, this object may have belonged to a fisherman's boat (but cf. the weight no. 2586 with two handles).

Bibl.: M. Campagnolo, in: Chambon, Gaza 70-3 no. E (ph.) (ed. pr.).

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).



fig. 2579.2 (rev.)

Weights manufactured in Anthedon**2580. Lead weight signed by Dionysius, with city-goddess on a stamp, 3 c. CE**

A square lead weight with a large loop at the top. One of the sides has slightly raised borders and an inscription in three lines; lunate *sigma*. In the lower field and partially disfiguring the border, is a square stamp with an image of a city-goddess wearing a mural crown. The goddess wears a short dress; she is standing left, holding a long stick (scepter? standard?) in her left hand and a small object in her outstretched right hand. There is another small object near (or under?) her right leg. The reverse shows a thick circle around a central dot.

Meas.: h 6 (with the loop), w 3.7, th 0.8 cm; wt 90.88 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured most probably in Anthedon.

ΔΙΟΝΥ
ΣΙΟΥ
Δ

Διονυ|σίου | δ'



fig. 2580.1



fig. 2580.2

(Under the supervision of?) Dionysius. A quarter.

Comm.: Ed. pr. attributed the weight to Gaza. If the meaning of the *delta* at the end of the inscription is “one quarter”, which is most likely, then the mass of the weight (90.88 g) would indeed correspond to one fourth of the *litra* standard used in Gaza in the 2-3 c. CE (see weights of this city, nos. 2596ff.; on the *litra* standard(s) in general, cf. comm. to no. 2585). Reverse decoration involving a circle around a central dot appears to have been used all over the southernmost Palestinian coast, from Raphia to Ascalon, which would not exclude Gaza, either.

However, certain other features of the weight are more difficult to reconcile with the attribution to this city. A name standing alone is not found on any of the known weights that can be firmly assigned to Gaza. Nor is a “one quarter” unit ever indicated by the number four (Δ) rather than by the word TETAPTON (nos. 2601-2607). On top of this, there is a problem in associating the image on the stamp with the city of Gaza. This image, sometimes defined in numismatics as “Tyche of Amazon-type”, appears for the first time on coins of Caesarea in 67/8 CE and was later adopted by many Palestinian *poleis*. This type of Tyche is absent from coins of Gaza but it does appear on coins of Anthedon (Y. Meshorer, *City-Coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period*, 1985, 31 no. 66), in a manner very similar to that on the stamp. In fact, Anthedon was the only city within the stretch Raphia – Ascalon where this type was employed on coins and, since it would seem logical if a city used for its stamps on weights a type used also on this city’s coinage, the stamp on the present item would point in the direction of Anthedon rather than of any other city in the area. The attribution to Anthedon would, in turn, imply that this city, situated just a few kilometers north of Gaza, had adopted, at a certain point of time, the weighing system of its southern neighbor. Since Anthedon appears to have minted coins only under Elagabal and Severus Alexander, the stamp, and possibly also the weight itself, would date to the 3 c. CE.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 176 no. 18 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1422; S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4088 (ph. of the reverse, measurements).

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 18; Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.

AKS

2581. Lead weight of agoranomos Alexander son of Alphius, ca. 300 CE

A square lead weight with a large loop at its top. One of the flat sides has raised borders; in the field within, there is an inscription in five lines surrounded by a square frame (a). All lines of the inscription are separated by horizontal strokes. A stamp with an image of a horseman, applied at the center of the lower border, crushed this part of the border, creating a handle-like protrusion. The reverse side shows an image of Dikaiosyne within a circle, apparently copied from a coin. Dikaiosyne is standing left, clad in chiton and peplos; she holds scales in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left hand. A legend, identifying the goddess, runs around the image (b). Lunate *sigma*, small *omicron*.

Meas.: h 9.3 (12.5 with loop and lower protrusion), w 9, th 0.45 cm; wt 314.2 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Anthedon.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 90.87.432. Autopsy: 2000.

- (a) ΕΤΟΥΣΣΠ
ΒΕΞΑΜΗΝΟΥ
ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΛΦΙΟΥ
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥ
(b) ΔΙΚΑΙΟ ΣΥΝΗ



fig. 2581.1

- (a) Ἔτους σπ' | β' ἑξαμήνου | ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου | Ἀλφίου | ἀγορανόμου
(b) Δικαιοσύνη

- (a) Year 86, second semester, Alexander son of Alphius being agoranomos.
(b) *Dikaiosyne*.

Comm.: This weight is usually attributed to the ancient city of Gaza. However, Clermont-Ganneau, who discovered the weight in the library of the convent of Sainte-Croix in Jerusalem and was the first to publish it, was far from sure about its place of manufacture. According to Clermont-Ganneau's inquiries, the weight was brought to the convent by a priest who lived in Gaza for thirty years; Clermont-Ganneau consequently assumed that the weight was most likely to originate in either Gaza itself or in a neighboring city. One of possible "neighboring cities" he had in mind was Ascalon. Counted from the era of Gaza, the date of the weight would equal 25/6 CE, which Clermont-Ganneau considered too early on the grounds of paleography. His preferred date was the end of the 2 c. CE.



fig. 2581.2

At the time when Clermont-Ganneau wrote his paper, there was little material for comparison. Today, we know of more than two dozen inscribed lead weights that can be attributed to the ancient city of Gaza with certainty; the overwhelming majority of these weights date to 1-3 c. CE (nos. 2588-2620). Comparison of the present item with this assemblage raises doubts about its current attribution to the city of Gaza. To begin with, the absence of the symbol of Gaza (Phoenician *mem*, cf. desc. to no. 2588) looks odd, given that this symbol is present on the vast majority of weights of this city, and on all of its Roman period weights carrying extended inscriptions. A few details of the inscription on the present weight also look odd. The two earliest weights of the Roman period known from Gaza (52 and 97 CE, nos. 2593 and 2594) introduce the date by the sign L. The present item has ETOYΣ written in full. The earliest known weight from Gaza with ETOYΣ written in full belongs to 231/2 CE (no. 2615). The formula employed in all three above-mentioned inscriptions from Gaza has ἀγορανομοῦντος followed by a name with patronymic. The weight under review has ἐπὶ (name) ἀγορανόμου. We meet ἐπὶ followed by a name, but without ἀγορανόμου, on a weight from Gaza only when it became a colony (second part of the 3 c. CE). One may also notice that the patronymic is introduced by τοῦ in the inscription of the weight from 52, and the article makes its appearance also on the weight of 97. The use of the article τοῦ before a patronymic appears to have been practically universal on local weights of the Hellenistic period, but its use gradually decreases throughout the period of the Principate (A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 6, 2011, 53f.). The present weight, which is supposed to be of earlier date than those of 52 and 97, has no article before the patronymic.

There are a few further details that look anachronistic. Thus, the mass of the weight under discussion is 314.2 g, which makes it most likely to have been intended as a Roman *libra*. There is no evidence so far of the use of the Roman *libra* standard in Gaza under the Principate. Yet another chronological discrepancy involves the weight's reverse. Clermont-Ganneau suggested that the image of Dikaiosyne could have been copied from a coin of Alexandria, and this may well be correct. Dikaiosyne was among the most popular reverse types on coins of Roman Alexandria throughout the period of the Principate. Her earliest appearance is registered under Claudius (R. Poole, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*, 1892, 10 no. 77); the goddess is shown on this coin standing left with scales, similar to the present weight, but she is veiled and without cornucopia. An image of Dikaiosyne that corresponds more to the image on the reverse of the weight (without a veil and with a cornucopia) seems to appear first on Alexandrian coins only under Nerva (J. Milne, *University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*, 1982 [reprint], 137 Dikaiosyne type B2). This type, without an accompanying legend, persisted on coins of Alexandria until the end of the 3 c. CE. A suggestion that the image was copied not from a coin of Alexandria but from a Roman imperial issue with AEQVITAS, where the goddess looks quite similar, would not eliminate the

problem, since the earliest registered appearance of AEQVITAS with cornucopia occurred under Galba (H. Mattingly, *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum I. Augustus to Vitellius*, 1976, pl. CCXIV 351). Thus, the image of Dikaiosyne could hardly have been copied from any coin before the last third of the 1 c. CE.

It follows from all stated above that the weight is unlikely to have been produced in the city of Gaza. This said, the weight appears to still have a good chance of originating in the area of today's Gaza Strip. The fact that it was acquired by a person who lived for a long time in Gaza is to be taken into account. The Kloetzli collection, published by Manns (Manns, *Weights*, passim, cf. no. 2594) was assembled by a person who also lived in Gaza for many years. The overwhelming majority of the weights from this collection originate in either Gaza or Raphia. Of no less significance is the presence of a stamp with an image on the weight under discussion. Such stamps are known for Gaza and Raphia but are not attested elsewhere, notably not on known weights from Ascalon further north.

Anthedon, the third ancient Greek city situated within the territory of today's Gaza Strip, thus appears to be the best candidate. This city may well have had an era falling in the reign of Caracalla or Elagabalus, between 215 and 218 CE (A. Stein, *Studies in Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Palestinian Coinage under the Principate*, Ph.D. thesis, 1990, 150-3). Counting from this era, the date of the weight under review will be ca. 300 CE; this chronology appears to be in much better harmony with various features of the weight and its inscription than is allowed by the current attribution of the item to Gaza.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* 1898, 606-9 (ed. pr.). – *BE* 1902, p. 93; *SEG* 28, 1410.

Photo: Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

AKS

Weights manufactured in Ascalon

2582. Small lead weight with a frontal representation of the city-goddess of Ascalon, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

A square lead weight, with a pierced handle at its bottom. One side shows the bust of the city-goddess in a fashion very similar to no. 2583, including the cruciform standard. Minor differences involve a crown of four towers (not three as on no. 2583), and the absence of the palm branch. Under the bust there is an inscription in one line; lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. The reverse side is decorated with a rosette similar to that of no. 2583, but without the dots between the petals. The six petals are arranged in a somewhat asymmetrical manner.

Meas.: h 3, w 3.2, th 0.3 cm; wt 45.5 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Ascalon.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: September 2000.

ΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Πόλεως

Of the city.

Comm.: A very similar weight, with the same inscription, appears in L. Vincent, RB 12, 1903, 606 no. 8 (dr.), 608 no. 8 (desc.). Vincent took the item for a tessera and therefore gave only the measurements (3.2x3.2 cm). Since these measurements are almost identical with those of our weight, this second weight is likely to belong to the same denomination (i.e. to have approximately the same mass). Another weight, of greater size, with similar frontal representation of the city goddess and similar reverse, was found in the underwater survey opposite Caesarea (CIIP II 1732). The inscription on this item is ΠΟΛΕΟΣ, with *omicron* instead of *omega*. As some other types of weights from Ascalon also alternate between these two forms of spelling, it does not seem to be of chronological significance.

The mass of the weight found opposite Caesarea is 86.9 g, about twice as great as that of the item under review. It seems possible, then, that the largest weight of the group, with the mass of 796.9 g (no. 2583), represents the main weight unit (ca. 800 g), with the specimen found opposite Caesarea intended as 1/8 of its mass (ideally ca. 100 g). The weight under review, with its present mass of 45.5 g, could be thus intended as 1/16 of the main unit (ideally ca. 50 g). For the dating, see comm. to no. 2583.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 1, 2006, 118f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 56, 1889; BE 2007, 520. – Cf. CIIP II 1732.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.



fig. 2582.1



fig. 2582.2

2583. Large lead weight with a frontal representation of the city-goddess of Ascalon, 1 c. BCE-1 c. CE

A large lead weight of a square form, with extensions at the top and bottom. The upper extension has a hole in its center, pierced later. One side shows a female bust, which can be identified as that of a city-goddess, although the area of the face is damaged. The goddess wears a mural crown and has behind her right shoulder a cruciform standard, and behind her left shoulder an aphlaston. Near the border on the left there is a long palm branch. It is possible that yet a further (small) object was depicted in the right field below the aphlaston. There is an inscription in one line under the bust; lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. Along all the four lateral sides there appear to be traces of yet another inscription, now illegible. The reverse side is decorated with a design resembling a rosette with six petals; there are six large dots between these petals and the whole is surrounded by a thick circle.

Meas.: h 9.2 (11.8 with extensions), w 9.2, th 1.1 cm; wt 796.9 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Ascalon.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: September 2000.

ΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Πόλεως

Of the city.



fig. 2583.1



fig. 2583.2

Comm.: Although the name of the city is not mentioned (or has not been preserved), the attributes of the city-goddess point to the city of Ascalon. A female figure standing on a ship, looking left, and holding a standard in her right hand and an aphlaston in her left hand appears frequently on coins of Ascalon from the end of the 1 c. BCE onwards (BMC Palestine 114-33, *passim*). The representation on the present weight is, however, different in that it has only a bust, shown frontally. The long palm branch may be connected with one of Ascalon's main deities, Phanebalos, who is shown on coins with a long palm branch at his side (*ibid.* 115-39, *passim*).

The approximate *terminus ante quem* for the weight is hinted at by the cruciform shape of the standard in the goddess' right hand. This shape is seen on coins of Ascalon until the time of the Flavians, when it gets replaced by a triangular one (ibid. 121, nos. 117f., Titus). There is then the likelihood of our weight having been manufactured before the 2 c. CE. At the same time, the weight does not show any peculiar characteristics of the Hellenistic period and is, therefore, unlikely to have been produced before the 1 c. BCE.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 1, 2006, 118 no. 1 (ed. pr.). – SEG 56, 1888; BE 2007, 520.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2584. Dated lead weight with the image of the city-goddess of Ascalon, 148/9 CE

An almost square lead weight, that possibly had a handle at the top, now broken off. One side shows the city-goddess of Ascalon standing facing left on a ship, with a standard in her right hand and an aphlaston in her left hand. The form of the standard is unclear due to surface wear. There is an inscription that runs along the border on three sides – on left, right and below the image of the goddess. The inscriptions on both left and right must be read from inside out. Lunate *sigma*. On the reverse side is a big thick circle.

Meas.: h 4.7, w 5.2 cm; wt 78.4 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Ascalon.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem (former collection of D. Hendin), inv. no. 2008.34.26488.

left: ΠΟΛΕΟΣ
right: [--]Λ[--]
below: LBNΣ

left: πόλεος
right: [--]++λ+[--]
below:
(Ἔτους) βυσ'

*Of the city (of
Ascalon ?).
Year 252.*



fig. 2584.1



fig. 2584.2

Comm.: Inscription to the right: [ΑΣΚΑ?]Λ[.] in ed. pr. Only one letter, *lambda* (Λ), in the inscription on the right can be clearly seen. The reconstruction of the

preceeding letters as [ΑΣΚΑ], although tempting, does not seem to fit the traces of letters that remain. Nor can it be ascertained whether the *lambda* was followed by just one letter or two letters. Year 252 counted from the era of Ascalon (104 BCE), gives 148/9 CE. The mass of the item approximates a quarter of the Roman *libra*. If the weight was indeed made on this standard, it would be the earliest example known so far of the adoption of this standard by a Palestinian city.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 1, 2006, 120 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – D. Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 4th. ed. 2001, 68 pl. 2.w19 (ph. with measurements, but without text); SEG 56, 1887; BE 2007, 520.

Photo: D. Hendin.

AKS

2585. Inscribed lead weight with a dove, the symbol of Ascalon, 2-4 c. CE

A rectangular lead weight with a large loop at the top. The loop is now slightly bent. One side has raised borders; there is a dove in the center of the field surrounded by an inscription in three lines – above the dove, on both sides of the bird, and beneath it; l.2 ΛΙ in ligature resembling an upright arrow; lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. The reverse is decorated with a large thick circle around a central dot. The weight received two blows on the left side of the reverse, causing two deep cavities on this side and two protuberances on the side of the inscription. The upper blow damaged the last letter of l.1 of the inscription.

Meas.: h 8.9, w 7 cm; wt unknown.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Ascalon.

ΠΟΛΕΟΣ
ΛΙ (dove) Α
ΑΣΚΑΛΩΝ



fig. 2585.1



fig. 2585.2

πόλεος | λί(τρα) α' | Ἀσκαλων(ιτών)

Of the city of Ascalon. One litra.

Comm.: The photograph is the only documentation that survives on this item, together with an incomplete set of measurements. These were kindly contributed by R. Deutsch. The dove as a symbol of Ascalon appears on this city's coins from the Hellenistic period onwards. As the mass of the item is unknown, the only chronological hint may be derived from the ligature of ΔΙ for λίτρα (also to be found on nos. 2268, 2586, 2587, 2614, 2615, 2641, 2645), which has not been attested so far for Palestine for the 1 c. CE or before. This ligature continued to be employed on Palestinian weights throughout all of the Byzantine period. However, production of individualized lead weights in the area decreases significantly from the 4 c. CE on. The most likely period for the present weight would thus be 2-4 c. CE. The word *litra* is a Greek version of the Latin *libra*, but it does not always refer to the Roman weight standard, especially as far as the period of the Principate is concerned. In many cases the term was applied to a local weight standard; this standard sometimes came close to the weight (mass) of the Roman *libra* (ca. 327 g) but could sometimes differ from it substantially.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 1, 2006, 119f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – SEG 56, 1886; BE 2007, 520.

Photo: R. Deutsch.

AKS

2586. Inscribed circular *litra* weight, 2-4 c. CE

A circular lead weight with handles at the top and bottom; the lower handle had been pierced. One side of the weight has an image of the city-goddess of Ascalon, standing left on a ship. The goddess wears a long dress; she holds a standard in her right hand and an aphlaston in her left hand. The form of the standard appears to be triangular, with the sharp point facing up. There is an altar in the left field and a dove in the right field. An inscription in one line runs under the ship (a) and there is a ligature above the dove (b). Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. The surface of this side is worn and damaged. The reverse side is unknown.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Ascalon.

(a) ΠΟΛΕΩΣ

(b) ΔΙ

(a) Πόλεως

(b) Δι(τρα)



fig. 2586

Of the city. (One?) litra.

Comm.: The photograph is the only documentation that survives on this item. Some minor details apart, the weight looks very similar to no. 2587. However, it has $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ with *omega* rather than $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ of no. 2587. Given their similarity, the two weights could hardly have been manufactured too far in time from each other. This means that both spellings could well have been in use simultaneously and, therefore, the difference in these spellings is unlikely to be of chronological significance. On the dating, see comm. to no. 2587. The ligature comprising the letters Λ and I for *litra* appears fairly frequently on the weights of the region (see nos. 2268, 2585, 2587, 2614, 2615, 2641, 2645; on the *litra* standard(s), cf. comm. to no. 2585).

Bibl.: Unpublished. – A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 1, 2006, 121 pl. 16,6 (ph. and a short commentary, no text).

Photo: S. Qedar.

AKS

2587. Inscribed circular litra weight found near Ascalon, 2-4 c. CE

A circular lead weight with pierced handles at its top and bottom; the handle at the top is now partly broken off, with its remnants bent towards the reverse side. One side of the weight has an image of the city-goddess of Ascalon, standing left above a galley. The goddess wears a mural crown and is dressed in a long chiton and peplos; she holds a standard in her right hand and an aphlaston in her left hand. The form of the standard appears to be triangular, with the sharp point facing down. There is an altar in the left field and a dove in the right field. An inscription in one line runs along the edge, on left and right; lunate *sigma*, ΛI in ligature. The reverse side shows a thick circle around a central dot.

Meas.: \varnothing 8.8, th 0.7 cm; wt 286.5 g (before cleaning), 274.25 g (after cleaning).

Findspot: Near Wadi Ibtah, north-east of Tell el Farani, about 10 km north-east of ancient Ascalon.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1966-915. Autopsy: 2006.

$\Pi\omicron\Lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \Lambda\text{IA}$

$\Pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma. \Lambda\text{I}(\tau\rho\alpha) \alpha'$

Of the city. One litra.



fig. 2587.1

Comm.: The triangular form of the standard, as well as the use of the ligature ΛΙ for *litra* would seem to exclude a date as early as the 1 c. CE. (see comm. to nos. 2583 and 2585). The mass of the weight (286.5 g before cleaning) would be significantly below the Roman *libra* standard even if allowances are made for the broken-off part of the upper handle and for the general wear. In the present state of our knowledge, and given the absence of a firm dating for the item, it is difficult to determine whether the Roman or a local standard was meant by the term *litra*. On the *litra* standard(s), see also comm. to no. 2585; the ligature comprising the letters Λ and Ι for *litra* appears also on nos. 2268, 2585, 2586, 2614, 2615, 2641, 2645.



fig. 2587.2

Bibl.: L. Rahmani, IEJ 39, 1989, 67-70 (ed. pr.). – SEG 39, 1989, 1619; BE 1990, 182.

Photo: H. Gitler.

AKS

Weights manufactured in Gaza

2588. Two similar weights belonging to an unknown weight system, 1 c. BCE-3 c. CE

(a) A square lead weight with a circular handle at its upper side. One side has raised borders, bevelled on both inside and outside. The circular handle has also a raised border, bevelled in the same manner. The outer side of the border of the main square has a zig-zag decoration. There is an inscription in two lines in the field. The last letter of l.1 is damaged. The reverse shows the symbol of the city of Gaza, the Phoenician *mem*, being the first letter of the name of Marnas, chief deity of the city (cf. Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 235-47), and appearing regularly on its coins from the end of the 2 c. BCE until the 3 c. CE (cf. BMC Palestine 144-68). – (b) Same form, decoration and inscription. The inscription is intact. The reverse side is blank. l.2 N retrograde in (a) and (b).

Meas.: (a) h 4.4 (6.4 with handle), w 4.6, th 0.4 cm; wt 102.1 g; (b) same; wt 102.5 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza (a and b).

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer) (a and b). Autopsy: August 2000 (a and b).

- (a) ΟΓΔ
ON
(b) ΟΓΔ
ON



fig. 2588.1 (a)



fig. 2588.2 (a)

(a) and (b) ὀγδὼν

(a) and (b) *An eighth.*



fig. 2588.3 (b)



fig. 2588.4 (b)

Comm.: The two weights were evidently made with the same lower mold. Their forms, including the asymmetrical placing of the handle and the asymmetrical shoulders, are identical, as are their particulars, including measurements. However, the upper, covering slabs were different. One (a) had a Phoenician *mem* on it, while on the other (b) it was absent. The ed. pr. of weight (a) read l.1 as [...] and only l.2 (as ON), but the first two letters of l.1 (ΟΓ) and the lower right corner of the third letter (Δ) have also been preserved.

The weight system to which the two weights belong remains unclear, which complicates their dating. At the present state of our knowledge, they can be only broadly assigned to the Roman period, from mid-1 c. BCE-3 c. CE.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 172f. no. 8 (a); Kushnir-Stein, *Lead Weights* 40f. no. 6 (b) (edd. prr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2589. Lead weight inscribed with Greek letters indicating its mass in drachms, 1 c. BCE-3 c. CE

A lead weight of a square shape with a semicircular handle at its bottom and a smaller projection at its top. One side has raised borders and carries an inscription in one line. The reverse is reported to be flat and undecorated.

Meas.: h 3.1 (with handle and upper projection), w 2.4 cm; wt 13 g (12 g after cleaning).

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, inv. no. 68.310.

Non vidi.

LΔ

(δραχμαί) δ'

Four drachms.

Comm.: The weight carries no identifying symbol. It was purchased in Jerusalem with the accompanying information that it comes "from Gaza". Although such information may often be of limited value (see comm. in nos. 2602 and 2634), the weight under discussion can be attributed to Gaza with some certainty. The main argument in favor of such attribution is the weight's overall appearance (square shape, treatment of the borders, semicircular handle at the bottom) that is very similar to weights that bear the symbol of the city (nos. 2603ff.).

The sign L was used for introducing numbers. It is usually found on weights instead of the word "year", but in the present case it signals that the digit that follows relates to a certain number of weight units. Small weights of this type are known with numbers 2, 4 and 8 (LB, LΔ and LH), i.e. multiples of 2 only. The great majority of their counterparts without the sign L show the same numbers (see CIIP II



fig. 2589

1749), with the addition of A (1) and IB (12). It is clear then that all these numbers, both with and without the sign L, relate to a certain weighing system and, consequently, the sign L could not have had the meaning of “year” on the present, and similar, weights. The unit to which the sign refers must be the Ptolemaic drachm of ca. 3.5 g. The use of this weight unit was the legacy of the Ptolemaic domination of the area in 3 c. BCE; this use continued (also as regards silver coinage) well into the Roman period. When exactly the weight unit of drachm went out of use is difficult to determine, but it could have hardly survived beyond the 3 c. CE, when the use of the Roman weighing system appears to have become universal.

Bibl.: J. Biers, in: ead. - J. Terry eds., *Testament of Time. Selected Objects from the Collection of Palestinian Antiquities in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia*, 2004, 134f. no. 117 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri.

AKS

2590. Two lead weights inscribed with Greek letters indicating their mass in drachms, 1 c. BCE-3 c. CE

(a) A lead weight of a square shape with a semicircular handle at its bottom. One side has raised borders and carries an inscription in one line. The reverse is plain. –
 (b) Similar, but the handle is broken off. The reverse is reported to be plain.
 Meas.: (a) h 3.8, w 3.5 cm; wt 25 g; (b) h 3.6, w 3.3 cm; wt 25 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza (a and b).

Pres. loc.: (a) SBF Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. SB 00596. Autopsy: June 2012. (b) Unknown. Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) and (b) LH

(a) and (b) (δραχμαὶ) η'

(a) and (b) *Eight drachms*.



fig. 2590.1 (a)



fig. 2590.2 (a)



fig. 2590.3 (b)

Comm.: For the attribution to Gaza and the dating, see comm. in no. 2589.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 19 nos. 27-28 pl. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer (a); Manns, *Weights*, pl. 5 no. 28 (b).

AKS

2591. Weight with a square stamp and the symbol of Gaza, 1 c. BCE-3 c. CE

A square lead weight, without either handle or loop. One of the flat sides has a broad, slightly raised border, 0.8 cm in width. In the depression thus formed is an inscription (a), perhaps originally of five lines but now illegible apart from a few letters in the first two lines. At the upper left corner there is a square stamp (b) which has obliterated the letters at the beginning of ll.1-2 of the original inscription. In the upper right corner is a symbol of Gaza (cf. desc. to no. 2588), written retrograde. The letters on the stamp are in two lines. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 4.5, w 4.1, th 0.15 cm; wt 42.5 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: August 2000.

(a) [--]P (*mem*)

[--]Q

[--]



fig. 2591.1 (a) and (b)

(b) [.]A
MO

(a) [--]P[---]O[---]---

(b) [.]α|μσ(--)

(b) .amo...



fig. 2591.2

Comm.: The dating of the item is problematic. Its weight (mass) is somewhat lower than the usual mass of an eighth of a *litra* standard (cf. comm. to no. 2596; on the *litra* standard(s) in general, see comm. to no. 2585). This may or may not be accidental. The external appearance of the weight is unusual, too. If the original inscription was, as suggested, in five lines, it could not have consisted of a simple indication of a weight unit; one may rather expect that it would have given the date and the name of the agoranomos. Unfortunately, too little remains of this original inscription for an attempt at any meaningful reconstruction of it. The item can thus be only broadly assigned to the Roman period.

The space at the beginning of l.1 on the stamp indicates that there had originally been yet another letter, so that the stamp may have involved either a single name or two names.

Bibl.: Kushnir-Stein, Lead Weights 40 no. 4 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2592. Weight of lozenge shape with a number of unclear meaning, 1 c. BCE-7 c. CE

Lead weight in the shape of lozenge with handles at top and bottom. One side has raised borders and an inscription in one line. A short horizontal line over AB. On the other side is a Phoenician *mem* written retrograde within a thick circle (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 4.6, w 2.8, th 0.4 cm; wt 20 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

$\overline{\Lambda\beta}$ $\lambda\beta'$ *Thirty two.*

fig. 2592.1



fig. 2592.2

Comm.: The short horizontal line over the two letters implies that they represent a number. This number must have referred to a certain weight unit, but it proves difficult to establish what this unit was. Knowledge of the weight system employed in manufacturing a given weight often helps in defining this weight's chronology. However, only the broadest possible time-range can be given in the present case.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 177 no. 21 (ed. pr.). – S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4109.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.

AKS

2593. Lead weight inscribed in Greek and mentioning the emperor Claudius, 52 CE

A square lead weight, having a loop in the middle of its top side and a small handle at its lower side. One of the flat sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in seven lines (a). Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. In the center of the opposite side there is a big Phoenician *mem* within a circle (cf. desc. to no. 2588), written retrograde. Below the circle, on both left and right are identical rectangular countermarks with the letters Υ and Φ (b).

Meas.: h 8.6 (main square), w 8.5, th 0.8 cm; wt 447 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

- (a) LIBTIBEPLOYKA
AYΔIOYKAISΔ
POCCEBACTOY
AGOPANOMO
YNTOCΦYC
KΩNOCTOY
ZNΩNOC
ZΩNOC
- (b) on stamps: ΥΦ or ΦΥ



fig. 2593.1 (a)

- (a) (Ἔτους) ιβ' Τιβερίου Κλ|αυδίου Καίσα|ρος Σεβαστοῦ | ἀγορανομο|ῦντος
Φυσ|κῶνος τοῦ | Ζήνωνος
- (b) on stamps: ὙΦ(--) or ΦΥ(--)

- (a) *In the year 12 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus, Physcon son of Zenon being agoranomos.*
- (b) on stamps: *Hyph... or Phy...*

Comm.: The letters N and Z in the inscription of the obverse, as well as the *mem* of the reverse, are written retrograde. This phenomenon occurs fairly frequently on coins and weights of the city (ed. pr. n. 8). It is possible that the two letters (ΥΦ) which appear on the countermarks below the *mem*, were also written in retrograde order, i.e. were intended to represent the combination ΦΥ. In this case, they could have been the first letters of the name of the agoranomos (Φυσκῶν) mentioned in the obverse inscription.

Countermarks with letters are not uncommon on weights manufactured in Gaza (nos. 2594, 2596, 2597, 2599, 2603-2613). Also in the other instances they can reasonably be interpreted as initials of officials confirming the validity of the weight; cf. P.-L. Gatiér, *Syria* 68, 1991, 443f. who discusses the names to be considered for different initials and observes that the majority of names is Greek, thus testifying to the Hellenization of the elite in Gaza during the Roman period. For Semitic names, see nos. 2594, 2596 and 2613.



fig. 2593.2 (b)

The name of the present agoranomos and, especially, his patronymic show Egyptian influence. The name Zenon seems to have been relatively popular in the area of Palestine. Physcon, on the other hand, is attested as a nickname of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (145-116 BCE) but does not seem to have been widely used as a personal name.

The weight (mass) of the item (447 g) does not suit either of the two known weight systems used in the city (Seleucid mina of 550-600 g or *litra* of 360-370 g employed under the Principate; on the *litra* standard(s), cf. comm. to no. 2585).

Present whereabouts of the item are unknown. The photograph and the measurements were kindly communicated by S. Qedar, Jerusalem.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein - H. Gitler, NAC 28, 1999, 221ff. (ed. pr.). – AE 1999, 1692; SEG 49, 2062.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.

AKS

2594. Inscribed lead weight, 97 CE

A square lead weight with a loop at its lower side. One of the flat surfaces has raised borders, within which there is an inscription in eight lines (a). At the end of the inscription, close to the lower border and the loop, there is a rectangular counter-mark stamp with several letters in ligature (b). The symbol of Gaza – Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588) – appears on either side of the stamp. Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. The reverse side of the weight is blank.

Meas.: h 9.3 (without the loop),
11.1 (with the loop), w 9, th 1 cm;
wt 654 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. SB 00591. Autopsy: 12 March 2009.

- (a) LZNPAΓOPAN
OMOYNTOS
AΠOΛΛΩNI
OYTABAΛOY
ΓYMNASIAPX
OYTOYΣEPEID
OY'B'EAMHN
OY (*mem*) stamp (*mem*)
(b) on stamp: AΠOΛ



fig. 2594.1 (a) and (b)

(a) ("Ετους ζγρ' ἀγοραν|ομοῦντος | Ἀπολλωνί|ου Γαβαλου | γυμνασιάρχ|ου τοῦ
Σερείδ|ου β' ἐξαμήν|ου

(b) on stamp: Ἀπολ(λώνιος?)

(a) Year 157, Apollonius son of Gabalas, (who is/was) gymnasiarch, son of Sereidus, being agoranomos. Second semester.

(b) on stamp: Apollonius(?).

Comm.: l.1 Sign L omitted by ed. pr., restored by Gatier; l.3 ΑΠΟΜΩΝΙ, ed. pr. corrected by Gatier; ll.6-7 γυμνασιάρχ|οῦ(ν) το(ς) Σερείδ|ο(ν) Gatier; l.7 OC ed. pr., corrected by Rey-Coquais (BE); l.8 (stamp) ΑΓΗΝ Gatier; Phoenician *mem* is shown as swastika by ed. pr., corrected by Gatier.

The weight was first published with a somewhat unclear photograph of the inscribed side and a drawing of this side, the latter containing several errors. Some of these errors were corrected by Gatier, who also attempted a different reading of ll.6-7. His reading would lead to the meaning "Apollonios son of Gabalas being agoranomos, (and/with) Sereidus being gymnasiarch". However, the letter preceding the name of Sereidus in l.6 (restored by Gatier as *ς*) is clearly an *upsilon* (Υ), making Rey-Coquais' reading quoted in BE the only possible one. Gatier restored the sign L at the beginning of the inscription and *upsilon* in ο(ν) at the beginning of l.7. Both letters are visible.

The ligature on the stamp, which is to be understood as bearing the initials of the agoranomos (cf. comm. to no. 2593), can logically be read only as ΑΠΟΛ. The right bar of final *nu* (N) suggested by ed. pr. and accepted by Gatier does not exist. Nor can the third letter be read as H.

The year 157 by the Roman era of Gaza (61 BCE) equals 96/7 CE. However, as correctly observed by Gatier, the indication of the second semester would imply the second part of this year, which falls in its entirety in 97 CE.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 16f. no. 18 (ed. pr.). – P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 68, 1991, 440-4; SEG 41, 1551; BE 1993, 635.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AKS



fig. 2594.2

2595. Half of a mina (?) weight, 1-2 c. CE

A square lead weight with its lower right corner broken off and signs of corrosion on both flat surfaces. One side has raised borders and an inscription in three lines. In the center of the field is a big Phoenician *mem* written retrograde (cf. desc. to no. 2588). The first line of the inscription runs above the *mem*, the third line is underneath. There is also a sign to the right of the *mem* (l.2). The reverse side of the weight is blank.

Meas.: h 7, w 8, th 0.9-1.1 cm; wt 516.8 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselson, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: August 2000.

ΑΓΟΡΑ

(*mem*) ∟ (?)

A[--?]

Ἀγορά(ἰα or -νομοῦντος) | ∟ (?) | α' or Α[--?]

One (mina) of the agora or Half (of a mina),
A... being agoranomos.

Comm.: The reading of l.1 as ΑΓΟΡΑ appears the most logical to suggest, although only faint traces remain of the first *alpha*, while the second *alpha* is represented by its diagonal left leg alone. The ed. pr. read the inscription as ἄγοραἰα (μνᾶ). This appears to imply that the editor read the line under the *mem* as IA. However, the existence of the *iota* before the *alpha* at the beginning of this line (l.3 here) cannot be confirmed. Thus it is possible to sustain the reading of the ed. pr. only if l.1 is completed as ἄγορα(ἰα), which is a mere conjecture, and the A of the lower line is interpreted as the digit one (α'). However, there are some traces of lines after the initial *alpha* of l.3 and if there were indeed more letters in this line, then the *alpha* would not necessarily have been intended as a digit. This suggests the possibility of completing the first line as ἄγορα(νομοῦντος) and understanding the *alpha* of l.3 as the beginning of a name.



fig. 2595.1



fig. 2595.2

There is also a sign to the right of the *mem*, omitted by ed. pr., which resembles *upsilon* (or *lambda*) placed horizontally, with its open side facing the border. It seems possible that the sign meant \angle (a half). The weight (mass) of the item is 516.8 g. Given the broken off corner and the general wear, it would have been higher originally. Weight no. 2596 which is marked as “a quarter of a mina”, has a mass of 270 g. This would give a mina of ca. 1080 g. If the present weight belonged to the same weighing system, its mass would have corresponded to a half of this mina, which would explain the sign found to the right of the *mem*. The dating proposed for no. 2596 will be then valid also for the present item.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 172 no. 7 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1414.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2596. Inscribed “quarter of a mina” weight, 1-2 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop at its top side. One of the flat surfaces has raised borders and an inscription in three lines (a). Two lines are in the upper part of the field. 1.2 square *sigma*. The third line consists of two representations of the Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588) – a regular *mem* at the lower left corner and a retrograde one at the lower right corner. In between these two signs there is a stamp with Greek letters (b). The opposite side shows a large thick circle with a central dot. Meas.: h 7.5, w 6.4, th 0.7 cm; wt 270 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Formerly collection of N. Munster, Jerusalem (at the time of ed. pr.).

(a) TETAPTON

MNAΣ

(*mem*) stamp (*mem*)

(b) on stamp: MAA

(a) τέταρτον | μνᾶς

(b) on stamp: Μαλ(--)

(a) Quarter of a mina.

(b) on stamp: Mal...



fig. 2596.1 (a) and (b)

Comm.: The weight is undated, but gives a few clues to it being relatively early. No. 2615 this vol. shows that in the 3 c. CE Gaza used a local standard of *litra* (360-370 g). This may well have started even earlier, in the 2 c. CE, as the majority of known weights from Gaza – usually indicating the mass of the items – conform to this *litra* standard (nos. 2597-2613 and 2616; on the *litra* standard(s) in general, cf. also comm. to no. 2585). The present weight still uses *mna* as the unit of reference. The external appearance of the weight resembles that of nos. 2593 and 2594 (52 and 97 CE respectively) with their narrow raised borders. Weights made on *litra* standard tend to have larger borders. The two symbols of Gaza are positioned on the present item in the same manner as on no. 2594. A date later than 2 c. CE thus seems unlikely.



fig. 2596.2

Gatier suggests to complete the name – probably of an agoranomos (cf. comm. to no. 2593) – on the stamp as Μαλ(χος). He further observes that this name, as well as that of Gabalas (or Gabalos) on the item of 97 CE, are Semitic, but that, apart from these two, the rest of names known from weights of Gaza are Greek and therefore attest to the Hellenisation of the ruling elite of the city.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 178f. no. 26 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1425; P.-L. Gatier, Syria 68, 1991, 443 (discusses names on stamps).

Photo: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte, no. 26.

AKS

2597. “Half of a *litra*” weight with a MIAT stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a semicircular handle at its bottom. The handle was later pierced, thus becoming a loop. One of the flat sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in two lines in its upper field (a). There is a stamp with Greek letters in the lower field (b); in order to read these letters the weight should be rotated by 180 degrees. The opposite side of the item is decorated with a big Phoenician *mem* within a circle (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 6.5, w 6.5, th 0.5 cm; wt 180 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Unknown. Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) ΗΜΙΑΙ

ΤΡΙΝ

(b) on stamp: ΜΙΑΤ

(a) Ἡμιλί|τριν

(b) on stamp: Μιλτ(--)

(a) *Half of a litra.*

(b) on stamp: *Milt...*



fig. 2597.1 (a)



fig. 2597.2 (b)



fig. 2597.3

Comm.: 1.2: ΤΟΙΝ ed. pr.; stamp: (Η)ΜΙΑ(Ι) ed. pr. The usual form is either ἡμίλιτρον or ἡμιλίτριον; the vowel loss corroborates the dating.

The item under review could not be examined for the same reason as no. 2603 (see comm.). The weight belongs to the Gazan *litra* system. It cannot, therefore, precede the 2 c. CE (see comm. on no. 2596). For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 17 no. 20 pl. 5 (ed. pr.)

Photo: Manns, *Weights*, pl. 5 no. 20.

AKS

2598. Round weight inscribed “an eighth of a litra”, 2-3 c. CE

A weight of round shape, broken at its top. It is fairly possible that the broken off piece involved not only part of the border but a handle as well. One side of the item has a raised border and an inscription in two lines. The second line consists of a single retrograde N at the lower right side. Judging from the photograph, there appear to be traces of an image in the space on the left; these traces would fit a bust. The reverse is reportedly decorated with two concentric circles around a central dot.

Meas.: Ø 4.4 cm; wt 40.4 g (36.7 after cleaning).

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza. Purchased in Jerusalem.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, inv. no. 68.309.

Non vidi.

ΟΓΔΟ

(image) N

ὀγδο|ν

An eighth.

Comm.: The weight carries no identifying symbol. Similar to no. 2602, it was purchased in Jerusalem and said to have come “from Gaza”. Reservations as regards reliability of this kind of information are explained in the comment on no. 2602. The weight under review has somewhat less similarities than no. 2602 when compared to items that can be firmly attributed to the ancient city of Gaza. It is mainly the inscription and its correspondence with the mass of an eighth of the Gazan *litra* that speak in favor of attribution to the city of Gaza. If a few grams, accounting for the broken-off part, are added to the weight of the item while uncleaned (this is the state in which the remainder of relevant objects were weighed), 40.4 g, it would be within the known range of an eighth of the Gazan *litra* (cf. comm. to no. 2596). Round weights from Gaza do exist (no. 2618) but seem to be rare. Images on weights from Gaza are rare too (nos. 2615, 2616). Unfortunately, the nature of the image on the present weight is unclear. The reverse decoration of the item, reported to have two concentric circles around a central dot, would be so far unique for Gaza. In sum, it appears possible to attribute the weight under review to the city of Gaza, although not with absolute certainty.

Details on the weight were kindly communicated by the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia.



fig. 2598

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: Courtesy of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri.

AKS

2599. An eighth of a litra with two stamps, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a semicircular handle at its bottom. One of the sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in two lines in its upper field (a). At the end of l.2 there is a round stamp depicting a female head with a palm branch in front of it. There is another, rectangular stamp with Greek letters and traces of a sign, most probably a Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588), in the lower field (b); lunate *sigma*. The reverse side is unknown.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

(a) ΟΓΔΟ
ΟΝ

(b) on stamp: ΚΑΣΣΑΝ (*mem?*)

(a) ὀγδοὺν

(b) on stamp: Κάσσαν(δρος)

(a) *An eighth.*

(b) on stamp: *Cassander.*



fig. 2599 (a) and (b)

Comm.: The photograph is the only documentation that survives on this item. Comparison of this photograph with that of no. 2603 shows that the two stamps, found on both, are identical. As on no. 2603, there is a palm branch in front of the female bust on the round stamp of the present item. The letters of the name within the rectangular stamps are written in an identical manner. The two weights were thus counterstamped simultaneously and were, in all probability, manufactured in close time proximity. According to Gatier, Κάσσαν(δρος) is the only possibility of restoring the name on the rectangular stamp. For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, see also comm. to no. 2593. For the Gazan *litra* standard, cf. comm. to no. 2596.

Bibl.: Unpublished. – P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 68, 1991, 443 (discusses names on stamps).

Photo: R. Deutsch.

AKS

2600. A litra weight with scratched mem, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop at its top side and a handle at its lower side. One side has raised borders within which is an inscription in three lines. A Phoenician *mem* is scratched in the center (cf. desc. to no. 2588), over l.2; l.2 N retrograde. The reverse side is damaged.

Meas.: h 7 (8.3 with loop and handle), w 6.8, th 0.9 cm; wt 365.6 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: November 2002.

AIT
PAN
A

Λίτ|ραν | α'

One litra.

Comm.: The weight (mass) of the item corresponds to an average mass of the Gazan *litra* (cf. comm. to no. 2596). The overall appearance of the object is similar to many weights from Gaza made on this standard. In other words, even without the identifying *mem*, scratched later, the weight is to be attributed to Gaza.



fig. 2600

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 178 no. 25 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1424.

Photo: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte, no. 25.

AKS

2601. TETAPTON weight with a stamp on the handle, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a handle at its lower side. The inscribed side has raised borders, bevelled on both inside and outside. There is an inscription in two lines in the upper field. Two *mems* as symbols of Gaza appear in the lower field (cf. desc. to no. 2588), both retrograde. There are traces of a stamp on the handle, with unclear image. The reverse side shows a circle around a central dot. At the upper side of the circle there are two lines that make this circle resemble a diadem.

Meas.: h 5 (6.3 with handle), w 4.8, th 0.7 cm; wt 94.2 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem (former collection of D. Hendin).



fig. 2601.1



fig. 2601.2

TETAP
TON
(mem) (mem)

τέταρτον

A quarter.

Comm.: For the dating of the item, see comm. on no. 2596. The ed. pr. suggests to interpret the circle with additional lines on the reverse as either a diadem or a stylized version of γ (a ligature of OY) meaning *uncia*. While the first suggestion has some foundation (due to comparisons with numismatic iconography), the second is not very realistic. The suggested meaning would contradict the inscription on the other side, which refers to a local standard, not the Roman *libra* standard to which *uncia* belongs. Furthermore, the sign for *uncia* standing alone would have a meaning of “one ounce” which does not correspond to the mass of the item. The reverse side thus carries no inscription.

Bibl.: D. Hendin, *Ancient Scale Weights*, 2007, 196 no. 288 (ed. pr.).

Photo: D. Hendin.

2602. TETAPTON weight with a round stamp on the lower border, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop at its top side, now broken off. The inscribed side has raised borders, bevelled on the inside. There is an inscription in three lines in the field. The central part of the lower border is damaged by a round stamp, bearing an image of unclear nature. The reverse side is reported as flat and blank.

Meas.: h 5.45, w 4.9 cm; wt 87.1 g (82.9 after cleaning).

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza. Purchased in Jerusalem.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, inv. no. 68.308. Non vidi.

TET
AP
TON

τέτ|αρ|τον

A quarter.

Comm.: The weight carries no identifying symbol. It was purchased in Jerusalem and the dealer reportedly said that it comes “from Gaza”. Information of this kind is of fairly limited value, for a variety of reasons. Even if the dealer told what he really knew, he would hardly have been aware of the precise findspot or even meant this. In the local vocabulary, “Gaza” habitually means all of today’s Gaza Strip. There were three ancient Greek cities within this territory - Gaza, Raphia and Anthedon. In other words, a provenance “from Gaza” (read “from the Gaza Strip”), even if true, would mean provenance from one of these three cities. About a dozen weights initially ascribed to the city of Gaza have already been reattributed to Raphia (see the weights of this city in this volume, nos. 2621ff.).

This implies that each object claimed to come “from Gaza” but lacking the city’s identifying mark is to be evaluated on its own merits. The item under review does have similarities with weights that can be safely attributed to the ancient city of Gaza. It is of square form, has the same kind of inscription and the same kind of raised borders around it. No less important, its weight (mass) corresponds to a quarter of the Gazan *litra* (see comm. to no. 2596 and for other specimens of this mass nos. 2603ff.). Stamps of round shape are found on weights from the city of Gaza as well (nos. 2603, 2609, etc.), although this is not exclusive. Given all the



fig. 2602

similarities, the present item is most likely to have been manufactured in the city of Gaza itself. For the dating, see comm. in no. 2596.

Bibl.: J. Biers, in: ead. - J. Terry eds., *Testament of Time. Selected Objects from the Collection of Palestinian Antiquities in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia*, 2004, 133f. no. 115 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri.

AKS

2603. TETAPTON with two stamps, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a semicircle handle at its bottom. One of the sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in two lines in its upper field (a). The last letters of the inscription in both lines are partially damaged by a round stamp depicting a female head with a palm branch in front of it. Lunate *sigma*. Below the inscription, at the left, there is a Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588). There is another, rectangular stamp with Greek letters and a Phoenician *mem*, in the lower field (b). The reverse side is reported to be blank.

Meas.: h 4.8, w 4.8, th 0.5 cm; wt 90 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Unknown. Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) TETAP

TON

(*mem*)

(b) on stamp: ΚΑΣΣΑΝ (*mem*)

(a) τέταρτον

(b) on stamp: Κάσσαν(δρος)

(a) *Quarter*.

(b) on stamp: *Cassander*.



fig. 2603 (a) and (b)

Comm.: At the time of Manns' publication, the weight was exhibited in the SBF Museum, Jerusalem. It was, however, part of a private collection. At present, only a fraction of this collection remains with the SBF, while the whereabouts of the rest are unknown. The item under review is among those that could not be examined.

The weight belongs to the Gazan *litra* system. It cannot, therefore, precede the 2 c. CE (see comm. on no. 2596). For a smaller weight with an identical pair of stamps, see no. 2599. According to Gatier, Κάσσαν(δρος) is the only possibility of restoring the name on the rectangular stamp. For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, see also comm. to no. 2593.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 19 no. 26 pl. 5 (ed. pr.). – P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 68, 1991, 443 (discusses names on stamps).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.

AKS

2604. TETAPTON weight with a stamp bearing two names, 2-3 c. CE

A rectangular lead weight with a handle at its bottom. One of the flat sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in two lines in its upper field (a). Under the inscription, there is a big Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588). A rectangular stamp with Greek letters appears in the lower field (b); in order to read these letters the weight should be rotated by 180 degrees. The reverse side is reported to be blank.

Meas.: h 6.4, w 4.9, th 0.5 cm; wt 92 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Unknown. Former coll. of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) TETA
PTON
(*mem*)

(b) on stamp: ΑΠΟ
ΚΑΛ

(a) τέτα|ρτον

(b) on stamp: Απο(--) | Καλ(--)

(a) Quarter.

(b) on stamp: Apo..., Cal...



fig. 2604.1 (a)

Comm.: The item under review could not be examined for the same reason as no. 2603 (see comm.). Precise measurements of the item were communicated by S. Qedar.

The weight belongs to the Gazan *litra* system. It cannot, therefore, precede the 2 c. CE (see comm. on no. 2596). For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593. For another weight from Gaza with two names on a stamp see no. 2611.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 19 no. 25 pl. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.



fig. 2604.2 (b)

AKS

2605. TETAPTON weight with a ΔIO stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop (now broken off) at its top and a semicircular handle at its bottom. One of the flat sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in two lines in its upper field (a). A rectangular stamp with Greek letters appears in the lower field (b); in order to read these letters the weight should be rotated by 180 degrees. The reverse has a Phoenician *mem* written retrograde (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 4.3, w 4.5, th 0.3 cm; wt 85 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.
Pres. loc.: Unknown. Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) TETAP
TON

(b) on stamp: ΔIO

(a) τέταρτον

(b) on stamp: Διο(--)

(a) Quarter.

(b) on stamp: Dio...



fig. 2605.1 (a)



fig. 2605.2 (b)



fig. 2605.3

Comm.: The item under review could not be examined for the same reason as no. 2603 (see comm.). The weight belongs to the Gazan *litra* system. It cannot, therefore, precede the 2 c. CE (see comm. on no. 2596). According to Gatier, three names come into question to complete the initials on the stamp: Διόφαντος, Διόδοτος or Διονύσιος. For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, see also comm. to no. 2593.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 17 no. 19 pl. 5 (ed. pr.). – P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 68, 1991, 443 (discusses names on stamps).

Photo: Manns, *Weights*, pl. 5 no. 19.

AKS

2606. TETAPTON weight with letters EIPH on stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight, with a loop at its lower side and a handle at its upper side. Both the loop and the handle are now bent towards the side bearing an inscription. This inscribed side has raised borders. The inscription in two lines occupies the upper field (a); in the lower field there is a rectangular impression with Greek letters (b); in order to read them the weight must be rotated by 180 degrees. On the reverse are traces of the Phoenician *mem* written retrograde (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 4.5, w 4.5, th 0.5 cm; wt 83.95 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselson, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: August 2000.

(a) TETAP

TON

(b) on stamp: EIPH

(a) τέταρτον

(b) on stamp: Εἰρη(--)

(a) Quarter.

(b) on stamp: Eire...



fig. 2606.1 (a)



fig. 2606.2 (b)



fig. 2606.3

Comm.: The weight belongs to the Gazan *litra* system. It cannot, therefore, precede the 2 c. CE (see comm. on no. 2596). For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593. For a stamp with the name EIPHN(--) see no. 2611.

Bibl.: Kushnir-Stein, Lead Weights 38f. no. 2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1653.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2607. TETAPTON with letters BΑΣ on stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a semicircular handle at its lower side. The side of the inscription has raised borders, bevelled on both inside and outside. In the upper

part of the field is an inscription in two lines (a); in the lower field, near the border, there are three Greek letters in a shallow rectangular impression (b); lunate *sigma*. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 5.4 (6.6 with the handle), w 5.1, th 0.4 cm; wt 87.28 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: August 2000.

(a) TETAP
TON

(b) on stamp: ΒΑΣ

(a) τέταρτον

(b) on stamp: Βασ(--)

(a) *Quarter.*

(b) on stamp: *Bas...*



fig. 2607.1 (a) and (b)

Comm.: Although the item carries no identifying signs, its form, weight (mass) and the presence of the stamp point to Gaza. Since it evidently employs the Gazan *litra* system, the weight cannot be earlier than the 2 c. CE (see comm. on no. 2596). For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593.

Bibl.: Kushnir-Stein, *Lead Weights* 41 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1653.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.



fig. 2607.2

2608. An eighth of a litra with letters ΔΗΜ on stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a semicircular handle at its lower side. The side of the inscription has raised borders. In the upper part of the field is an inscription in two lines (a); at the end of the second line there is a Phoenician *mem* written retrograde (cf. desc. to no. 2588). In the lower field, near the border, there are three Greek letters in a rectangular impression (b); in order to read them the weight must be rotated by 180 degrees. The reverse side is reported to be blank.

Meas.: h 6.2, w 4.9, th 0.3 cm; wt 46.65 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.
Pres. loc.: Unknown. Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) ΟΓΔΟ

ON (*mem*)

(b) on stamp: ΔΗΜ

(a) ὀγδοὺς

(b) on stamp: Δημ(--)

(a) *An eighth.*

(b) on stamp: *Dem...*

Comm.: The weight could not be examined for the same reason as no. 2603 (see comm.). Precise measurements of the item were communicated by S. Qedar. The weight belongs to the Gazan *litra* system. It cannot, therefore, precede the 2 c. CE (see comm. on no. 2596). For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 18 no. 24 pl. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.



fig. 2608.1 (a)



fig. 2608.2 (b)

2609. An eighth of a litra with two stamps, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a semicircular handle at its bottom. One of the sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in two lines in its upper field (a). At the continuation of l.2 there is a round stamp depicting a standing figure in short dress, holding a palm branch in the right hand and an unclear object in the left hand. There is another, rectangular, stamp with Greek letters and a retrograde Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588), in the lower field, near the border (b); Z retrograde. The reverse side is reported to be blank.

Meas.: h 4, w 4, th 0.5 cm; wt 45 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Unknown. Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) ΟΓΔΟ

ON (*mem*)

(b) on stamp: ZHNO (*mem*)

(a) ὀγδοῶν

(b) on stamp: Ζηνο(--)

(a) *An eighth.*

(b) on stamp: *Zeno...*

Comm.: The weight could not be examined for the same reason as no. 2603 (see comm.).

For the Gazan *litra* standard and the date see comm. to no. 2596. The standing figure on the round stamp is most probably Minos, the legendary founder of Gaza. He is depicted in a very similar manner (standing, in short dress, holding a palm branch in his right hand) on coins of Gaza from the time of Hadrian (Y. Meshorer, *City-coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman period*, 1985 no. 55). For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593.



fig. 2609 (a) and (b)

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 18 no. 22 pl. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.

AKS

2610. An eighth of a litra with letters ΣΧΟ on stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a semicircular handle at its lower side and traces of another extension at its upper side. The side of the inscription has raised borders,

bevelled on the outside. In the upper part of the field is an inscription in two lines (a); the continuation of the inscription in l.2 is preceded by a Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588). In the lower field, near the border, there are three Greek letters in a shallow rectangular impression (b), lunate *sigma*; in order to read them the weight must be rotated by 180 degrees. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 4.8 (5.6 with handle), w 4.8, th 0.3 cm; wt 44.14 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.
Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: August 2000.

(a) ΟΓΔΟ

(*mem*) ON

(b) on stamp: ΣΧΟ

(a) ὀγδοὺν

(b) on stamp: Σχο(--)

(a) *An eighth.*

(b) on stamp: *Scho...*



fig. 2610.1 (a)



fig. 2610.2 (b)



fig. 2610.3

Comm.: For the Gazan *litra* standard and the date see no. 2596. For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593. Greek

personal names beginning with Σχο(--) are rare (LGPN lists only four male and one female name, each attested only ones or twice).

Bibl.: Kushnir-Stein, *Lead Weights* 39 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1654.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2611. An eighth of a litra with a stamp bearing two names, 2-3 c. CE

A rectangular lead weight. One of the flat sides has raised borders and bears an inscription in two lines in its upper field (a). A rectangular stamp with Greek letters in two lines appears in the lower field (b); in order to read these letters the weight should be rotated by 180 degrees. The reverse side is reported to be blank.

Meas.: h 3.8, w 3.7, th 0.5 cm; wt 45 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.
Pres. loc.: Unknown. Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem.

(a) ΟΓΔ

OON

(b) on stamp: ΑΛΦΕΙ

EIPHN

(a) ὀγδ|οον

(b) on stamp: Ἀλφει(ός?) | Εἰρην(--)

(a) *An eighth.*

(b) on stamp: *Alphei(us?), Eiren...*



fig. 2611.1 (a)



fig. 2611.2 (b)

Comm.: The weight could not be examined, for the same reason as no. 2603 (see comm.). It bears no identifying signs. However, its weight (mass), as well as the presence and positioning of a rectangular stamp, make its attribution to Gaza fairly likely. For another weight from Gaza with two names on a stamp see no. 2604. For a stamp with the name EIPH(--) see no.

2606. The restoration of the first name as Ἀλφειός has been suggested by Gatier. For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593. For the Gazan *litra* standard and the date see no. 2596.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 18 no. 23 pl. 5 (ed. pr.). – P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 68, 1991, 443 (discusses names on stamps).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.

AKS

2612. An eighth of a litra with letters APTEM on a stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight. The side of the inscription has raised borders; in the upper part of the field is an inscription in two lines (a). In the lower field, near the border, there are Greek letters within a rectangular stamp (b); the stamp partially encroaches on the borders on both the left and right sides. The reverse side is blank. Meas.: h 4, w 4, th 0.5 cm; wt 43.6 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem. Autopsy: 12 March 2009.

(a) ΟΓΔΟ

ΟΝ

(b) on stamp: APTEM

(a) ὀγδοὺν

(b) on stamp: Ἀρτεμ(--)

(a) *An eight.*

(b) on stamp: *Artem...*



fig. 2612 (a) and (b)

Comm.: The weight could not be examined, for the same reason as no. 2603 (see comm.). Similar to no. 2611, it bears no identifying signs. However, its weight (mass), as well as the presence of a rectangular stamp, make its attribution to Gaza fairly likely. For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, cf. comm. to no. 2593. For the Gazan *litra* standard and the date see no. 2596.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 17f. no. 21 pl. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AKS

2613. An eighth of a litra with letters ABΔO on stamp, 2-3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop at its lower side. The side of the inscription has raised borders, bevelled on the inside. In the upper part of the field is an inscription in one line (a); in the lower field, near the border, there are four Greek letters in a shallow rectangular impression (b); in order to be read the weight must be rotated by 180 degrees. *Alpha* has a broken middle-bar. The reverse side has a Phoenician *mem* in the upper field (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 5.05, w 4.3 cm; wt 49.2 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza. "The Jawdat al-Khoudary collection includes examples of these [scil. lead weights] ... all the more interesting by their proven origin from the Gaza Strip" (Campagnolo 70).

Pres. loc.: Collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, Gaza; inv. no. JKC 206. Non vidi.

(a) ΟΓΔΟΝ

(b) on stamp: ABΔO

(a) ὀγδὼν

(b) on stamp: Ἀβδο(--)

(a) *An eighth.*

(b) on stamp: *Abdo...*



fig. 2613.1 (a)



fig. 2613.2 (b)

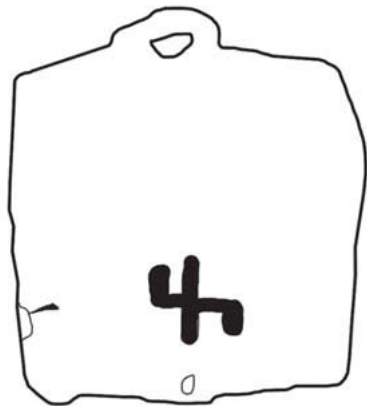


fig. 2613.3

Comm.: (b) ABΔ ed. pr. – The item could not be examined and the reading reproduced here is from the photograph (Campagnolo 73 no. D). The weight belongs to the same group as nos. 2608-2612. For the Gazan *litra* standard and the date see no. 2596.

P.-L. Gatier, Syria 68, 1991, 443 observes that most of the names known from weights of Gaza are Greek and therefore attest to the Hellenisation of the ruling elite of the city. However, the name on the present item is Semitic, as are also names in nos. 2594 and 2596. Although a minority, these names thus do not appear to be exceptional. For countermarks with initials of names of officials on Gazan weights, see also comm. to no. 2593.

Bibl.: M. Campagnolo, in: Chambon, Gaza 70-3 no. D (ed. pr.).

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).

AKS

2614. Weight with two scratched signs, 2-7 c. CE

A lead weight of square shape with a handle at one of its sides. One of the flat sides of the weight has a round stamp over the handle and the border that is adjacent to it. An unclear image can be discerned within the stamp. Below it is a ligature for *litra*, scratched on the surface. A Phoenician *mem* lacking its right vertical line is scratched in the center of the reverse (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 6, w 6, th 0.7 cm; wt 285.2 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. SB 00588. Autopsy: 12 March 2009.

ΛΙ

Λί(τρα)

(One) *litra*.



fig. 2614.1



fig. 2614.2

Comm.: The ligature comprising the letters Λ and I for *litra* appears fairly frequently on the weights of the region (see nos. 2268, 2585-2587, 2615, 2641, 2645). However,

the mass of the item does not fit well either that of the Gazan *litra*, nor of the Roman *libra* (cf. comm. to nos. 2585 and 2596), and is thus of little help in dating either the stamp or the scratched signs. In fact, both the stamp and the scratches could post-date the manufacturing of the weight itself considerably. Round stamps are known from weights of Gaza dated to 2-3 c. CE (see nos. 2599, 2601-03, 2609); the use of the ligature for *litra* was widespread in the area of Palestine throughout all of the Byzantine period.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 13 no. 7 (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

AKS

2615. Inscribed lead weight, 231/2 CE

A lead weight of square form, with a loop at its top and a semicircular handle at its bottom. Both the loop and the handle, as well as the lower left corner of the weight, are now bent towards the side bearing an inscription. On the reverse side of the weight there is a large Phoenician *mem* (cf. desc. to no. 2588), written retrograde, within a circle.

The side bearing the inscription has raised borders. Its right field is occupied by the figure of the city-goddess in a long dress, standing left and holding a cornucopia in her left hand and a long scepter in her right hand. At her side, near the scepter, stands an animal which can be identified, through comparison with coins, as a heifer. The space in the left field is filled by an inscription in eight lines. Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. In the last line ΛI is in ligature.

Meas.: h 8, w 7, th 1 cm; wt 366.15 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.
Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: July 2000.

ΕΤΟΥΣΒΘΣ
ΑΕΞΑΜΑ
ΓΟΡΑΑΥΡ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΥΔ[..
ΝΥΣΙΟΥ
(*mem*)
ΛΙΑ



fig. 2615.1

Ἔτους βρσ' | α' ἔξαμ(ήνου) ἀγορα(νομοῦντος) Αὐρ(ηλίου) | Ἀπολλωνίου Δ[ιο]|νυσίου |
λί(τρα) (μία)

*Year 292, first semester, Aurelius Apollonius son of Dionysius, being agoranomos.
One litra.*



fig. 2615.2

Comm.: Year 292 by the Roman era of Gaza (61 BCE) equals 231/2 CE. The weight was thus manufactured during the reign of Severus Alexander.

The ligature comprising the letters Λ and I for *litra* appears fairly frequently on the weights of the region (see nos. 2268, 2585-2587, 2614, 2641, 2645). The *litra* unit of Gaza, employed in the 2-3 c. CE, appears to be 360-370 g (cf. comm. to no. 2596).

The representation of the city-goddess on the weight under discussion is identical with that found on coins of Gaza from the later part of Hadrian's reign until the last emissions of the city under Gordian III in 241/2 CE. For a very similar representation see no. 2616.

Bibl.: Kushnir-Stein, *Lead Weights* 37f. no. 1 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2616. Inscribed lead weight with standing figure of city-goddess, 3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop at its top and a semicircular handle at its bottom. One side has raised borders bevelled on both inside and outside. The right part of the field is occupied by a figure of a standing city-goddess, holding a cornucopia in her left hand and a long object in her right hand. To the left, there is an inscription in three lines. The reverse is decorated by a circle with a central dot.

Meas.: h 6.5, w 6.5, th 1 cm; wt 179.55 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

HMI
ΛΕΙ
TPIN

Ἡμι|λεί|τρην

Half of a litra.



fig. 2616.1

Comm.: The figure of the goddess and its positioning are very similar to those of no. 2615. The elongated loop at the top, the semicircular handle at the bottom, as well as the height of the borders of the present item are also very similar to those of no. 2615. Since these similarities hint at proximity in time, the present weight is most likely to have been manufactured in the first half of the 3 c. CE. For the Gazan *litra* standard, cf. comm. to no. 2596.



fig. 2616.2

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 176 no. 17 (ed. pr.).
– S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979 no. 4075 (ph.); SEG 28, 1421.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar; S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II*, no. 4075.

AKS

2617. Lead weight inscribed in Greek and mentioning the status of colony, 3-beginning of 4 c. CE

A square lead weight that originally had a loop or handle at its top, now broken off. One of its flat sides has raised borders, bevelled on the outside. The field within is

filled by an inscription in five lines (a). Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*; l.2: Z retrograde; l.5: v-shaped *upsilon*. On the lower border, in the center, there is a stamp, bearing letters (b). The other side has a big Phoenician *mem* within a circle (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 6.5, w 6.5 cm; wt 179.11 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. 2255. Non vidi.

- (a) ΚΟΛΩΝΙ
ΑΣΤΑΖΗΣ
ΕΠΙΗΡΩ
ΔΟΥΔΙΟ
ΦΑΝΤΟΥ

(b) on stamp: IE

(a) Κολωνί|ας Γάζης | ἐπὶ Ἡρώ|δου Διο|φάντου

(b) on stamp: 'Ie(--)

(a) *Of the colony of Gaza, (under the supervision of) Herodes son of Diophantes.*

(b) *Hie...*



fig. 2617.1

Comm.: The text of the inscription has been known since its publication in 1870 by Le Bas and Waddington. Babelon - Blanchet added the diplomatic text and measurements. A photograph was published only recently (Kushnir-Stein). Some earlier scholars suggested that the letters IE on the lower border represent a date. However, it is clear from the photograph that these letters belong to a stamp and should thus be interpreted as representing the name of an official charged in the new colony with tasks similar to that of the Greek agoranomos.



fig. 2617.2

Gaza was not yet a colony when it issued its last coins in 241/2 CE. Thus the weight must have been manufactured after that date, probably in the later part of the 3 or early 4 c. CE. It is worthy of notice that the weight (mass) of the item corresponds to a half of the Gazan *litra*, a local weight standard (cf. comm. to no. 2596). Use of local weight standards in Palestine in the 3 c. CE is well attested, but whether it continued into the 4 c. CE is unclear.

Official use of Greek instead of Latin by some eastern colonies founded from the 3 c. CE on is evidenced also by coins.

Bibl.: P. Le Bas - W. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* III, 1870 no. 1904 (ed. pr.). – E. Babelon - J. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1895, 688 no. 2255 (diplomatic and reading text, measurements); Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 168f. no. *1; SEG 28, 1408; Kushnir-Stein, *Lead Weights* 41f. no. 8 (ph.); SEG 52, 1658.

Photo: Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France.

AKS

2618. Round weight with unclear letters, 4-7 c. CE

A round weight with raised borders on one of the flat sides. The center of the field is occupied by a rectangle within a circle. In the center of the rectangle is an unclear image or sign. Between the circle and the border, at the upper right, there are two unclear letters. The reverse shows a Phoenician *mem* within a circle (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: Ø 3.8, th 0.6 cm; wt 27.01 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.



fig. 2618.1



fig. 2618.2

Comm.: Lifshitz suggests that the two unclear letters may be Phoenician. Qedar reads them as $\Lambda\Sigma$ (= Year 200). Neither suggestion appears attractive. The mass of the item is 27 g, equal to the mass of *uncia*. The use of the Roman *libra* system, to which the ounce belonged, is not attested in Gaza for the first three centuries of Roman rule. Nor is there evidence for the use of Phoenician letters, other than the symbol of *mem*, on weights of the city during the same period. Sudden appearance of Phoenician letters at ca. 4 c. CE or later would seem rather odd. Year

200 by the Roman era of Gaza (61 BCE) equals 139/4 CE, which appears too early for the use of *uncia* as a weight unit. The measurements reproduced here are from Qedar.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 176f. no. 19 (ed. pr.). – S. Qedar, Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4102.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar; Lifshitz, Bleigewichte, no. 19.

AKS

2619. Inscribed weight of ten nomismata (?), 5 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop at its top side. The inscribed side has raised borders, bevelled on the inside. In the center of the field is a circle, within which is an inscription in two lines. The circle itself is within a square. The band between the square and the borders is decorated by a zig-zag pattern. In the upper left field of the reverse is a Phoenician *mem* written retrograde (cf. desc. to no. 2588).

Meas.: h 4.5 (5.4 with loop), w 4, th 0.35 cm; wt 48.2 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: December 2002.

ΔΕ

KA

Δέ|χα



fig. 2619.1



fig. 2619.2

Ten (nomismata ?).

Comm.: The only weight unit of reference that comes to mind is that of *nomisma* (4.55 g). *Nomisma* was the Greek term for a weight unit of *solidus*, named after a gold coin of the same weight (mass) introduced by Constantine. The adoption

of *solidus* as a weight unit and spread of its use throughout the Empire took time and, consequently, the item under review could hardly have been manufactured before the 5 c. CE. At the same time, it does not show the sign for indicating the unit of *nomisma* (N alone or, more often, the ligature of N and small *omicron*) widely used in 6-7 c. CE. The weight is thus likely to belong to the early period of *nomisma* unit use.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 175 no. 14 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1420.

Photo: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte, no. 14.

AKS

2620. Weights with Phoenician *mem* only

(a) A square lead weight with handles at the top and bottom. The upper handle was later pierced. One of the sides has raised borders and a big Phoenician *mem*, written retrograde within a circle, in the center of the field. The reverse side is blank.

(b) A rectangular lead weight, with Phoenician *mem* on one of its flat sides. The other side is damaged.

(c) A square lead weight with a handle at its top side. One of the sides has raised borders within which there is an unclear design. The reverse shows a big Phoenician *mem*.

Meas.: (a) h 3.5, w 3.5, th 0.5 cm; wt 48.01 g. (b) h 3.2, w 4, th 0.5 cm; wt 33.5 g.

(c) h 3.4, w 3.2, th 0.4 cm; wt 30 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Gaza (a-c).

Pres. loc.: (a) Hecht Museum, Haifa, inv. no. H-1530. Autopsy: August 2006. (b) Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: August 2000. (c) Unknown.

(*mem*)



fig. 2620.1 (a)



fig. 2620.2 (a)



fig. 2620.3 (b)



fig. 2620.4 (b)



fig. 2620.5 (c)



fig. 2620.6 (c)

Comm.: Several more weights on which Phoenician *mem* appears alone are known (e.g. collection of the Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., Jerusalem, inv. no. 3906; collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, inv. no. JKC 217, see M. Campagnolo, in: Chambon, Gaza 70-3 no. B). One such weight, from the former collection of D. Hendin (now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, see D. Hendin, *Ancient Scale Weights*, 2007, no. 295), is very similar to item (a), including the retrograde *mem*. The mass of this weight is 47.45 g. Weights of this type would thus belong to the Gazan *litra* system and can be dated to 2-3 c. CE (cf. comm. to no. 2596). Dating for weights (b) and (c) is more difficult to suggest, as the mass of either would suit neither the Gazan *litra*, nor the Roman *libra* standard (cf. comm. to no. 2585). The mass of the weight published by Manns, *Weights* 13 no. 8 pl. 2 is 50 g and may be a slightly overweight "eighth" of the Gazan *litra*. Phoenician *mem* appears on coins of Gaza from the end of the 2 c. BCE onwards. Its earliest known appearance on a weight dates to mid-1 c. CE (no. 2593). Weights with Phoenician *mem* alone could thus have been manufactured throughout the period of the Principate, and beyond. At what time the use of the sign stopped is yet to be determined. On its meaning, cf. desc. to no. 2588.

Bibl.: Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Means of Exchange, Weights and Coins. The Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum Collection*, 1998, 30 no. 57 (a); Kushnir-Stein, *Lead Weights* 41 no. 7 (b); Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 177 no. 22 (c) (edd. prr.). – S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4099 (c).

Photo: Courtesy of Hecht Museum (a); Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer (b); Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar (c).

AKS

Weights manufactured in Raphia

2621. Weight of agoranomos Dionysius son of Eision, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of anthropoid shape, having a kind of broad pointed “shoulders” (or short “arms”) between the upper extension and the main part of the body. One side has an inscription in six lines; lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*, l.5: P and N retrograde. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 14, w 6, th 1.2 cm; wt 430 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: July 2000.

ΑΡΧΗΣ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ
ΥΕΙΣΙΩ[.]
ΟΣΑΓΟ
ΡΑΝΟ
ΜΟΥ



fig. 2621.1



fig. 2621.2

Ἀρχῆς | Διονυσίου | υἱοῦ Εἰσιώ[ν] | ος ἀγο|ρανό|μου

When Dionysius son of Eision held the magistracy of agoranomos.

Comm.: ll.2f.: Διοδότου (ed. pr.); Διονυσίου (Kushnir-Stein 34 n. 10).

There are a few lines above ΑΡΧΗΣ, on the left, which appear to be spurious, as they do not seem to form any recognizable letters. Of the eight letters of l.2, only

three letters at the beginning and three at the end are preserved in their entirety. However, the left vertical bar of *nu* can be discerned after the first *omicron*, as well as the upper part of the right diagonal bar of *upsilon* before the lunate *sigma*. Restoration Διονυσίου is thus not in doubt.

As evidenced by the latest known dated weights from Raphia (nos. 2632 and 2633), weights of anthropoid shape ceased to be produced in this city by the beginning of the 4 c. CE, or some time earlier. These latest weights also seem to be made on the Roman *libra* standard. The mass of the present item (430 g) indicates that it was still made on the local *litra* standard (on the *litra* standard(s), cf. also comm. to no. 2585). Firmly dated anthropoid weights of Raphia belong to the first decades of the 3 c. CE (nos. 2627 and 2628). It is conceivable then that they began to be produced some time before, possibly in the 2 c. CE.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 172 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1413; A. Kushnir-Stein, RdA 28, 2004, 34 (correction).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2622. Weight of agoranomos Eunicus, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of anthropoid shape similar to no. 2621. One side has an inscription in four lines, with yet another letter standing alone below, close to the bottom; lunate *sigma*; l.1: P retrograde (twice); l.2: N retrograde. There are four thick dots – at the bottom of the upper extension, on the lower extension, and on both sides of l.4. The reverse side is blank.

Meas.: h 14.4, w 7.5,
th 0.7 cm; wt 449.8 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.
Pres. loc.: Hecht Museum,
Haifa, inv. no. H-2154.

ΑΡΧΗΣΑΓΟΡΑ
ΝΟΜΟΥ
ΕΥΝΙΚΟΥ
ΕΥΘΑ
Α



fig. 2622.1



fig. 2622.2

Ἀρχῆς ἀγορανόμου | Εὐνίκου | Εὐθα(--) | α'

When Eunicus son of Eutha... held the magistracy of agoranomos. One (litra).

Comm.: l.4: ΕΥΘΑ or ΕΥΟΑ (ed. pr.). – The first editor suggested the possibility of reading the last line as ΕΥΟΑ which he would have then interpreted as Ἔ(τους) νοα' (Year 471). However, the reading of the third letter as *theta* (Θ) is certain. Moreover, the date νοα' would be an aberration, as all known dated weights from Raphia have digits of the year written in an ascending order (Di Segni 143). Year 471 would equal 411 CE; mentions of the magistracy of agoranomos as late as the 5 c. CE have not been attested so far. Nor are weights made on a local weight standard (which the mass of 450 g implies) known for this period. Given the close similarity in shape with no. 2621, this weight can be assigned to the 2-3 c. CE.

Bibl.: G. Finkielsztein, in: O. Rimon ed., *Measuring and Weighing in Ancient Times*, 2001, 20*ff. (ES), 29 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 52, 1697; L. Di Segni, *Cathedra* 112, 2004, 143 (Hebr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer; AE.

AKS

2623. Half a litra weight inscribed

ΗΜΙΑΙΤΡΙΝ, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of an anthropoid shape, with part of the upper extension broken off, most probably as a result of stamping. One side carries an inscription in two lines in the middle of the main body. The reverse shows two concentric circles around a dot, with two fillets hanging at the lower side of the outer circle.

Meas.: h 14.8, w 4.6, th 0.45 cm; wt 194.46 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

ΗΜΙΑΙ

ΤΡΙΝ

ἡμιλί|τριν

Half of a litra.



fig. 2623.1



fig. 2623.2

Comm.: The weight corresponds, in both its shape and mass, with known anthropoid weights of Raphia made on the local *litra* standard (see nos. 2624, 2625; on the *litra* standard(s) in general, cf. comm. to no. 2585). These other weights were produced in 2-3 c. CE, and the present item is most likely to belong to the same period.

Bibl.: S. Qedar, Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4082 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.

AKS

2624. Half a litra weight possibly inscribed HMIAITPIN, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of an anthropoid shape in a bad state of preservation. One side has an inscription in three lines, only partially preserved. There is a rectangular stamp on the upper extension, with a standing figure (?). The reverse side shows in its center a dot, surrounded by a circle (or possibly two circles).

Meas.: h 15, w 4.5, th 0.6 cm; wt 205.1 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem (former collection of G. Kloetzli). Autopsy: 12 March 2009.

++++

ITP[.]

N

[ήμιλ][ίτρ[ι]]ν

Half of a litra.

Comm.: l.1: TO Σ [ῥΕτους?] ed. pr.; l.2: ITH ed. pr. – There are traces of letters in l.1 but no letter can be reconstructed with certainty. What the ed. pr. took for two rounded letters (ΟΣ) were probably traces (now indiscernible) of the central part of *mu* and of its right leg; this letter appears to be habitually written on weights of Raphia with a semicircular central part rather than a zig-zag line with a sharp angle, and the legs are often rounded too (see for instance, *mu* on another half a *litra* weight, no. 2623, or in the ἀγορανόμου of no. 2627). Of the *rho* in l.2, only traces of its upper parts can be discerned. Given the mass of the weight (205.1 g), which equals half of the local *litra*, the reconstruction of the inscription as [ήμιλ][ίτρ[ι]]ν appears the most logical (on the *litra* standard(s) in general, cf. also comm. to no. 2585).

Bibl.: F. Manns, in: *Studia Hierosolymitana in onore di P. Bellarmino Bagatti I*, 1976, 86 no. 6 (ed. pr.). – Manns, *Weights* 12 no. 6 (same in Engl.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.



fig. 2624.1



fig. 2624.2

AKS

2625. Half a litra weight inscribed HMI, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of an anthropoid shape, with a small part at the edge of the main body broken off. One side reportedly carries an inscription in one line in the middle of the main body. The reverse shows two concentric circles around a dot, with two fillets hanging at the lower side of the outer circle.

Meas.: h 13.3, w 4.2, th 07 cm; wt 198.88 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

HMI

ἡμι(λίτρην)

Half (of a litra).

Comm.: The weight was sold at an auction in 1979 and its present whereabouts cannot be traced. This is unfortunate because the catalogue of the auction shows the reverse side only. The inscription is reproduced here as given in this catalogue.

Bibl.: S. Qedar, Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4081 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar.



fig. 2625

AKS

2626. Quarter of a litra, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of an anthropoid shape. One side has a large letter in the middle of the main body. Rectangular stamp on the upper extension showing a figure walking left (?). The reverse shows a dot surrounded by a circle. Meas.: h 8.65, w 3.4, th 0.6 cm; wt 105.9 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: December 2001.

Δ

δ'

Quarter (of a litra).



fig. 2626.1

Comm.: Lifshitz read the letters ΛΕ on the stamp, but there is no inscription there. In his quest for letters, Lifshitz was probably influenced by numerous weights from Gaza where one finds stamps bearing abbreviated names of officials (see nos. 2593, 2594, 2596, 2597, 2599, 2603-2613, 2617). No stamps with letters are so far attested for Raphia.

Another anthropoid weight of a quarter of a *litra* was published by Manns 1976 = Manns, *Weights*. Only a photograph of the reverse, with a circle around a dot, appears in both publications. The other side is said to be in a bad state of preservation and bearing traces of a stamp. The mass of this second weight is reported to be 100 g and its measurements (h 9, w 3.5, th 4 cm) are similar to the weight published by Lifshitz.



fig. 2626.2

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 179 no. 27 (ed. pr.). – Cf. F. Manns, in: *Studia Hierosolymitana in onore di P. Bellarmino Bagatti* I, 1976, 86 no. 5; Manns, *Weights* 12 no. 5.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 27.

AKS

2627. Weight of anthropoid shape dated Year 283, 223/4 CE

A lead weight of anthropoid shape. The body of the weight consists of an elongated oval with a large circular extension at the top and a smaller circular extension at the bottom. A square hole was made in the upper extension sometime after the item's manufacture. One side carries an inscription in seven lines, filling most of the main elongated oval. Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*; ll.4 and 6: N retrograde. There are circular stamps on both the upper and lower extensions, bearing images. The image at the top is unclear, the lower shows a figure in a short dress. The center of the reverse side is decorated with four concentric circles around a small central dot. At the lower side of the outer circle there are two wavy lines, resembling the fillets of a diadem.

Meas.: h 16.4, w 6 (widest point), th 0.7 cm; wt 412.2 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: December 2001.

ΑΡΧΗΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΥΔΙΟ
ΦΑΝΤΟΥ
ΑΓΟΡΑ
ΝΟΜΟΥ
ΓΠΣ



fig. 2627.1



fig. 2627.2

Ἀρχῆς | Ἀπολλωνίου Δίοφάντου | ἀγορανόμου | γπσ'

When Apollonius son of Diophantes held the magistracy of agoranomos. (Year) 283.

Comm.: For the attribution of this and other weights to Raphia see Kushnir-Stein 2004. The date on the present item is the earliest known so far for weights from this city; the Julian equivalent is calculated from the era of Raphia (60 BCE). The weight was made on the local standard of *litra*, that appears to be between 420-430 g (ed. pr. gives the mass of the weight as 510 g, but this is an error; on the *litra* standard(s) in general, cf. comm. to no. 2585). The interpretation of the circles on the reverse referred to in SEG 40, 1463 is based on the earlier erroneous attribution of the weight to Gaza.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 171f. no. 5 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1412; A. Kushnir-Stein, *RdA* 28, 2004, 33-7.

Photo: S. Moussaieff.

AKS

2628. Twin weights dated Year 287, 227/8 CE

(a) A lead weight similar in form to no. 2627, but instead of rounded shoulders, it has slightly sharpened ones. One side carries an inscription in six lines; lunette

sigma; there is a deep diagonal cut over the inscription. The reverse side is reported to have a circle at its center and a stamp with an image of a man above it.

(b) Same shape as (a). One side carries an inscription in six lines identical to that of (a), with the same distribution of letters among lines. The reverse shows in its center a thick circle around a dot. There is a circular stamp on the upper extension, bearing an image of a standing figure in a short dress. – l.5: (a and b) N retrograde; l.6: (a and b) Z retrograde.

Meas.: (a) h 15.8, w 7, th 0.5 cm; wt 426.7 g; (b) h 15.5, w 6.8, th 0.8 cm; wt 430.4 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia (a and b).

Pres. loc.: (a) Unknown; (b) SBF Museum, Jerusalem (formerly collection of G. Kloetzli), inv. no. SB 00590. Autopsy: 12 March 2009.

(a) and (b) APXHΣ
ΑΥΒΕΛΛΙΚ
ΟΥΘΛΕΜ
ΑΧΟΥΑΓΟ
ΠΑΝΟΜΟ
ΥΖΠΣ



fig. 2628.1 (a)

(a) and (b) Ἀρχῆς | Αὐρ(ηλίου) Βελλικ|ου Τηλεμ|άχου ἀγο|ρανόμο|υ ζπσ'

(a) and (b) *When Aurelius Bellicus son of Telemachus held the magistracy of agoranomos. (Year) 287.*



fig. 2628.2 (b)



fig. 2628.3 (b)

Comm.: 1.2: (a) ΑΥ[.]ΕΜΙΚ (ed. pr.), corrected by Lifshitz; (b) ΑΥΒΕΛΛΙΚ (ed. pr.); B is partly damaged on (a), but clearly visible on (b); 1.6: (b) horizontal line over the date was omitted by ed. pr.

The two weights were reportedly found together (Manns, *Weights* 12 n. 8). The inscribed sides were manufactured in the same mold; the same is possible for the covering reverse slab, but this cannot be confirmed. Year 287, counted from the era of Raphia, equals 227/8 CE.

Forty years after Aurelius Bellicus of the present weight an Arrianus son of Belli-cus was also agoranomos in Raphia (no. 2629). There can be little doubt that Aurelius Bellicus is the father of Arrianus. Both belong to a leading family in Raphia.

Bibl.: IMC no. 225 (a); F. Manns, in: *Studia Hierosolymitana in onore di P. Bellarmino Bagatti* I, 1976, 85 no. 4 (b) (edd. pr.). – Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 171 no. 4 (correction) (a); SEG 28, 1411 (a); Manns, *Weights* 12f. no. 4 (b).

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of S. Qedar (a); A. and N. Graicer (b).

2629. Weight decorated with palm branches, 268/9 CE (or, less likely, 168/9 CE)

A lead weight of anthropoid shape. The body of the weight consists of an oval with a large circular extension at the top and a smaller circular extension at the bottom. One side carries an inscription in six lines; lunate *sigma*; ll.3 and 4: the last letter, Υ, is not visible in either line, being covered by overflow of spurious metal from the lateral side. Under the inscription, on the lower extension, a short palm branch is depicted. There is a rectangular stamp on the upper extension, within which a standing figure can be discerned. The center of the reverse side is decorated with three concentric circles around a central dot. There is a palm branch above the circle and, possibly, yet another one to its right.

Meas.: h 15.2, w 5.5, th 0.5 cm; wt 410.3 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: SBF Museum, Jerusalem (former collection of G. Kloetzli), inv. no. SB 00609. Autopsy: 12 March 2009.

ΗΚΤ΄Σ
ΑΡΧΗΣ
ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟ[.]
ΒΕΛΛΙΚΟ[.]
ΑΓΟΡΑΝ
ΟΜΟΥ



fig. 2629.1

ηκτ' (or ηκσ') | Ἀρχῆς | Ἀρριανο[υ] | Βελλικο[υ] | ἀγορανόμου

Year 328 (or 228), when Arrianus son of Bellicus held the magistracy of agoranomos.

Comm.: I.3: A.PIANOY (ed. pr.); Ἀρριανοῦ Pleket (SEG 31, 1456). – According to the ed. pr., the first line of the inscription was illegible and probably indicated a date. This possibility was rejected in SEG 31, 1456 on the ground that “SEG 28, 1411-1413 (from Gaza) show that the text begins with ἀρχῆς”. However, presence of traces above APXHΣ can be discerned even on a somewhat obscure photograph in the ed. pr. Examination of the object shows that the inscription indeed began with a date, the first two digits being H and K. Only a short vertical line remains of the third digit, which has been damaged – in the same manner as the last letters at the end of ll.3 and 4 – by overflow of spurious metal from the lateral side. A reconstruction of this digit as *tau* (T=300) appears more probable, but *sigma* (Σ=200) cannot be entirely ruled out. Year 228 would equal 168/9 CE, Year 328 would equal 268/9 CE. The absence of AYP in the name of the agoranomos does not appear to be a decisive argument for favoring the earlier date. It is absent also on a weight of Raphia from 223/4 CE (no. 2627). Palm branches are found on the latest known weights from this city, from 313/4 and 316/7 CE (nos. 2632 and 2633), but this may not be decisive either. However, it is almost certain that Arrianus is the son of Aurelius Bellicus (no. 2628), who was agoranomos in Raphia forty years earlier, in 227/228. The time-span between 227/228 and 268/269 for father and son being both agoranomos seems perfect. The mass of the item (410.3 g) indicates that it was intended as a local *litra* (on the *litra* standard(s) in general, cf. comm. to no. 2585).

Bibl.: F. Manns, SBF 31, 1981, 245f. no. 1 pl. 15,1 (ed. pr.). – SEG 31, 1456; Manns, *Weights* 14f. no. 14 (same as Manns 1981, in Engl.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.



fig. 2629.2

2630. Twin weights of half of a litra, 3 c. CE

(a) A lead weight of an anthropoid shape, with rounded “shoulders”. One side has an inscription in five lines. Two circular stamps on the upper and lower extensions are now illegible. In the upper part of the reverse there is a big letter, the meaning of which is unclear.

(b) A lead weight of a form identical to (a), apart from the lower extension that is now rolled towards the inscribed side. The upper extension has an illegible circular stamp. The reverse side is blank. Lunate *sigma* (a and b).

Meas.: (a) h 14, w 5.3, th 0.5 cm; wt 203.1 g; (b) h 13.8, w 5, th 0.5 cm; wt 199.1 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia (a and b).

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: December 2001.

(a) ΑΥΡ
ΔΙΟΝ
ΑΡΧΗΣ
ΑΠ[.]Λ
ΗΜΙΑ

(b) ΑΥΡ
ΔΙΟΝ
ΑΡΧΗΣ
ΑΠΟΛ
Η[...]



fig. 2630.1 (a)



fig. 2630.2 (a)

(a) Αὐρ(ηλίου) | Διον(υσίου) | ἀρχῆς | Ἀπ[ο]λ(ωνίου) | ἡμιλ(ίτριν)

(b) Αὐρ(ηλίου) | Διον(υσίου) | ἀρχῆς | Ἀπολ(ωνίου) | ἡ[μιλ(ίτριν)]

(a) and (b) *When Aurelius Dionysius son of Apollonius held the magistracy (of agoranomos). Half of a litra.*



fig. 2630.3 (b)



fig. 2630.4 (b)

Comm.: SEG 54, 1671-1672 completes the last word in l.5 as ἡμίλ(ιτρον), but this form rarely, if ever, appears on weights of the area; one finds rather ἡμιλίτρην or ἡμιλείτρην (nos. 2597, 2616, 2623). The weights belong to a “half of a *litra*” group but, unlike other known weights of this group (nos. 2623-2625), they mention not only the weight unit but also the magistrate in charge. Since the forms of the two, as well as their inscriptions, seem identical, their inscribed sides must have been manufactured in the same mold. The order of the words in the inscription appears unusual, with ἀρχῆς coming in between two parts of the name, and the word ἀγορανόμου, which shows regularly on larger weights, omitted. This, however, is likely to be a mix-up rather than having a special meaning. The usual, fairly long formula, with the addition of the denomination, had to be written on a smaller surface, and things went wrong. The name Aurelius became widespread after the grant of the Roman citizenship to most of the inhabitants of the empire by Caracalla (211-217 CE) and this reign would accordingly constitute the terminus ab quo for the items under review.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, RdA 28, 2004, 35 nos. 1-2 (ed. pr.). – SEG 54, 1671-1672.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

2631. Rectangular weight of an agoranomos, probably second part of 3 c. CE

A rectangular lead weight with a handle, now partly broken off, at its top. One side carries an inscription in five lines; lunate *sigma*. l.5: the form of the *digamma* is fairly close to Latin S. A rectangular stamp, applied on the inscribed side to the upper extension, caused partial break-off of this extension, with the lower part of the stamp still visible. Another rectangular stamp appears to have been applied to the area near the lower border of the weight, causing a piece of rectangular form to fall off. The lower right corner is also partly broken and curls towards the inscribed side, obscuring the end of the last line. On the reverse side there are two shallow concentric circles around a small dot.

Meas.: h 9.5, w 7.7, th 0.6 cm; wt 367.3 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: April 2002.

APXHΣAYP
EY[.]ΘOYAY
EY[.]ΘOYAYO
PANOMO[.]
ETOYΣΣ[.]



fig. 2631.1



fig. 2631.2

Ἀρχῆς Αὐρηλίου | Εὐ[.]θου Αὐρηλίου | Εὐ[.]θου ἀγο|ρανόμο[υ] | Ἔτους ς[.]

When Aurelius Eu[.]thus son of Aurelius Eu[.]thus held the magistracy of agoranomos. Year [..]6.

Comm.: ll.2-3 probably Εὐ[.]θου for Εὐ[.]θης (SEG 54, 1675, Tybout). – The remaining digits of the date may still be preserved on the weight, now hidden by the corner rolled over them. It is rather unfortunate that this part of the surface could not be reached, as the date of the item is of importance for establishing the terminus ad quem for the use of the local *litra* standard. The present mass of the item is 367.3 g but, given that several parts are broken off, it must originally have been higher. At any rate, the weight was clearly not manufactured on the Roman standard of *libra* (on the *litra* and

libra standards, cf. comm. to no. 2585), which appears to be the case with two dated weights of 313/4 and 316/7 CE (nos. 2632 and 2633). As things stand at present, only an approximate time frame for the weight can be suggested. The nomen gentile Aurelius, repeated in both the name and the patronymic, would argue for a date not before the reign of Caracalla. The anthropoid weights of 223/4 and 227/8 CE (nos. 2627 and 2628) give the date without any introductory word or sign, while the two square weights of 313/4 and 316/7 have the word ΕΤΟΥΣ written in full, as on the present item. At the same time, the weight system to which the weight belongs is still local, which means it must normally be earlier than the two square weights just mentioned. The shape of the object, no longer anthropoid but still not square, seems intermediate too. The weight thus most probably belongs to first part, less likely to the second part of the 3 c. CE.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, RdA 28, 2004, 36 no. 5 (ed. pr.). – SEG 54, 1675.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2632. Square weight with an unclear name of the agoranomos, 313/4 CE

A square lead weight with traces of a handle at the top, now broken off. One side has slightly raised borders and an inscription in five lines; lunate *sigma*, l.2 *sigma*, and possibly *rho*, retrograde, ll.3-4 N retrograde. The space under the inscription is decorated with a palm branch placed in the center. In the lower left field there is an unclear design of two triangles (two triangle letters? Λ Δ?) above a line. In the lower right field there is another enigmatic design, consisting of a line above which there is a row of three small triangles, while below the line there is a big *nu*. The reverse side has three concentric circles around a central dot in its upper field. Both sides of the weight show significant wear.

Meas.: h 8.6, w 8.4, th 0.6 cm; wt 303.6 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: August 2002.

[.]ΤΟΥΣΓΟΤΑ
ΡΧΗΣΟΥΑΛΑΔ
[--]ΝΑΛ[.]
ΟΥΑ[.]ΟΡΑΝ
ΟΜΟΥ



fig. 2632.1

[ʽΕ]τους γοτʽ. Ἀρχῆς Οὐαλαδ[--]ναλ[.]ου ἀ[γ]οραν[ό]μου

Year 373, when Valad... son of ...nalus held the magistracy of agoranomos.

Comm.: The weight first surfaced in an auction catalogue of 1978 (Qedar) where only ΕΤΟΥΣ ΓΟΡ at the beginning and the last word ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥ were mentioned among details of the description of the item. Examination of the weight shows that the date should be read as ΓΟΤ. The surviving parts of the last digit consist of a vertical line and a short horizontal line joining it at the top on the right. The height of the vertical line is the same as of the two other digits, while *rho* elsewhere in the inscription has a long vertical bar, protruding below the line. The *alpha* at the end of l.1 can be seen clearly, as well as XH, followed by a retrograde lunate *sigma* in l.2. There is a long vertical bar, descending below the line, in the space before X and close to it. This cannot be but a remnant of *rho*, possibly written retrograde.



fig. 2632.2

Both parts of the name of the agoranomos remain unclear. Οὐαλ(ερίου) was suggested for the proper name in SEG 54, 1674, but this does not suit the lines of the surviving letters in l.2. ΟΥΑΑ is followed by two letters of triangular form of which neither can be read as *epsilon* or *rho*. The present mass of the weight is 303.6 g, but it must have been greater originally, given the broken off handle and general wear. This mass would then come close to the standard of the Roman *libra*, which was most likely the intention of the issuing authority.

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, RdA 28, 2004, 35f. no. 4 (ed. pr.). – S. Qedar, Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 32), 1978, no. 66; SEG 54, 1674.

Photo: S. Moussaieff.

AKS

2633. Weight of agoranomos Euphemus son of Apollonius, 316/7 CE

A square lead weight with traces of a handle at the top, now broken off. One side has slightly raised borders and an inscription in five lines; lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. All the lines of the inscription are separated by thick and not always strictly parallel strokes. There is a small palm branch at the end of the inscription. The reverse side has three concentric circles around a central dot in its upper field. In the lower left field there is a palm branch, placed diagonally and facing down. In the lower right field there is a design, similar to that found in the lower right field of the

inscribed side of no. 2632, but with four triangles instead of three and a long petal springing up from the point between the second and third triangles.

Meas.: h 8.7, w 8.6, th 0.4-0.5 cm; wt 298 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Manufactured in Raphia.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem; IAA inv. no. 1933-1071. Autopsy: August 2002.

ΕΤΟΥΣ 307
ΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΥΦΗ
ΜΟΥ ΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΓΟΡΑ
ΝΟΜΟΥ (palm branch)

Ἔτους 307 | Ἀρχῆς Εὐφῆ|μου
Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγορανόμου

Year 376, when Euphemus son of Apollonius held the magistracy of agoranomos.



fig. 2633.1

Comm.: The *digamma* in the date has a form of a squat *pi*, the left bar of which protrudes slightly above and is joined by a short horizontal line from the right. Year 316/7 CE is the latest date known so far for the mention of agoranomos on a Palestinian weight.

This weight and no. 2632 show many similarities – in general form, positioning of the circles on the reverse, palm branches and similar enigmatic designs. Given the broken off handle, the actual mass of the present item must have been over 300 g, and the weight may have been intended as a Roman *libra*, similar to no. 2632. It appears that by the time of these weights' manufacture the local *litra* standard had been abandoned (on the *litra* and *libra* standards, cf. also comm. to no. 2585).



fig. 2633.2

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, RdA 28, 2004, 35 no. 3 (ed. pr.). – SEG 54, 1673.

Photo: IAA.

2634. Hellenistic lead weight mentioning agoranomos Apollonius, 122/1 BCE

A lead weight of a square shape, worn and damaged. All of its corners had been pierced and bits of the edges had broken off in several places. One side has raised borders and carries an inscription in four lines, executed somewhat carelessly. 1.3 classic form of *omega*. The reverse has a network pattern, also executed carelessly. Meas.: h 4.2, w 4.2, th 0.3 cm; wt 30.9 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Probably South Coast.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: December 2001.

ΛΑΩΡ
ΑΓΟ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΥ

(Ἔτους) ααρ' | ἀγο(ρανομοῦντος) |
Ἀπολλωνίου

Year 191, Apollonius being agoranomos.

Comm.: According to Lifshitz (ed. pr.), the weight originates in the city of Gaza. Lifshitz is likely to have based his attribution on information from N. Munster, the former owner of the item. However, the Israeli antiquities market habitually names "Gaza" as the provenance of all the items from the Gaza Strip. It is also possible that items found outside the strip are attributed to Gaza.

This does not exclude the possibility of the weight under review having been manufactured somewhere on the South Coast. Its network reverse implies that it belongs to the Hellenistic period. Comparison with no. 2438, found north of Gaza, and no. 2358, from Ascalon, shows a certain affinity of these weights with the present item: the formula of the inscription is the same (date, followed by ἀγορανομοῦντος and a name); no images are added. While the former is common for most areas of Palestine, the latter is not (A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 6, 2011, 57).



fig. 2634.1



fig. 2634.2

Origin of the weight under discussion somewhere on the South Coast thus appears fairly likely. Since it has the same date as no. 2358 from Ascalon (Year 191), it cannot have been produced there.

Lifshitz translates Year 191 by the Seleucid era into 121/0 BCE, an error. The date is 122/1 BCE.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 173f. no. 11 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1417.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 11; S. Moussaieff.

AKS

2635. Hellenistic lead weight of agoranomos Zenon, 120/19 BCE

A square lead weight with a loop at the top. One of the surfaces has raised borders, bevelled on the outside; this bevelled outside band is decorated with semicircles separated by vertical strokes. In the field there is an inscription in five lines; l.4 classical *omega*; l.5 the *delta* has its left bar protruding far above the top of the triangle; lunate *sigma*. The reverse is worn and appears to be blank.

Meas.: h 4.6 (6 with the loop), w 4.5, th 0.7 cm; wt 118.7 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Purchased on the antiquities market. Likely to be from South Coast.

Pres. loc.: Hebr. Univ. Inst. Arch., inv. no. 2131. Autopsy: 2000.

ΛΓΩΡΑΓΟ
ΠΑΝΟΜΟΥΝ
ΤΟΣ Σ *vacat*
ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
Δ



fig. 2635.1

(Ἔτους) γγρ' ἀγο|ρανομοῦν|τος {Σ}| Ζήνωνος | δ'

Year 193, Zenon being agoranomos. One fourth (of a mina ?).

Comm.: The overall appearance of the weight, its decoration and paleography (classical *omega*), leave little doubt that it belongs to the Hellenistic period. Year 193 counted from the Seleucid era of 312 BCE equals 120/19 BCE.

The weight was purchased in the antiquities market. Its card in the Institute of Archaeology indicates that it comes from Ascalon, but the source of the information is not stated and the information cannot be verified. A few features of the weight (decoration of the borders, formula of the inscription, absence of images) would nevertheless suit a South Coast origin (Kushnir-Stein 56f.).

The *delta* in the last line may have related to the item's mass. A similar letter, also separated by a margin from the main text, appears on another Hellenistic weight from the area (Kushnir-Stein 42f., B1).

Bibl.: A. Kushnir-Stein, *Israel Numismatic Research* 6, 2011, 43f. (B3) (ed. pr.).

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

fig. 2635.2



AKS

2636. Hellenistic lead weight from Tyre, 115/4 BC

A lead weight of square shape, very worn. One of the flat sides has raised borders and an inner square frame in relief. Within the frame, in the center, there is a club placed vertically. An inscription in two lines runs on the left and right of the club. l.1 *omicron* is small and placed under the horizontal bar of the *gamma*. The reverse side has a network pattern, with a sign of Tanit in the center of the field.

Meas.: h 3.8, w 4.0, th 7 cm; wt 110.71 g.

Findspot: Unknown. Probably South Coast.

ΑΓΟ

[L] ΒΙ

Ἀγο(ραῖον?) | [("Ετους)] βι'



fig. 2636.1

Of the agora (?). Year 12.

Comm.: The weight belongs to a well established series of weights from Tyre, cf. no. 2359. All weights of the series have a network reverse with the sign of Tanit. The third denomination, to which the present weight belongs, equals a quarter of the local *mina*. Weights of this denomination are known in more than one specimen (Elayi - Elayi, nos. 397-400, with bibliography; D. Hendin, *Ancient scale weights*, 2007, 195 no. 286).



fig. 2636.2

The inscription on the present weight is more worn on the left of the club. However, the lower part of the A at the beginning of l.1 can be discerned on the photograph in the ed. pr. The sign L before the date has been reconstructed from better preserved specimens of the same denomination.

The ed. pr. did not identify the weight as originating in Tyre and attributed it to Gaza, probably on the strength of information that it comes from this city. While Lifshitz' attribution is wrong, the possibility that the weight comes from the area of the Gaza Strip cannot be entirely excluded, although it cannot be proved either. Weights of Tyre from the 2 c. BCE have been found in several other Palestinian sites, mostly in the coastal region - Dora/Dor (CIIP II 2132), Gezer (R. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1905 and 1907-1909*, vol. II, 1912, 286 fig. 434), Ashdod (HA 10, 1964, 18 [Hebr.]), Ascalon (no. 2359 this vol.). The specimens from Dora/Dor and Ascalon also belong to the series of "Year 12". It appears possible, then, that such weights could have reached the coastal area further south of Ascalon.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 179 no. 28 (ed. pr.). – S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4095. – On the series of "Year 12", cf. S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden IV* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 49), 1983, nos. 5073-5075; J. Elayi - A. Elayi, *Recherches sur les poids phéniciens*, 1997, nos. 392-395, 397-402.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 28.

AKS

2637. Lead weight with the letter eta referring to uncertain weight unit, 1 c. BCE-3 c. CE or 5-7 c. CE

A lead weight of a lozenge shape. One side has raised borders and a Greek letter in the center of the field. The reverse is blank.

Meas.: h 6.8, th 0.4 cm; wt 37 g.

Pres. loc.: Former collection of G. Kloetzli, Jerusalem. Non vidi.

H

η'

Eight (drachms?) (nomismata?).



fig. 2637.1

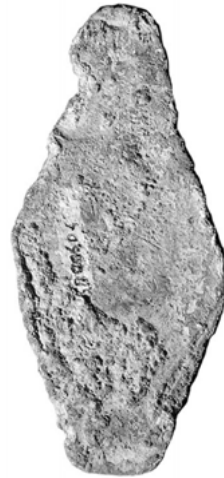


fig. 2637.2

Comm.: The weight was published as part of the G. Kloetzli collection, which was reportedly assembled while Kloetzli lived in Gaza. Since the rest of the items from this collection

turned out to be from either Gaza or Raphia, it may be safely assumed that the weight under discussion also comes from the Gaza Strip.

The number “eight” must refer to a weight unit, but it is not entirely clear what unit. The bulk of known weights inscribed with H alone are “eight drachms” weights. However, with its mass of 37 g the present object appears too heavy (8-9 g more than would be required). The unit that would suit the mass of 37 g better is *nomisma* (4.55 g), but indication of this unit (by N or No) is omitted very rarely. The uncertainty makes dating the weight problematic. If “eight drachms” were meant, the time range would be 1 c. BCE-3 c. CE; in the case of “eight nomismata” it would be 5-7 c. CE.

Bibl.: Manns, *Weights* 19f. no. 29 pl. 5 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Manns, *Weights*, pl. 5 no. 29.

AKS

2638. Lead weight of lozenge shape inscribed in Greek, 1-3 c. CE

A lead weight of a lozenge shape. One side has an inscription in seven lines; the lines do not stretch horizontally but descend from left to right in a diagonal fashion. Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*; ll.4-6 N retrograde; l.6 Z retrograde. The reverse is decorated with two concentric circles.

Meas.: h 5.5, w 3.9, th 0.8 cm; wt 100 g.

ΕΦ?[,]
 ΒΕΞΑΜΗ
 ΝΟΥΑΓΟ
 ΠΑΝΟΜ
 [,]ΥΝΤΟ
 ΣΖΗΝ
 Ω



fig. 2638.1

εφ?[,] | β' ἐξαμή|νου ἀγο|ρανομ|[ο]ῦντο|ς Ζήν|ω(νος)

(Year) .9?5, second semester, Zenon being agoranomos.

Comm.: The present location of the weight is unknown and, consequently, it could not be examined. Surviving documentation on the item consists of two photographs – in the ed. pr. (inscription only) and an auction catalogue (Qedar, inscription and reverse).

The engraver appears to have had problems with incising a relatively long inscription into a limited space on the mold that was, in addition, of unusual shape. He chose to lengthen the lines by engraving them in the descending manner, which gives the inscription a look of being executed rather carelessly. Despite this, all of the inscription, except for l.1, can be read.

l.1 apparently consisted of a date, which the ed. pr. gives as Ἐτ(ους) ας. However, only the first letter is recognizable as *epsilon*. The next sign looks like *koppa* (Ϟ) followed by a sign whose upper part is damaged and lower part looks like a small *omicron*. Some



fig. 2638.2

strokes of this line may be spurious, but neither the *alpha*, nor traces of the *sigma* seem to be in evidence. Meaningful reconstruction of the date does not seem possible at present.

Lifshitz' attribution of the weight to Gaza is doubtful, as all known weights firmly attributed to this city look different in many respects. At the same time, the circles on the reverse may argue in favor of an origin somewhere on the South Coast, where such reverse decoration was popular.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 177f. no. 24 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1423; S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4089.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 24; S. Qedar, no. 4089.

AKS

2639. Lozenge-shaped lead weight mentioning the emperor Hadrian, 117-138 CE

A large lead weight of a lozenge shape, with a square extension at the top, pierced with a small hole. One side of the weight is flat, while the other side has sloping edges. Both sides of the weight have identical decoration: there is a rosette with six petals in the center; the rosette is surrounded by three concentric circles, forming two circular bands around it. The outer bands of each side, which are twice as large as the inner ones, bear inscriptions [bevelled side: (a); flat side: (b)]. The inscription on the bevelled side begins at the upper point under the extension; same on the flat side; (b) lunate *sigma*. (a) N retrograde (both times); (a-b) *alpha* has a broken middle bar throughout. The inscriptions of both sides are now very worn and only partly legible.

Meas.: h 15, w 9, th 1.3 cm; wt 744 g.

Pres. loc.: Collection of D. Jeselsohn, Zürich (former collection of A. Spaer). Autopsy: June 2002.

(a) ΑΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ[.]Α[.]ΙΑΝΟΥ

(b) ΑΓΟΡΑΦ?ΙΣ[.]ΛΙΟΣΑΙ[.]ΛΙ[--]

(a) Α<υ>τοκράτορ(ος) Τραιανο[υ] Ἀ[δρ]ιανοῦ

(b) Ἀγορά(νομοῦντος?) Φ?ισ[.]λιος Αἰ[.]λι[--]

(a) (*In the time of*) *Imperator Traianus Hadrianus*.

(b) *Phis.lius(?) son of Ai.li... being agoranomos(?)*.

Comm.: (a) [--]ΑΙΑ[--] ed. pr.; (b) Ἀγορά[--] ed. pr. – (b) The reading of the name of the agoranomos is problematic. The reading of the *phi* at the beginning of the name is not entirely certain; the third letter of the name can be read also as *omi*-



fig. 2639.1 (a)

cron (ΦΙΟ) and ΛΙΟΣ in the continuation can be read as ΑΤΟΣ. The visible lines of the two last letters (ΟΣ) present less alternatives, although they create an obvious difficulty in figuring out a name in the genitive. There appears to be no easy solution to the problem.

Lifshitz attributed the weight to Gaza, but this does not seem very probable. The identifying sign of the city (Phoenician *mem*, cf. desc. to no. 2588) is absent. There is one lozenge-shaped weight that bears the symbol of Gaza (no. 2592) but no known weights from this city have inscriptions on both sides. Also, the inscribed side on the weights of Gaza usually has raised borders. Lifshitz may well have been told that the weight comes “from Gaza” (read “Gaza Strip”). This allows for the possibility that the weight was found in the area of the southern Palestinian coast.



fig. 2639.2 (b)

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 173 no. 9 (ed. pr.). – A. Kushnir-Stein, *ZPE* 159, 2007, 291f. (correction); *AE* 2007, 1630 a-b.

Photo: Z. Radovan, courtesy of A. Spaer.

AKS

2640. Lead weight with the letter Δ meaning “a quarter”, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of a square shape, with a loop at its top and a handle at its bottom. One side has raised borders and a Greek letter in the center of the field. The reverse is decorated with two concentric circles around a central dot.

Meas.: h 5.9 (with loop and handle), w 4.4, th 0.7 cm; wt 75.85 g (Qedar).

Δ

δ'

Quarter (of a litra ?).

Comm.: The weight was attributed to Gaza by the ed. pr., but this attribution cannot be taken at its face value (see comm. in nos. 2602 and 2634). A general attribution to



fig. 2640.1



fig. 2640.2

the South Coast seems, however, possible. Such features as a square shape, a loop and a handle at the top and bottom, raised borders on the side of inscription, concentric circles on the reverse, are frequent on weights from the area dating to the Roman period.

Since the delta signifies “a quarter”, the weight unit to which it refers would be slightly over 300 g. Whether it was a local *litra* standard or an adopted Roman *libra* standard there is no sure way of telling (on the *litra* and *libra* standards, cf. comm. to no. 2585).

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 177 no. 23 (ed. pr.). – S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4091.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 23; S. Qedar, no. 4091.

AKS

2641. Hexagonal lead weight inscribed in Greek, with unclear date, 2-3 c. CE

A lead weight of a hexagonal shape, with a partly broken loop at its top and a rectangular handle at its bottom. One of the flat sides has an inscription in five lines.

l.2 *xi* has the form of Σ, *alpha* has broken middle bar (both times); l.4 lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*. The reverse is decorated with a large thick circle.

Meas.: h 8.1 (with handle, without loop), w 7.2, th 0.5 cm; wt 136.5 g.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: December 2001.

(?)
ΑΕΞΑ
ΜΗΝΟΥ
ΕΠΙΣΩΠΑ
ΑΦ[.]



fig. 2641.1

(?) (ΛΙ in ligature?) | α' ἐξ α|μήνου | ἐπὶ Σωπᾶ | αῤ[ρ?]

(?) First semester. Under (the supervision of?) Sopas. (Year) 191(?).

Comm.: The meaning of the sign above the inscription is unclear. Lifshitz identified it as an anchor, but it looks rather like a ligature of ΛΙ (for λίτρα), found on many other weights (nos. 2268, 2585-2587, 2614, 2615, 2645). However, this can hardly be the meaning, since the mass of the weight would amount to no more than a half of a local *litra* (on the *litra* standard(s), cf. comm. to no. 2585); moreover, the sign is placed horizontally, for which there seems to be no parallel.

Sopas is a hypocoristic to Sopatros, epigraphically almost not attested, but present in the papyri.

The date was read by ed. pr. as αῤ'.

This may be correct, although the area of the digit is damaged and the *rho* cannot be clearly seen. Visible lines form a letter that resembles *beta* (B) with the lower part of its vertical bar missing; however, as *beta* would make little sense in this context, some of the lines must be spurious. Dating of the weight would remain problematic anyway, since the place of its manufacture cannot be established for certain. Lifshitz attributed the weight to Gaza, but this can hardly be correct, as comparison with known weights from this city would show. Calculating the date from the era of Gaza (61 BCE), Lifshitz arrived at 130/1 CE. He supported this dating through what he saw as paleographic similarities of the inscription on the weight with those from Gerasa of the first half of the 2 c. CE. However, comparison with inscriptions of a different type and from a somewhat distant locality can hardly be of much help. Besides, paleography of inscriptions on weights appears to depend more on the style and knowledge of individuals directly involved in their manufacture than on some "official" norms of writing, both as regards letter forms and spelling.

The weight sustained additional damage after having been published. As a more recent photograph of its reverse shows, part of its edge on the upper right has fallen off.



fig. 2641.2

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 173 no. 10 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1416.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 10; S. Moussaieff.

2642. “Half of a litra” lead weight with unclear date, 2-4 c. CE

A lead weight of a square shape, with a loop at its top. The weight is damaged, with a broken upper border and several holes in its lower part. One of the flat sides has raised borders. An inner square frame was apparently intended as well, but it shows only on the left and at the bottom. There is an inscription in three lines in the field. Lunate *sigma*. The reverse is reportedly blank.

Meas.: h 7 (9 with the loop), w 7, th 0.5 cm; wt 140 g.

Pres. loc.: Formerly collection of N. Munster, Jerusalem (at the time of ed. pr.).

[.]ΤΟΥΣΓ/Π++
ΗΜΙΑΙ
ΤΡΙΝ

[“Ε]τους γπ’ (or γιτ’ or πτ’) | ἡμιλί|τριν

Year 83 (or 313, or 380). Half of a litra.

Comm.: Lifshitz read the date in l.1 as γπ’ (year 83) which he counted from the era of Gaza (61 BCE), arriving at 22/3 CE. However, neither the attribution to Gaza (see comm. in nos. 2602 and 2634), nor the reading of the date as γπ’ are certain. Due to the rupture in the right part of the upper border, the upper parts of the digits belonging to the date cannot be clearly seen. Judging from the photograph, the date can be read as ΓΠ, or ΓΙΤ, or even ΠΤ. Which of these dates may be the correct one cannot at present be verified, the current location of the weight being unknown. On the *litra* standard(s), cf. comm. to no. 2585.



fig. 2642

Bibl.: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte 174 no. 12 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1416.

Photo: Lifshitz, Bleigewichte, no. 12.

AKS

2643. Weight of agoranomos Marcus Aurelius Herodes, 3 c. CE

A square lead weight with a loop (now partly broken off) at its top and a small protrusion at its bottom. One of the flat sides has an inscription in six lines. All lines of the inscription are separated by horizontal strokes; lunate *sigma*; w-shaped *omega*. The reverse side is reported to be “smooth and highly corroded” (Campagnolo).

Meas.: h 11.3, w 8.1 cm; wt 339.5 g.

Findspot: Somewhere in the Gaza Strip. Precise findspot unknown.

Pres. loc.: Collection of Jawdat al-Khoudary, Gaza, inv. no. JKC 350. Non vidi.

ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜ
ΟΥΓΝΑΟΣ
ΜΑΥΡΗΡΩ
ΔΟΥΔΗΜΗ
+ΤΡΙΟΥΒΡΑ
ΝΑΙΟΥΑΕΞΑΜ

Ἀγορανόμου ΓΝΑΟΣ | Μ(άρκου)
Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἡρώδου Δημητρίου Βρα|ναίου,
α' ἐξαμ(ήνου)

(Under the supervision of) agoranomos
Marcus Aurelius Herodes son of Demetrius
son of Branaius, first semester.

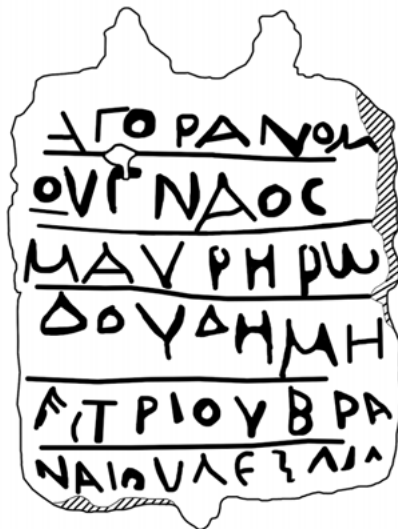


fig. 2643

Comm.: l.2 Γ ΝΑΟΣ (ed. pr.); l.6 ΝΑΙΟΥ

Α ΕΞΥ (ed. pr.). – The item could not be

examined and the reading reproduced here has been made from the photograph (Campagnolo 71 no. A). The meaning of ΓΝΑΟΣ in l.2 remains enigmatic, unless it is simply a botched spelling at the end of ἀγορανομ|οὔντος. The first sign in l.5 is unclear; according to the ed. pr. (p. 71) it is a drawing. The personal name Branaius is not otherwise attested. The reading of the last five letters in l.6 as α' ἐξαμ(ήνου) suits the visible lines best.

According to the ed. pr., all weights from the al-Khoudary collection originate in the Gaza Strip. It is, however, unclear in which city the weight may have been manufactured. The name Marcus Aurelius most likely points to a period from Caracalla onwards. At the same time, the mass of the item seems to indicate that it was still made on a local standard, which would give the end of the 3-beginning of the 4 c. CE as terminus ante quem.

Bibl.: M. Campagnolo, in: Chambon, Gaza 70-3 no. A (ed. pr.).

Photo: D. Licher (dr.).

2644. Lead weight inscribed in Greek indicating its mass in ounces, 3-5 c. CE

A lead weight of a square shape. Both sides have raised borders and an inner square frame in relief, within which there is an inscription. The inscription on one side is in two lines (a); on the other side, in three lines (b). *Lunate sigma*.

Meas.: h 5, w 5, th 0.9 cm; wt 108 g.

Pres. loc.: Collection of S. Moussaieff, Herzliya. Autopsy: 2001.

(a) ΟΥΝ

ΚΙΑΙ

(b) ΤΕΣ

ΣΑ

ΡΕΣ

(a) Οὐν|κίαι

(b) τέσ|σα|ρες

(a and b) *Four ounces*.



fig. 2644.1 (a)

Comm.: Lifshitz attributed the weight to Gaza, apparently upon the information received from the then owner of the item. This information cannot be verified and would be of limited value even if is true (see comm. in nos. 2602 and 2634). At best, it can be understood as a provenance from somewhere in the Gaza Strip. Nothing in the weight's appearance or inscription would argue either for or against such provenance.

The word "ounce" is written on the weight in full, and the number "four" is given by a word, not a single letter signifying a digit. This may indicate a relatively early stage of the use of the Roman weighing system in the place where the item was manufactured.



fig. 2644.2 (b)

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 174f. no. 13 (ed. pr.). – SEG 28, 1419.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 13.

2645. Lead weight inscribed in Greek and mentioning episkopos Elpidius, 4-5 c. CE

A circular lead weight, with a broken loop at its top. One side has a raised border and an inner circular frame in relief. There is an inscription in six lines within, with the last line written over the frame. The inscription is underscored throughout by lines in relief. There are three holes in the lower part of the surface, damaging the letters of l.5. Parts of the surface are pitted and corroded. Lunate *sigma*, w-shaped *omega*; l.6 ΔΙ in ligature. The reverse shows three concentric circles in relief, with two diagonally crossed bars within the inner circle.

Meas.: Ø 9.3 cm; wt 287.7 g (237.2 g after cleaning).

Findspot: Unknown. Purchased in Jerusalem. Reportedly from Gaza.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, inv. no. 70.185.

Non vidi.

ΕΠΙΕΛΠΙ
ΙΔ[.]ΟΥΚΕΡ
ΔΩΝΑΕΠΙΣ
ΚΟΠΟΥΔΙΟΥ
[--]
ΛΙΑ

Ἐπὶ Ἐλπίδ[ι]ου Κέρδωνα ἐπισκόπου Δίου |
[--] | λί(τρα) α'

(Under the supervision of) Elpidius son
of Cerdonas, episkopos. (In the month of)
Dios, [year (?) ...]. One litra.

Comm.: The ed. pr. read l.5 as [...] ΕΤΟΥΣ but, although there is a certain logic in suggesting a date in this place, it appears to be more of a conjecture, since this reading cannot be confirmed from remaining traces of letters visible on the photograph. Dating by a month seems to be so far unique for weights from the Palestinian area.

The weight can hardly be earlier than the 4 c. CE, as there is mention of an agoranomos on a local weight as late as 316/7 CE (no. 2633). It appears, however, that some time in the 4 c. CE functions of agoranomoi were taken over by episkopoi.



fig. 2645.1



fig. 2645.2

These, in turn, are later replaced on weights by ephoroi. When this latter replacement took place in the area of Palestine is yet to be determined. Two known local weights with ephoroi show crosses; the appearance of the crosses gives the 5 c. CE as the terminus ab quo for these weights (see comm. in no. 2271). As against this, crosses are absent from local weights, known so far, that mention an episkopos or episkopoi (B. Lifshitz, RB 77, 1970, 80 no. 19, allegedly from Negev; IAA inv. no. 2000-2143, unpublished; episkopoi: priv. collection, unpublished). Our weight would thus most probably belong to the 4-5 c. CE. It is no very likely that “episkopos” means a christian bishop here: For episkopos in a non-christian context see W. Eck, in: P. Urso ed., *Sacerdos. Figure del sacro nella scietà romana*. XIV Convegno internazionale della Fondazione Canussio (in print). Kerdonas is a very rare name, only once attested (SEG 35, 870 – potter’s signature, found in the Black Sea region).

The weight was purchased in Jerusalem and was reported as coming from Gaza. This information, even if correct, would not necessarily mean that the weight was found or manufactured in the city of Gaza (see comm. in nos. 2602 and 2634). But it leaves the possibility that it was found or manufactured somewhere on the South Coast. After all, the ligature comprising the letters Λ and I for *litra* appears fairly frequently on the weights of the region (see nos. 2271, 2585-2587, 2614, 2615, 2641). On the *litra* standard(s), cf. comm. to no. 2585

Bibl.: J. Biers, in: ead. - J. Terry eds., *Testament of Time. Selected Objects from the Collection of Palestinian Antiquities in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia*, 2004, 136f. no. 119 (ed. pr.).

Photo: Courtesy of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri.

AKS

2646. Lead weight with ΓΟ for “ounce”, 4-7 c. CE

A lead weight of a square shape. One side has raised borders and an inner square frame in relief, within which there is an inscription in one line. Γο in ligature, with small *omicron* placed under the horizontal bar of the *gamma*. The reverse is reported to be damaged. Meas.: h 3.4, w 3.2, th 0.3 cm; wt 24.57 g (Qedar).

ΓΟ

(Οὐνξία)

(One) ounce.

Comm.: Lifshitz attributed the weight to Gaza, apparently upon the information received from the



fig. 2646

then owner of the item. This attribution is open to questioning, as is the case with a few other weights ascribed to the city of Gaza by the same author (nos. 2634, 2636, 2638-2642, 2644, 2647). The possibility that the weight was found in the area of the Gaza Strip cannot be entirely excluded, but provenance from elsewhere seems equally possible.

Indication of the weight unit of “ounce” by a ligature $\Gamma\omicron$ is amply attested for the area of Palestine on bronze weights from the 5-7 c. CE. It appears also on lead weights that could have been manufactured either earlier, or concurrently. There seems to be no firm evidence yet for the use of the ligature on Palestinian weights as early as the 3 c. CE.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 177 no. 20 (ed. pr.). – S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4100.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 20.

AKS

2647. Weight of six ounces with identical inscription on two sides, 4-7 c. CE

A lead weight of a square shape, with a handle at its bottom. One side has raised borders; the borders are wide on the sides but narrow at the top and bottom. There is an unclear design in the lower field; above it is an inscription in one line (a). The opposite side has a raised square frame with an inscription in one line within (b). $\Gamma\omicron$ in ligature (a and b).

Meas.: h 6.1 (with handle), w 5.4, th 0.9 cm; wt 118.35 g (Qedar).

(a) and (b) $\Gamma\omicron\varsigma$

(a) and (b) (Οὐνκίαι) ς'

(a) and (b) *Six ounces*.



fig. 2647.1 (a)



fig. 2647.2 (b)

Comm.: Gatier doubted Lifshitz' attribution of the weight to Gaza, but neither stated his reasons, nor suggested an alternative attribution. It is true that the place of the weights' manufacture remains unclear. Lifshitz was apparently told by the owner of the item that it comes “from Gaza”. This may be taken, at best, as a hint

that the weight was possibly found somewhere in the Gaza Strip (see comm. in nos. 2602 and 2634).

The ligature Γο for “ounce” appears to have been used from 4 c. CE onwards.

Bibl.: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte* 179 no. 29 (ed. pr.). – S. Qedar, *Gewichte aus drei Jahrtausenden II* (Münz-Zentrum Albrecht und Hoffmann, Auktion 37), 1979, no. 4085; P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 68, 1991, 440f. n. 27.

Photo: Lifshitz, *Bleigewichte*, no. 29.

AKS

2648. Bronze weight with the ligature Γο indicating number of ounces, 5-7 c. CE

Square bronze weight with three-letter inscription on one of the flat surfaces (a). The first sign of the inscription is Γ with small *omicron* underneath its horizontal bar, meaning “ounce/s”; the second sign is a numeral. Γο in ligature. A long cross is placed between the letters and all is surrounded by a wreath. The reverse side shows a large incised A, with its top cut off by the edge of the weight (b).

Meas.: h 3.4, w 3.2, th 0.8 cm; wt 78.5 g.

Findspot: Bought at Kh. el-Addas (Rafah) in 1941.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1941-1143. Autopsy: August 2002.

(a) ΓΟ Γ

(b) A

(a) (Οὐνχ(αι) γ'

(b) A

(a) *three ounces*



fig. 2648 (a)

Comm.: The truncated letter A on the reverse seems to imply that a larger item (a bronze plate? a larger weight?) has been reused and cut down for the making of the present weight.

For similar weights and the dating see nos. 2272 (Iamnia), 2365 (Ascalon), CIIP II 1746 (Caesarea).

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: IAA.

AKS

Index of personal names

Vol. I: Part 1: 1-704; Part 2: 705-1120

Vol. II: 1121-2160

Vol. III: 2161-2648

This index includes the names appearing in the inscriptions, including restored names and fragments in which two or more letters are preserved in the beginning. The main entry of all names, including Greek and Semitic names, is given in its Latin form, thus e.g. *Κυρικὸς* is to be found under “Cyricus” and *אֶהָרֹן* is to be found under “Aharon”. Moreover, after the Latin heading, the name is listed as it actually appears in the inscription. Semitic names if surely identified are transcribed rather than transliterated: Avshalom rather than *ʾbšlwm*. Finally, all variations of the same name are listed under the same heading, thus Shimʿon includes *שמעון*, *Σίμων*, etc.

Roman Emperors (chron. order)

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Vespasianus	712; 1282
Titus	712; 1282
Domitianus	1382a; 1383a; 1384a; 1414
Nerva	715; 716; 717; 1276
Traianus	705; 713; 715; 716; 717; 1245; 1276; 2120; 2259a-c
Hadrianus	715; 716; 717; 753; 1200; 1202; 1204; 1206; 1207; 1208; 1209; 1227; 1276; 2639a
Antoninus Pius	718; 1216(?), 2121
Commodus	2337; 2338
Pertinax	1211
Septimius Severus	719; 1211
Caracalla	719; 1285
Geta	719
Iulia Domna	719
Fulvia Plautilla	719
Severus Alexander	2563
Philippus Arabs	1212
Probus	1267; 1270
Diocletianus	1286
Maximianus	1213; 1214
Constantius I	1271
Galerius	1268; 1272
Iulianus	2326
Eudocia	816
Anastasius	784; 2373(?)

Iustinianus	785; 800; 2373?
Mauricius	786; 1006
Theodosius	786c
Tiberius	786d
Constantina	786b
Phocas	2367

(?)Marcus Aurelius [--?]	1224
(?)[A]nto[ninus]	1308

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Philadelphus	Πτο[λε]μα[ί]ου	2172
Ptolemaeus III Euergetes	Πτολεμαίου	2172
Berenice II	Βερενίκης	2172
Ptolemaeus IV		
Philopator	Πτολεμαῖον	2172
Antiochus V Eupator	[Αν]τίοχος	2267
	Ἀντιόχωι	2267
(?)Antioch[us]	Ἀντιοχ[--]	2439
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	Ἡρ(ώ)δου	666
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Agrippa I	Ἀγρίππου	676
	Ἀγρ[ί]ππα	1726
Agrippa II	Ἀγρίπ[πα]	2123

L. A[--] P[--]	L(ucius/o) A[--] P[--]	1325
T. A[--] Po[--]	T(itus/o) A[--] Po[--]	1386
Ab[--]	Ἀβ[--]	977
Ababilus	Ἀβαβίλου	2564
Abas	Ἀβασσι	839
Abascantus	Ἀβασκάντου	205
Abba	אבא	18; 288; 347
	אבא	55
Abbi	אבבי	2222
Abbomares	Ἀββομαρης	2230
- Abbomari	Ἀββομαρι	2182
- Ambomare	Ἀμβωμαρη	2187
Abbones(?)	Ἀββωνες	2230
Abdallah	Ἀβιδελλα	842.15
Abdes	Ἀβδέους	2573

Abdo(--)	Ἀβδο(--)	2613b
Abel	Ἀβελ	874
Ablabius	Ἀβλάβιος	2564
Abraamius		→ Abraham
Abraham	אַבְרָהָם	953; 1016
	Ἀβραάμ	1079a
- Abraamius	Ἀβραάμιος	2476
- Abram	Ἀβραμ	2290
Abudemmus	Ἀβουδεμμου	2179
- Abudemus(?)	+אַבְדֻמ	2179
Acacion	Ἀκακίων	767
Acacius	Ἀκακ[ίου]	2116
Acholia	Ἀχολίας	2192
Acilius Cleobulus	Acilius Cleobu[lus]	1270
Acrisius	Ἀκρισίου	1085
Adius	Ἀδίου	992
Aelianus	Ἀιλιανός	842.24
Aelius	Ἀἴλι[ιος]	978
	Aelio	1387
- Aelius Iulianus	Aelio Iulian[o]	1279
Aemiliana		→ Valeria
Aemilianus	ΣΙΜΙΛ=ΑΙΜΙΛ?=Αἰμιλ[ιανός]?	842.20a
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Africanus	Ἀφρειακνός	421b; → Furius; Arbaeus
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Agapetus	Ἀγαπητοῦ	963
Agas	Ἀγάς(?)	2391
Agathe	אַתְּה	413
Agathes	Ἀγάθες	2166
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Aggus	Ἀγγου	2469
Agias	Ἀγίου	1785
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Aḡa	אַחאַ	67; 78
	Ἀα	2182
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Aianus	Αἰανός	842.13
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Alaphtha	Ἀλαφθα	2183
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Aleksa		→ Alexander

Alexa	Ἀλέξας	517a
Alexander	Ἀλέξανδρος	324a-b; → Novius
	Ἀλέξαν[δρος]	842.25
	Ἀλεξάνδρου	232a-b; 324c; 408b-c; 894; 895; 2191; 2368(?); 2433; 2470; 2530; 2547; 2581a; → Flavius; (Iulius Alexander)
	Ἀλεξά[νδρ]ου	1446
	Ἀλε(ξάνδρου)	408a
	Ἀλε[--]	324b
	סורדנסכלא	324c
	סורדנסכל[לא]	635
- Aleksa	אסכלא	344; 457; 468; 1088
Allato	Ἀλλατο	210
C. Allius Iustus	G(aius) Allius Iustus	1353
Aloth	Ἀλωθ	479
Alpheius	Ἀλφείου	2539
	Ἀλφει(ός?)	2611b
- Alphius	Ἀλφίου	2581a
Alypis	Ἀλύπις	1515
Alypius	Ἀλυπίω	1264
Alypus	Ἀλύπου	2140
Amachius	Ἀμαχίου	2232
Amantius	Ἀμαντίου	979
Amatius	Amati	755
Amb[--]	Αμβ[--]	1445
Ambomare		→ Abbomares
Ambros	Ἀμβρος	1388
Amia	Ἀμία	361
- Ammia	Ἀμμία	410b
	אממא	410a
Amibellus	Ἀμιβέλλ'ο'<υ>	1450
Amme	Ἀμμη	2184
Ammia		→ Amia
Ammonius	Ἀμμώνιος	2474
Amos	Ἄμος	923c; 980
	Ἀμουτος	1727
Amunis	Ἀμοῦνιν	2513
Ampelius	Ἀμπελίω	1336; 1339
Amram	אמראם	106; 108; 981
An[--]	Αη[--]	1379
	Ἀη[--]	1448
Ana[--]	Ἀνα[--]	2241
Anamus	Ἀναμος	949
	Ἀναμον	842.42
Ananas		→ Ḥanan
Anania		→ Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya
Ananias		→ Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya
Anastasi[--]	Ἀνασ[τασι--]	1529

Anastasia	Ἀναστασία	835; 2479
	[A]ναστασία	2574
	Ἀναστασίας	835; 1476; 2480
	Ἀναστ(ασίας)	899
	[Ἀναστ]ασίας	1449
	Ἀναστασίαν	2481
	ἡ'ϞϞϞϞ	791
- Anastasia	Ἀνεστασία	2477
Anastasis		→ Anastasius
Anastasius	Ἀναστασίου	1059a; 1450; 2327a; 2373(?)
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	[A]ναστασίου	1060
	Ἀναστ(ασίου)	899
	Ἀν(αστασίου)	1059b
	Ἀναστασίῳ	879
	only translation	2533
- Anastasis	[Ἀν]αστάσι<ο>ς	1005
Anatolia	Ἀνατολία	875
Anatolius	Ἀνατολίου	2217
	[?Ἀνα]τολίου	1452
Anaxicles	Ἀναξικλῆς	2172
Andreas	Ἀνδρέο[υ]	931
	Ἀ[ν]δρέου	1331
	Ἀνδροῦς	208; 269b
Anemus	Ἀνεμ<ο>υ	550
Anestasia		→ Anastasia
Ani	Ἰἶ	270
Anianus	Ἀνιανόν	842.52
	Ἀνιανοῦ	1453
Anin		→ Ḥanan
Aninas		→ Ḥananiah
Anis		→ Ḥananiah
Anna	Ἀννα	2185
Annius	Ἀννίου	581
Anno[--]	Anno[--]	1379
Antas	Ἀντας	656
Anthusa	Ἀνθοῦσα	2341
	Ἀνθούση	2155
Antigona	Ἀντιγόνα	469
	Ἀ<ν>τιγόνα	513
Antinous	[?Anti]noo	1415
Antiochus	Ἀντίοχος	938
Antipas	[A]ντίπας	737
Antipater	Ἀντίπατρο[ς]	1289
Antiquus		→ Gargilius
Antoninus	Ἀντωνίνου	2098
	[Ἀν]τ[ω]νίνου	1784
	[Ἀντ]ωνίν[ου]	1049
	Ἀντωνίνε	1454

Antonius	Ἀντονίου	795
	Ἀντωνίου	2314; 2315
	Ἀντωνί[ο]υ	1087
	[Ἀ]ντω[νίου]	842.53
- C. Antonius	G(ai) Antoni	755
- L. Antonius	L(ucius/o) An[tonius/o?]	1310
- L. Antonius		
Epaphroditus	L(ucio) Anton[io] Epaphro[dito]	1389a
	[Λουκίῳ Ἀντωνίῳ Ἐπαφρ]ωδείτῳ	1389b
- Antonius Nicanor	Ἀντ(ωνίου) Νικάν(ωρος)(?)	2383
Apellaius	Ἀπελλαίου	1124
Apo(--)	Απο(--)	2604
Apollodorus	Ἀπολλοδώρῳ	2537
Apollodotus	Ἀπολλοδό[του]	2338
	[Ἀπολ]λοδότ[του]	2337
Apollogena	ἈΠΛΛΓΝΑ	597
Apollonides	Ἀπολλωνείδου	1015
Apollonius	Ἀπολλών[ιος]	→ Rusticius
	Ἀπολλωνίου	2594a; 2627; 2634; → Aurelius
	Ἀπολλω(νίου)	2633
	Ἀπολ(λωνίου)	2630b
	Ἀπ[ο]λ(λωνίου)	2630a
	Ἀπολ(λώνιος?)	2594b
Aponius	[A]poni	761
Apphias	Ἀπφιάς	456a
	ἈΠΦΙΑ	456b
Apphus	[Ἀ]πφου	1111
Arabianus	Ἀραβιανοῦ	2537
Arbaeus Africanus	Arbaeus Africanus	1213
Arcadius	Ἀρκαδίῳ	1455
Archagatha	Ἀρχαγάθας	2482
Areobindus	Ἀρεοβί[νδου]	978
Ares	Ἄρης	1
Aretes	Ἀ[ρή]της	1165.1a
Ari[--]	Αρι[--]	585b
	[--]ἌΡΙΑ	698
Arion	ἈΡΙΩΝ	1044
Aristarchus	Ἀρι[σ]τάρχ[ου]	2298
Aristobule	Ἀριστοβούλης	418
- Arristobula	Ἀρριστοβόλα	325b
	Ἀρριστοβού[λα]	325a
Aristobulus	Ἀριστοβούλου	387
Ariston	Ἀρίστων	304
	Ἀρίστον	2262
	Ἀρίστωνος	309a; 2162a
	Ἀρίστων(ος)	308a
	Ἀρί<σ>των(ος)	308b
	Ἀρίστωνα	2570
	ἈΡΙΣΤΡΑ	304; 309a

	ארסטן	308a
	[ן]ארסטן	309b
- Ariston A[--]	Ἀρίστων A[--]	2570
Aristus	Ἀρίστου	1733
Arrianus	Ἀρριανο[ϋ]	2629
Arristobula		→ Aristobule
Arsaces	Ἀρσάκου	1085
Artaka	ארתכא	225
Artawan	Արտաւաւայ	925
Artem(--)	Ἄρτεμ(--)	2612b
Artemidorus	Artemidor(i)	740
Artemon	Ἀρτέμωνος	20
	Ἀρτέμονος	2143b
Asclepius	Ἀσκληπίου	842.1
	Ἀσκληπιν	1680
	Ἀσκλη[ῆ]πιν	1680
	Ἀσκληπ[ι]ν	1680
Asem	[A]σεμ	842.55
Ashini	אשיני	69
Asiaticus	Ἀσιατικός	842.14; 842.18; 842.22
Asiya	השיע	85
Aslas(?)	ΑΣΛΑ	2264
Aste	Ἄσση	1456
Asterius	Ἀστερίου	2192; 2244
	Ἀσ[τ]ερίου	2466
Asubus	Ἀσουβος	120a
Asus	Ἀσους	120b-c
At(--)	Ἄτ(--)	2257
Athamas	Ἀθάμα	676; 677; 678
Athanasia	Ἀθανασία	2478
Athanasius	Ἀθανάσι[ς]	2279
Athenagoras	Ἀθηνα[γόρου]	456a
	Athenag[ora]	720
	שרגמא	456b
Ato[--]	Ἀτο[--]	1729
Att[--]	Ἄττ[--ιον]	2120
Attianus	Ἀττιανο[ϋ]	1361
Au[--]	Au[--]	1408
Aufidius Priscus	Aufid(ius) Priscus	1268; 1271; 1272
Auge	Αὔγης	300
	A[ϋ]γη	1131
Augurinus	Auguri(ni)	756
Aurel(--)	Aurel(--)	1442
Aurelius	Αὐρήλιο[ς]	842.48
- C. Aurelius	G(aius) Aure[lius]	1232
- Aurelius Apollonius	Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀπολλωνίου	2615
- Aurelius Bellicus	Αὐρ(ηλίου) Βελλικου	2628a-b
- Aurelius Clemens	[Aure]l(ius) Cleme(n)s	1286
- Aurelius Dionysius	Αὐρ(ηλίου) Διον(υσίου)	2630a-b

- M. Aurelius E[--]	M. Αὐρ. Ε[--]	2537
- Aurelius Eu[.]thus	Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐ[.]θου	2631
- Aurelius Hermogenes	Αὐρ(ήλιου) Ἑρμογένην	1457
- M. Aurelius Herodes	Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἡρώδου	2643
- Aurelius Iustinus	Aur(elius) Iustinus	1287
- M. Aurelius Macedon	Μᾶρ. Αὐρή. Μακεδών	2573
- Aurelius Maron	Αὐ[ρ(ήλιον) Μ]άρωνα	1288
- Aurelius Maximianus	Aur(elius) Maximianus	2565
- Aurelius Theophilus	Aurel(io) Theophilo	1278
C. Aurunculeius	G(aius) Aurunculeius	1302
Av[--]	Av[--]	1408
Avira	אִירָא	519
Avshalom		→ Avshalom
Avshalom	אבשלום	44
- Avshalom	אבישלום	347
Awai	עִוִי	180
Axia	Ἀξίας	1451
Azariya	עֲזַרְיָה	191; 403a; 693
- Azariyas	Ἀζαρίας	189
Ba[--]	Ba[--]	808
Baanes	Ba(ά)νου	1068b
Babaeis	Βαβαιν	2186
Babas	Βαβᾶς	1123
Babosa	Βαβoσα	1125
Bai[--]	Bai[--]	733
M. Bai[--]	M(arco) Bai[--io]	732
Baïsius	Βαισιήου	1460
Bal[--]	Bal[--]	733
Balbus		→ Popillius
Balys	Βάλυος	2499
	B[άλυος]	2497
Balzama	בלזמא	520
Ban[--]	Ban[--]	1484
Banus	Βάνου	1068b
Barabbas	Βαραβ(βας)	842.31
	Βαραβ(σα)	842.31
Barachon	Βαράχων	2445
Barachus	Βαράχου	1461
Barbabi (family)	Βαρβαβι	2224
Barbarus	[B]άρβαρος	1130
Bardas	Βάρδας	1756
Bar Giora	בר גִּיּוֹרָא	6
	בר גִּירָא	521
Bar Kathros	בר קתֶרס	674
Barnile	Βαρνιλε	2175
Barochis		→ Baruch
Baruch		
- Barochis	Βαρώχης	976

- Baruchius	Βαρουχίου	2234
Bar Qamṣa	בר קמצא	522
Bas(--)	Βασ(--)	2607
Bas[--]	Βασ[--]	1459
Basilo	Βασίλου	808
Bassus	Βάσσος	769; → Lucilius
	Βάσσου	856
Bd'	בדא	2293 col. I
'bd'	עבדא	2293 col. I + col. II
'bdb'l	עבדבעל	2514
'bd'bst	עבדאבסת	2293 col. I
Bdl	בדל	2139
'bdmlk	עבדמלך	2293 col. I
'bd'mn	עבדאשמן	2293 col. I
'bdmr'n	עבדמראן	2567
'bd's	עבדאס	2293 col. I + col. III
'bd'šmn	עבדאשמן	2293 col. I-II
'bdšpn	עבדצפן	2293 col. I
'bd'sr	עבדאסר	2293 col. III
'bdtwyn	עבדתוין	2293 col. I
'bdy	עבדי	2293 col. III
'bdyšn	[i]עדיצן	2293 col. II
Beithynice	Βειθυνική	944
Bellicus	Βελλικό[υ]	2629; → Aurelius
Bena(-?)	Βενα(-?)	2243
Benaya	בנעיה	543
Beniamin	Βενιαμήν	523
	Βινιαμίν	419
	[Βεν]ιαμίν	1497
- Beniamis	Βενιαμής	2187
- Benniamin	Βεννιαμίν	2193
Bernice	Βερνίκη	399a
	Βερνίκης	399b
	Βερνίκι	1176
	בנקי	399b
Beruthus	Βεροῦθος	305b
- Berutus	Βεροῦτος	293b
Beryllus	Βηρύλλος	1140
Besas	Βησας	2188
Bizzus	Βιζζου	2189; 2190
B'lr'y	בעלרעי	2548
B'lsḥ	בעלצלח	2171; 2293 col. I
B'lsr/d	בעלצר/ד	2294
B'lytn	בעליתן	2293 col. I
Bm'	במא	2293 col. I
Boethus		→ Flavius
Bonosus	Bonosu	1761
	Βονόσου	1761
Borceus	Βορκέου	592

Bothon	בוטון	76a-b
Branaius	Βραναίου	2643
Brasidia	Βρασιδία	1462
Brolion	Βρολιωνος	1069b
By	ביע	1120
C[--] Marcella	C[--] Marcellae	740
Q. Caecilius	K. Καικίλλιος	1135
Caesarius	Κεσαρίου	932
Caiaphas	כאיפס	461a; → Qafa
	כאיפס	461a
Cal(--)	Καλ(--)	2604b
Calistratus	Καλιστράτου	930
Calla	Καλλα	577
Callinicus	Καλλινίκου	816
Callistus		→ Flavius
Callit[--]	Κα[λ]λιτ[--]	2344
Callon	Καλλων	366a
	Καλλωνος	372
	Καλ(λ)ωνος	372
	קלון	367a-b; 368a-b; 369a; 370; 371b-c
Calopodius	Καλοποδίου	2314
- Calapodius	Καλαποδίου	2315
Calpurnianus		→ Valerius
Calpurnius		
- C. Calpurnius	G(aio) Cal(purnio)	1382d+e
	G(aio) C[al(purnio)]	1383c+d
- Calpurnius Quintianus	[Calp]urnio Quin[tian]o	1283
Calycion	Καλύ[κιο]ν	842.47
Candidus	Κάνδιδος	738
Caninius	Canin(i)	757
Canlis[--]	Κανλιν[--]	2344
Carbus	Καρβους	512b
Carpia	Καρπία	104
Carpus	Κάρπου	1495
Carzala	Καρζαλα	589
Casius	Κασίου	992
Casperius	Caspe(ri)	757
Cassa	Κασσα	360a
Cassander	Κάσσαν(δρος)	2599b; 2603b
Castus	Κάστου	218
Catulla		→ Cotolla
Cerdonas	Κέρδωνα	2645
Cericus	Κηρῖκοῦ	977
- Cerycus	Κηρυκοῦ	1757
Chairomenes	Χερομένην	1682
Charate	Χαρατῆ	909
Chares	Χάρητος	290
Charmadas	Χαρμάδα	2482

Chionion	Χιονίου	842.1
Cholbidias	Χολβιδία	2231
Chresimus	Χρήσιμος	200
Chreste	Χρησ[τή]	842.23; → Licinia
Chrestus	Χρησ[τός]	842.23
Chrys[--]	Χρυ[σ--]	982
Chrysus	Χρυσῷ	1179
Cilo	Cilo[ni/e]	1391
Clau[--]	Clau[dius/anus]	781a
Claudia Ionice	Cl(audia) Ionice	734
Claudius		
- Ti. Claudius	Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου [υ --]	2123
- Ti. Claudius Fatalis	Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Fatalis	734
- Ti. Claudius G[--]	Ti(berio) Cl(audio) G[--]	1233
- Ti. Claudius Italicus	Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Italico	1350
- Claudius Potens	Cl(audi) Potentis	1351
- Claudius Protianus	Cl(audius) Protianus	1351
- Claudius Severus	Cl(audius) Severus	1275
Clemens		→ Aurelius; Flavius; Mucius
Cleobulus		→ Acilius
Cleodoxa	Κλεοδόξα	2482
Cleontius	Κλεοντήου	993
Cleopatra	Κλεοπάτρα	558
Cleopatrus	Κλευπά<τ>ρους	594a
Clodius	Κλώδι(ο)ς	559
- Clodius Passenianus	Clod(ius) Passenianus	1267
- C. Clodius Rom[--]	G(aius) Clodius Rom[anus?]	1238
L. Co[--]	Λ(ούκι--) Κο[--]	2124
Com[--]	Κομ[--]	2321
Comazon	Κωμάζοντος	2271
C. Comisius Memor	G(ai) Comisi(i) Memoris	2342
	Γαίου Κομισίου [Μέμορις]	2342
Commodus		→ Iulius
Constantinus	Κωνσταντίνου	1762; → Flavius
Cor[--]	Κορ[--]	1614
Coredius		→ Gargilius
Cornelia	Κορν<η>λίας	1464
Cornelius		
- Cornelius Quintianus	Cornel[[ius Quintianus]]	1269
- Sex. Cornelius Taurinus	Sex(ti) Corneli Taurini	1269
Cosmas	Κοσμά	1010; 1123; 2452
	Κο[σ]μά	1073
Cosmia	Κο[σμί]ας	994
Cosmiane	Κοσμιάνη	2491
L. Cossonius Gallus etc.	[L(ucio) Coss]onio [Gallo Vecil]lio Cris[p]ino Ma[nsuanio Marc]ellino Numi[sio Sabino]	1227
Cotolla	Κοτολλα	428
Crispinus		→ Cossonius

Crocus	Κρόκος	125
	קרקס	249
Crunus	Κρούνου	1466
Cumma		→ Cyriacus
Cunorus	קנרס	84a; 560
Cy[--]	Κυ[--]	1532
Cyr(--)	Κύρ(ος/α)	2321
Cyra	Κύρας	2227
	קירא	2174; 2247
- Cyra Domna	Κύρα Δόμνα	2321
Cyria	Κυρία	296; 302
	קיריא	47
Cyriaca	[Κυ]ριακ[ή]	995
Cyriacus	Κυριακοῦ	856
	Κυ[ρι]ακοῦ	2450
	Κυ[ριά]κου	1496
- Cyriacus Cumma	Κυριάκου Κοῦμμα	1534
Cyricus	Κυρικοῦ	855
	Κυρικῶ	2575
Cyrile	Κυρίλη	296
Cyrilla	Κυρίλλας	979; 1511
Cyrillus	Κύριλλος	915
	Κυρίλλου	1512; 2191; 2242
Cyrthas	Κυρθας	250
Cyrus	Κύρ[ος]	2321
	Κύρου	59; 2098
- Cyrus Mari	[Κύ]ρ(ος) Μάρι	2321
- Cyrus Megalus (Megas?)	Κύρω Μεγάλου	2291
Damianus	Δαμιανοῦ	1010
Damon	Δάμωνος	330
Daniel	דניאל	95
	Δανιήλος	1079b
	Δανιήλ	1079c
	Δανιήλου	2201
Daphnin	Δάφνιν	842.41
Dassa(a)		→ Yaakov
David	דוד	45
De[--]	ΔΗ[--]	2301
Deipheus	Δειφεος	88
Dem(--)	Δημ(--)	2608b
Demarchia	Δημαρχίας	202
	Δημαρχ<ία>ς	200
Demetria	Δημητρία	1720
Demetrianus		→ Flavius
Demetrius	Δημητρίου	1728a; 2643
	Δημ[ητρί]ου	1728a
Di[--]	ΔΙ[--]	2310, 2319

Diaphorius	Διαφόρι[ος]	948
Dicaeus	Δικαίου	2438
Digunthas	Διγουνθάν	2483
Dimus	Δίμου	305a-b
Dio(--)	Διο(--)	2605b
Diogenes	Διογένης	181a-b
Diogenianus	Διογενιανόν	842.66
Dionysis	Δειονύσει	1343
Dionysius	Διονυσίου	2580; 2621; → Aurelius
	Δ[ιο]νυσίου	2615
	Διο(νυσίου)	771a
	Δι(ονυσίου)	771b
Diophantes	Διοφάντου	2617a; 2627
Diphi	דיפי	88
Dolens	Dole[ns]	735
Domesticus	Δομεστίκου	2474
Dometianus		→ Domitianus
Dometius		→ Domitius
Domitia Maximilla	Domitia Maximilla	1434
Domitianus	Domit[ianus/o]	1392
- Domitianus	Δομετ[ι]ανός	2471
Domitilla	Δομετίλ(λ)α	924
Domitius	Domit[ius/o]	1392
	[Δομι]τίου	1024
- Dometius	Δομετίου	825
- C. Domitius Iulius	G(aius) Dom(itius) Iul(ius)	
Honoratus	Honoratus	721
Domna		→ Cyra
Domninus	Δομνῖνος	842.45
	Δομνίνου	816
	Δομνῖνο<v>	1679
Domnis	Δόμνι	2343
Domnus	Δό[μ]νος	842.56
Doras	Δωρᾶτος	294
	Δω(ρᾶτος)	300
	דורא	495
Dorothea	Δωροθέας	983
	Δ'ω'ρο[θέας]	872
	Δ[ωρο]θέας	1465
Dorotheus	Δωροθέου	2443
	Δ'ω'ρο[θέου]	872
	[Δ]ωροθέου	1558
Dosa	Δωσᾶ	1517
Dositheus	Δωσιθέου	332a
	דוסתא	109; 375a-b; 376; 496
	דסתא	525
Dosus	Δωσοῦς	497b+d1
	[Δω]σοῦς	497c+d2
Dothe	Δωθη	→ Iaco

Drosus	Δρόσου	124
Dulis	Δουλ[ίς]	984
Eburius Valentinus	Eburi[us] [V]alentinus	1393
Eglon	ἔγλγ	541
	Ἐγλώνος	2313
Eias	Εἰάς	2198
Eire(--)	Εἶρη(--)	2606b
Eiren(--)	Εἶρην(--)	2611b
Eirenaius	Εἰρηναίου	2484
Eirete	Εἰρήτη	985
Eisa	Εἰσᾶ	→ Isas
Eisas	Εἰσᾶς	→ Isas
Eisakius		→ Yizhak
Eisak		→ Yizhak
Eisidote	Εἰσιδότη	2162a
Eision	Εἰσιώ[ν]ος	2621
Eisisa	Εἰσίσα	1548
Eizikia		→ Hezqiya
El[--]	ἘΛ[--]	2248
Elasa	השלס	225; 514a
	השלס(ס)	514b
Elazar	השלס	19a-b; 92; 93; 100; 101; 111; 137; 186; 207; 242a; 244a; 334; 340; 348a; 377a; 377b; 378a-b; 420a-b; 485; 544; 2198
	השלס	335
	שלס	55
	השלס[.]	251
- Elazarus	Ἐλαζάρου	199
- Eleazarus	Ἐλεαζάρου	348b; 566
	Ἐλε(α)ζάρ(ου)	355b
- Eliezer	הליזר	348a
	Ἐλιέζρος	348b
- Helazar	השלס	335
- Lazar	השלס	251; 2202
	השלס<ל>	2214
- Lazarus	Λάζαρ[ος]	2468
	Λαζάρου	1485; 2198; 2202; 2215; 2218
	Λάζαρον	842.1
- Leazarus	Λεάζαρος	81
- Liezer	הליזר	342; 502
Eleutherius	Ἐλευθερίου	1069a
Elhanan	הנחנ[.]	421a
Elias	Ἐλίας	1021
	Ἡλίας	1165.3b; 2495
	[Ἡλί]ας	1165.3a
	Ἐλέου	1504
	Ἡλία	1466

Eliezer		→ Elazar
Elisabe	Ἑλισάβη	349
- Elisha	עִשָּׂא	62
- Elisheva	עֲשִׂיבָא	349; 535
Elisha, Elisheva		→ Elisabe
Elkana	Ἑλκανα	2195
Elpidius	Ἑλπίδιου	841; 1779
	Ἑλπίδ[ι]ου	2645
	Ἑλπίδιω	2119
Emmanuel	[Ἑμμανουή]λ	842.55
Entimus	Ἐντ[ι]μου--]	1473
Entolia	Ἐντολί[ας]	2246
Entolius	Ἐντ[όλιος]	2466
	Ἐντολίου	1520
	Ἐντ[ολίου]	2466
	Ἐντουλίου	1466; → Flavius
Epanacia	Ἑπανακία	1680
Epaphroditus	[Ερ]aphroditus	1433; → Antonius
Epicerus	Ἐπίκηρος	1347
Epictetus	Ἐπίκτητος	432b
Epimachus	Ἐπιμάχου	2481
Erenius	Ἐρενίου	2315
Eros	Ἐρωτος	294
Erotarein	Ἐρωτάρειν	322a-b
Erotarion	Ἐρωτ[τ]αρίου	114
Erotas	Ἐρωτᾶς	292; 293a
Eskias	Ἑσκίας	389
Esses	Ἑσσης	2230
Eu[--]	Εὐ[--]	1468; 1469
Euch[--]	Εὐχ[--]	1532
Eudoxius	[Εὐδο]ξίου	1050
Euelpi[--]	Εὐελπιο[--]	1470
Euelpidius		→ Flavius
Eug[--]	Εὐγ[--]	1337
Eugenia	Εὐγένια	59
Eugenius	Εὐγενίου	841
	Εὐγένιε	796
Euhodus	Ἐυόδου	582
Eulogius	Εὐλογίου	1763
Eunicus	Εὐνίκου	2622
Euphemia	Εὐφημία	986
- Euphimia	Εὐφιμ[ι]α	1346
Euphemus	Εὐφήμου	2633
Euphrasi[--]	[Ε]ὐφρασι[--]	1471
Euphratas	Εὐφρατᾶ	841
Euphronius	Εὐφρόνι(ος)	2423
	Εὐφρόνι(ο)ν	842.61
Euposia	Εὐποσία	1720
Euptolemus	Εὐτολεμᾶ	407a-b

Eusebius	Εὐσέβι(ο)ς	842.12
	Εὐσεβίου	841, 931; 1512; 2176; 2177; → Flavius
	Εὐσ[ε]βίου	1758
	Εὐσεβίω	1342
	Εὐσέβι[ον]	1264
Eustat ^c		→ Ewstat ^c
Eustathius	Εὐσταθίου	1472
	Εὐστ᾽ἄθι<ο>ν	842.58
Eutha(--)	Εὐθα(--)	2622
Eutheries	Εὐθήρι	950
Eu[.]thus		→ Aurelius
Euthymius	Εὐθυμίου	883
Eutochnia	Εὐτοχνία	59
Eutocius	Εὐτοκίω	1346
Eutrapelus	Εὐτραπέλου	515
Eutropia	Εὐτροπίας	1455
Eutyche[--]	[᾽Ε]υτυχ[--]	1500
Eutyches	Εὐτύχης	2577
Eutycheis	Εὐτύχης	1347
Eutycheus	[Eut]ychu[s]	1394
Ewstat ^c	ܐܘܨܬܐܬܐ	817
Ezekias, Ezekius, Ezikias		→ Ḥezqīya
Ezinobia	᾽Εζινωβίας	1473
Ezra	עזרא	266a;
	᾽Εζρας	266b;
Fadilla	Φάδιλλα	1680
Fatalis		→ Claudius
Faustina	Φαυστίνας	1506
Felicia	Φηλίικλα	1444
Felix		→ Magnus
Filol[--]	[Φ]ιλολ[--]	2159
Flavia	Φλαία	2446
Flavianus	Flavian(us)	1235
	Φλαβιανόν	842.67
Flavius	Fl(avius)	1297
	Φλ(αουίου)	1330
- M. Flavius Agrippa	M(arcum) Fl(avium) Agrippam	2095
- Flavius Boethus	Fl(avi) Boethi	1229
- T. Flavius Callistus	T(ito) Flavio Callisto	1302
- T. Flavius Clemens	T(itus) Flavius Clemens	740
- Flavius Demetrianus	Fl(avio) Demetrianos	740
- Flavius Entolius	Φλ(αουίου) Ἐντολίου	1263
- Flavius Euelpidius	Φλ(αουίου) Εὐελπιδίου	1262
- Flavius Eusebius	Φλ(άουιος) Εὐσέβης	987
- Flavius Florentius	Φλ(αουίου) Φλωρεντίου	1259
- T. Flavius Hieronymus	T(ίτε) Φλ(αουίε) Ἱερώνυμε	1474
- T. Flavius Maximus	T(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον) Μάξιμον	1266

- Flavius Procopius	Φλ(αυίου) Προκοπίου	
Constantius Severus	Κωνσταντίου Σευήρου	
Alexander	Ἀλεξάνδρου	1261
- Flavius Pusaеus	Φλ(αυίου) Πουσέου	1197
- M. Flavius S[--]	M(arcus) Fl(avius) S[--]	1231
- Flavius Stephanus	Φλ(αβίου) Στεφάνου	1730a-b; 1731
- Flavius Strategius	Φλ(άουιος) Στρατήγιος	1263
Flo[--]	Flo[--]	732
Florentinus		→ Flavius
Florianus	Φλωριανός	941
Florus	Florus	842.51
Fortunata	Fortunatae	1434
Frontina	Φροντίνας	1506
Fronto(?)	Φρόντονος(?)	2376
Fuficius	[F]uficius	739
Furia Africana	Φο<υ>λεία Ἀφρεικανά	423
	Φουλεία Ἀφρεικανά	424
Furinius	Φουρινίου	582
Furius		
- Furius Africanus	Ἀφρεικανός Φούλειος	416
- C. Furius Timesitheus	G(aio) Furio Timesitheo	1287
Gabalas	Γαβαλου	2594
Gabriel	Γαβρ[ιήλ]	1447
	Γαβρ[ιήλου]	1447
Gades	Γάδη	1481
Gaianus	Γαιαν[ός]	842.38
	Γαιανός[ς]	923a
	Γαιανοῦ	1569
Gaion	Γαίωνος	498a-b
Gaius	Γαίου	20
- Gaius Nanus	𐌆𐌶𐌵 𐌵𐌶𐌺	60
Galene	Γαλήνη	527
Galgul	𐌆𐌶𐌵	620col.b
Gallus	Γάλλου	2233; → Cossonius
Gamla	𐌆𐌶𐌵	369a-b
Gaocosi(us?)	Γαοκοσι(ου?)	1727
M. Gargilius Antiquus	M(ἄρκον) [Πάκκιον] ... Σιλουανόν	
	Κ(οίντον) Κορήδιον Γάλλον	
	Γαργίλιον Ἀντεΐχουον	2122
Gelasius	Γελάσι[ος]	940
	Γελασίου	946
Genethlius	Γενεθλίου	1029
Georgia	Γεωργία	878
	Γηοργίας	1460
	Γεωργία(?)	2370
Georgius	Γεώργιος	824; 2494
	Γειωργίου	2143a

	Γεωργίου	825, 880, 962; 1476; 1755; 2475; 2536
	Γεωργί[ο]υ	2146
	Γεωρ[γ]ίου	1477
	Γε[ω]ργίου	846
	[Γεορ]γίου	1475
Germanus	Γερμ[ανός]	842.5
Gerontius	Γερόντιος	2485
Giora		→ Bar Giora
Glaucus	Glauc[i]	740
	Glaucō	740
Glegoria		→ Gregoria
Glyceria	Glyceriae	842.10
Glycon	Γλύκων	1457
Gorgonius	Γορ[γω]ν[ίου]	919
Gorion	[Γω]ρίων(ος)	241
Gozmi(--)	Γωζμι(--)	2259a
Graptus		→ Hetereius
Grata		→ Iulia
Greda	גרידא	73
Gregoria	Γληγορίας	2210
Gregorius	Γρηγορίου	1070; 1506
	Γρηγω[ρί]ου	1590
	[Γρ]ηγορί[ο]υ	1855
Grigor	Գրիգոր	817B
Gr'mn	גרמנ	2293 col. I
Ḥaggai	חגי	454a-c
Ḥalfon	חלפון	2174
Ḥaliba	חליבא	224
Ḥalwan	חלון	530
Ḥanan	חנן	288; 379
	חננ	2164
	חננ[--]	624
- Ananas	Ἀνάνας	518
- Anin	Ανιν	411a
Ḥanana	חננא	79a
	חננה	1019a-b
Ḥananiah, Ḥananiya	חנניה	68; 70; 72; 86; 90; 94; 102a-b; 106; 142b; 187a-e; 192a-b; 246a-b; 252; 277; 446a-; 453a; 528a-b+d; 572a- b; 610; 2197, 2464
	חנניא	501
	חנניה	161
	חננ[--]	624
- Anania	Ἀνανία	2464
- Ananias	Ἀνανίας	518; 2226
	Ἀναν[ί]α	2466
	Ἀναν[ί]ας	2466

- Aninas	Ἀνίνας	99a+c
	Ἀναίνας	99b
- Anis	Ανις	417
Ḥanin	חנין	85; 411b
Ḥaniya	חניה	137
Ḥannah	חנה	79b; 299
Haphiṣeṣ	[חפיצפ]	1145a-b
Harpagius	Ἀρπαγι(ο)ς	936
Hat(--)	Ἄτ(--)	2257
Ḥbby	חבבי	439
Hedea	Ἡδήα	243
Heilasius	Εἰλασίου	2185
Ḥekia		→ Ḥezqiya
Hela[--]	Ἡλα[--]	1733
Helazar		→ Elazar
Heleinus	Ἡλείνου	1446
Helena	הלנא	303
Helicias	Ἡλικίου	2321
Helius	Ἡλίου	1262
Heortasius	Ἡορ[τασί]ου	1479
Heras	Ἡρᾶτος	529
Herma	Ἡρμα	1725a+b
Hermione	Ἡρμιόνης	294
Hermogenes		→ Aurelius
Herodes	Ἡρώδου	2617a; → Aurelius
Herus	Ἡροῦτος	301
Hesiod	Ἡσιόδ[ου]	2091
Hesses	Ἡσσης	2230
Hesychia	Ἡσ[υχία]	1005
Hesychius	Ἡσυχίου	2242
	Ἡσυχίω	898b
Hetereius		
- Hetereius Graptus	Hetereio Grapto	741
- Hetereius Rufus	Hetereius Rufus	741
Ḥezir	חזיר	137; 138
	[חזיר]	1145a
Ḥezkil	חזקיל	50
Ḥezqiya	חזקיה	121; 524
	חזקיא	530
- Eizikia	Εἰζικία	2194
- Ezekias	Ἐζεχίας	422
	Ἐζεχία	1543
- Ezekios	Ἐζεχίου	356b; 493
- Ezikias	Ἐζικίαν	2186
	Ἡζικία	2196
- Ḥekia	חקיה	188
- Yeḥekiya	יחקיה	356a; 493b
- Yeḥezkiya	יחזקיה	630
Hgr	הגר	2293 col. III

Ḥidka	ḥṣṭḥ	282
Hie(--)	ḥe(--)	2617b
Hierissa	ḥerīssa	1480
Hieronymus		→ Flavius
Hilarion	ḥlārīon	2444
	ḥlārīonos	2459; 2531
	ḥlārīō	2560
Hilarius	ḥlārīou	921
Hillel	ḥll	45
Hiracus	ḥrāḥu	350
Ḥiyya	ḥyy	2198
Ḥn[--]	+++ḥn	2288
Ḥon	ḥon	504
Ḥoniya	ḥoni	277
	ḥni	457
Honoratus		→ Domitius
Horatianus	Hora[tiano]	1435
Horcanus	ḥorkanós	236
Horea	ḥorḥa	326a-b
Hosaias		→ Hoshea
Hoshea	ḥoṣḥa	139; 443
- Hosaias	ḥosaías	588
Huanas(?)	ḥuanados	2183
Hypati[.]us	ḥpatí[.]ou	1735
Hypatius	ḥpát[īos]	988
Hyperechi[--]	[ḥpe]reḥí[--]	1645
Hyph(--)	ḥph(--)	2593b
Iacchus	ḥák[ḥou]	995
Iaco	ḥakw	2210; 2212; 2237; 2464
- Eiaco	ḥiakō	2192
- Iaco Dothe	ḥákω Δωθη	1490
Iaco[--]	ḥako[--]	1482
	ḥAKO[--]	2529
Iacob, Iacobus		→ Yaakov
Iacon	ḥákwnos	1485
	ḥákwna	1484; 1555
Iacus	ḥáku	1486
Iaeiros	ḥáeios	164; 400a-b
	ḥaírou	401b
	ḥaiepe	452b
Iamus	ḥámu	1701
Ianuarius	ḥano[ṣá]ri<o>ς	842.26
Iar[--]	ḥar[--]	842.17
Iasion	ḥasíōn	388b-c
	ḥasíōnos	388a
	ḥasíōno(ς)	387
	ḥsīn	388b-c
Iason	ḥásōn	1721

	Ἰάσωνος	1721
	יִסִי	103; 392
	יִסִי	643; 695; 700
Iesua		→ Yeshua
Iesus		→ Yeshua
Ima	אמא	2214
	אמא	501; 1019a-b
Imrachius	[--]PAXIO[--]	842.20b
A. Instuleius Tenax	Ἰνστολήιον Τένακα	2335
Io[--]	Ἰο[--]	2246
Ioana		→ Yehoḥana
Ioananus		→ Yehoḥanan
Ioanas, Ioanes, Ioannes		→ Yehoḥanan
Ioazarus	Ἰωαζάρου	158
Ioda		→ Yehuda
Iodius		→ Yehuda
Iohana		→ Yehoḥana
Iohannes		→ Yehoḥanan
Iona	Ἰωνα	494b
Ionas	Ἰονά	991
Ionatha, Ionathe		→ Yehonatan
Ionathes		→ Yehonatan
Ionice		→ Claudia
Iose		→ Yosef
Ioseph		→ Yosef
Iosepus		→ Yosef
Ioses		→ Yosef
Iphigenia	Εἰφιγενείας	105c
Iras	Εἰρᾶτος	291
Irene	[Εἰρή]νη	951
Isak		→ Yizḥak
Isakis		→ Yizḥak
Isakus		→ Yizḥak
Isas	Ἰσᾶ	2196; 2202; → Titius
- Eisa	Εἰσᾶ	2210
- Eisas	Εἰσᾶς	2193
Ishak		→ Yizḥak
Ishmael	יִשְׁמַעֵל	203; 557a-b
	יִשְׁמַעֵל[שׁ]	632
	יִשְׁמַעֵל	167; 526a
	יִשְׁמַעֵל<שׁ>	557c
	יִשְׁמַעֵל	248a-b; 273; 442
- Ismael	Εἰσμαηλ	526a
Isidora	Ἰσιδώρα	1531
Isidorus	Ἰσιδωρος	2121
	Ἰσιδώρου	1490; 1491
	Ἰσιδω[ρ--]	1856
	Εἰσιδώρου	934
	Ἰσηδώρου	2204

Ismael		→ Ishmael
Israel	יִשְׂרָאֵל	42
Isses	Ἰσση	2462
	Ἰσσητος	2460
	[Ἰσση]τος	2463
Isuus	Ἰσουος	2460
Italicus		→ Claudius
Itharus	Ἰθάρου	89
Iu[--]	Ἰου[--]	1659; 2321; 2488
Iuda		→ Yehuda
Iudan		→ Yehuda
Iudas		→ Yehuda
Iudin		→ Yehuda
Iudith	Ἰουδειθ	590b
Iulia	Ἰουλία	545c; 554a-b
- Iulia Grata	Iulia Grata	2268
- Iulia Procula	Iulia Procula	1248
- Iulia Sabina	Iuliae Sabinae	742
- Iulia Troxallis	Ἰουλία Τρωξαλλίς	555
Iuliane	Ἰουλιανή[ς]	1560
Iulianus	Ἰουλιανός	1121; → Aelius; Iulius
	Ἰουλιανοῦ	842.27b; 1486; 1782; 2372
- Iuli(a)nus	Ἰουλινοῦ	2210
Iulis	Ἰούλις	1139
Iulittus	ἸΟΥΛΙΤΤΕ	1265
Iulius		→ Domitius
- Iulius Agrippa	Iuli Agrippae	1248
- Ti. (Iulius) Alexander	Τιβερίου Ἀλεξάνδρου	2123
- C. Iulius Commodus		
Orfitianus	G(aio) Iulio Commodo Orfitiano	1228
- Iulius Iulianus	Iul(ius) Iulianus	1352
- Iulius Magnus	Iulius Magnu(s)	1129
- Ti. Iulius Mellon	Ti(beri) Iulii Mellontis	2268
- Ti. Iulius Miccio	Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον Μικκίωνα	2336
- C. Iulius Sabinus	[Gaius Iu]lius Sabinus	707
- Iulius Severus	[?]ulio Sever[o]	1311
- Iulius Tiberianus	Iul(ius) Tiberianus	1352
- C. Iulius Titianus	G(aio) Iuli[o] Titi[ano]	1231
M. Iunius Maximus	M(arco) Iunio Maximo	721
Iuncus	Ἰούνκου	1740
Iuni[--]	Iuni[--]	1389
Iuses		→ Yosef
Iusti[--]	Ἰουστι[--]	1489
Iustina	Ἰουστίνας	1488
Iustinianus(?)	Ἰουστινιανοῦ(?)	2373
Iustinus	Ἰουστίνου	1072; → Aurelius
Iustus	Ἰοῦστος	427a; → Allius
	Ἰούστου	2199; 2212
	[Ἰού]στου	2213

Iutus	Ἰούτου	1140
Iuvenalis	Iuvenali	2471
Iuvenalius	Ἰουβενά(λίου)	962
Izaton	Ιζάτω[ν]	440
Ḳojik	Քոյիկ	927
K → C		
Karsa	κάρσα	360b
Kathros		→ Bar Kathros
Kochadoi (family)	Κοχαδων	2180
Kochathioi (family)	Κοχχαθίων	2179
Kozon		→ Yizḥak
Laganion		
Lampadius	Λα<μ>παδίου	551
Lazar		896
Lazarus		→ Elazar
Leah	לֵאָה Λήα	→ Elazar 242a-b; 394 1497
Leazarus		→ Elazar
Leon	Λέοντος	1754
Leon[--]	Λεον[--]	1498
Leone	לֵוִי	2108
Leontacis	Λεοντάκις	2528a
Leontius	Λεοντίου Λεον[τίου] Λεοντήου	996; 2319; 2483 1494 1499
Leopeis	Ληοπεῖς	657
Levi	לֵוִי Λευεῖς Λευεῖ Λευι	233; 354; 563; 693 354 2194 2245
Licina Chreste	Licina Chreste	743
P. Licinius	P(ubli) (Licini)	743
Liezer		→ Elazar
L. Livius	Λούκιος Λείσ[υιος]	1195
Lo[--]	Λο[--]	1500
Lollia	לֹלִיָּה	176
Lollianus	Lolliano	1290
M'. Lor(--ius)	M(anio) Lor(--io) M(anius) L[or(--ius)]	744 744
Lucas	Λουκάωω Λουκά[ς]	817 1028
Lucianus	Λουκιανός Λουκ[ειανός]	2216 842.34
Lucilia		→ Pompeia
Sex. Lucilius Bassus	Sex(to) Lu[cilio Basso]	712
Lulabus	Λουλάβου	2211
Lulianus	Λουλιανού	2204

Lwlm'	לולמ	1016
Lyda/Lydia	Λῖδα	947
Lysas	Λῦσας	561
	Λυσᾶ	2227
Lysias	Λυσίου	512a
	Λυσία	512c
Lysimache	Λυσιμάχη	1722
Lysimachus	Lysimachus	1138
Ma[--]	Ma[--]	373; 781a; 1469; 1504; 1533
	Ma[--]	→ Valerius
Macarius	Μακάρι(ο)ς	842.43
Macedon		→ Aurelius
Machaius	Μάχαιος	2482
Macui(--)	Macui(--)	758
Magnentius(?)	Μαγνηντίου(?)	2374
L. Magnius Felix	L(ucius) Magnius Felix	736
Magnus		→ Iulius
Maia	Μαῖα	562
Mairam		→ Mariam
Makai	Μακαί	842.8
Mal(--)	Μαλ(--)	2596b
Mamas	Μάμα	912
Mamilianus	[M]amilian[o]	1236
Manaamus		→ Menahem
Manaem, Manaemus		→ Menahem
Mani[--]	Μανι[--]	1505
Manlius	Μανλ[ίου]	1506
Mannus	Μάννου	2190
Mansuanius		→ Cossonius
Mara	מרה	97; 200; 262; 543; 563
	Μαρα	517a; 477
	Μάρας	448a
	Μάρες	48
	Μαρου	241
- Maris	מריס	571
	Μάρις	2243
Marcella	Μ'αρκέλ[λα]	2424; → C[--]
Marcellina	Μαρκελλίνα	1123
Marcellinus	[Μα]ρκελλίνον	773; → Cossonius
Marcianus	Μαρκιανοῦ	2448; 2450
Marcus	Μάρκαεος	23b
	Μάρκεος	23a
Mareabdenus		→ Yehoḥanan
Mari		→ Cyrus
Maria		→ Mariam
Mariados		→ Mariam

Mariam	מרים	168b-c; 175a-b; 217; 356a; 368a-b; 403b; 444; 451; 462; 482; 488; 503; 519; 537; 564b; 565; 646
	Μαριαμ	141b; 355b; 477
- Mairam	Μαιραμ	141a
- Maria	מריה	49; 71; 116; 162b; 168a; 192c; 238; 312; 384; 476; 564a
	Μαρία	21; 134a; 232a-b; 445
	Μαρίας	856; 863; 900; 1507; 2217; 2218; 2447; 2451; 2453; 2546
	Μαρί(ας)	855
	Μαρία[ς]	2454
	Μαρί[ας]	1509
	[M]αρία[ς]	1508
	[M]αρί[ας]	1510
	[Μα]ρίας	803
	Μαρ[ία]	1477
	Μαρίαν	997
- Mariados	Μαριαδος	261a; 261b
- Mariame	Μαριάμη	133a-b; 199; 356a-b; 390; 477; 494a-b; 566; 567; 568
	Μαριέαμη	451
- Mariamne	Μαριάμνου	133b
- Marin	מרין	569
	Μαρηήν	929
- Marya	Μαρύα	2446
Marin		→ Mariam
Marina	Μαρίνας	1511
	Μα[ρί]νας	2081
Marinus	Marini	1433
	Μαρῖνος	1122
	Μαρίνου	861a; 1525
	Μαρίνω	1177; 1336
Marion	Marion	570
Maris		→ Mara
Maron		→ Aurelius
Marouthas	Μαρουθᾶ	1141
Martha	מרתה	52; 97; 142; 162a; 163a-b; 168a-c; 196; 252; 253; 272; 453a; 504a; 505; 511a-b; 572a-b
	מרתה	429
	Μάρθας	74
	Μάρθα	500c; 573
Martialis		→ Valerius
Marulfus	Μαρούλφου	970
Marulla	Μαρύλλας	486
Marunius	Μαρουνίου	2219
Marus	Μαρ[ο]ῦ	1512
Marya		→ Mariam

Matatai		→ Mattiya
Mathia		→ Mattiya
Mathias		→ Mattiya
Mati		→ Mattiya
Matis		→ Mattiya
Matrinus	Ματρίνω	2573
Matrona	Ματρώνας [Ματ]ρώνα	1143; 2082; 2322 1015
Matruna	Ματρούνας	1491
Mattata		→ Mattiya
Mattathias		→ Mattiya
Mattatiya		→ Mattiya
Mattiya	מתתיה מתיה	4; 75b 75a; 204a-b; 381a-b; 575
- Matatai	מתתי	55
- Mathia	מתיה Μαθία Μαθίας	146; 188; 451; 478a-b 452b 451
- Mathias	Μαθίου Μα(θίου)	218 218
- Mati	מתי	481; 489a-b
- Matis	מתיס	537
- Mattata	מתתא	185
- Mattathias	Ματταθίου	219
- Mattatiya	מתתיה	276; 277; 380a-b, 621
Maximianus		→ Aurelius
Maximilla		→ Domitia
Maximon	Μαξιμωνος	2313
Maximona	מכסימ	2168
Maximus	Maximo Μαξιμου מכסימ	720; → Iunius 1123; → Flavius 2168
Meceron	Μηκέρων	1548
Megale	Μεγάλης	2497; 2499
Megalus	Μεγάλου	1513; 2219; 2221; → Cyrus
Megas	Μεγάλου Μεγά[λου]	2219; 2221; → Cyrus 1514
Megiste	Μεγίστης	297
Megisteria	Μεγιστηρία	2489
Meke	Μεκη	2220
Mellon		→ Iulius
Meltiades		→ Miltiades
Memor		→ Comisius
Menahem	מנחם	183; 187a-e; 318
- Manaamus	Μανάαμος	2460
- Manaem	Μαναήμ	318
- Manaemus	Μαναήμου	2151
- Menamus	Μενάμου	2322
Menas	Μηνᾶς	38

	Μήνα	998
	Μηνᾶ	2491
Menasses	Μενασσῆ	2222
Meniami	Μενιαμι	2223
Menophila	Μηνόφιλα	1515
Mer[--]	Μερ[--]	842.27
Mercurius	Μερκούριος	2433
Metaborus	Μεταβόρο<υ>	562
Metras	Μητρᾶς	2490
Mevius Romanus	Mevius Romanus	1284
Miccio		→ Iulius
Mika	Μίκα	886
Milt(--)	Μιλτ(--)	2597b
Miltiades	Μιλτιάδου	2338
	[Μιλ]τιάδου	2337
- Meltiades	Μελτιάδου	2310
Mimmulla	Μίμμυλλα	1015
Misael	Μισαηλος	2542
	Μισαῆλ(ος)	2539
MI[k--]	[-כ-]מל	439
Mnaso	Μνασοῦς	328
Mo[--]	Μο[--]	1516
Mocherus	Μωχηρος	573
Modestus	Μοδ[έσ]του	834
Moschas	Μοσχᾶς	254
Mryhy	מריחי	2293 col. I + col. III
T. Mucius Clemens	[Τί]τωι Μουκίωι [Κλ]ήμεντι	2123
Murik	Մուրիկաւ	839
Musonius	Μουσωνίω	1336; 1339
Myrismus	Μυρισμός	1136
Nadav	נדב	80
Nage	Ναγης	550
Naḥum	Ναουμ	2224
Namosa(s)	Ναμωσα	2151
Nanus		→ Gaius
Natanilos		→ Netanel
Naṭira	נטירה	306
Neḥemia	נחמיה	310
	[נה]מיה	430a
	נחמיה	430b
	[Ne]ημίας	1479
Neicomedes		→ Nicomedes
Nemonianus		→ Priscus
Nesius	Νησίου	2537
Ness[...]	Νεσσ[...]	2267
Nestabus	Νέσ'ταβος	2426
Nestor	Νέστορα	2568
Nestorius	Νεστορίου	2532

Netanel	נתנאל	82; 576
- Natanilos	Νατανίλου	255
Nhry(?)	נהרי(?)	2548
Nicander	Νικάνδρου	222; 2358
Nicanor	Νεικάνορος	98; → Antonius
	נקנר	98
Nicias	Νικία[ς]	2307
Nicolaus	Νικολάου	236
Nicomedes		
- Neicomedes	Νεικομήδου	2225
Niger	Νίγερ	28
Nikias	Νίκις	620col.b
Nikos	Νίκος	620col.b
Nison	Νίσον	431a; 431b
Nittai	נתי	242
No[--]	נו[--]	538
Nom[--]s	Νωμ[--]ς	842.42b
Nomus	Νόμον	1260
Nonia	Νονίας	1518
Nonius	[N]ωνίου	1518; → Novius
Nonna	Νόννα	2175; 2245
Nonnus	Νόννος	2181
	Νόννου	888; 1520; 2321
- Nonus	Νόνου	2188
Novius Alexander	Νό[ουιο/νιο]ς Ἀλέξανδρος	1288
Numisius		→ Cossonius
Ny[--]	ני[--]	538
Ob[--]	Ωβ[--]	2527
Obesha	עובשא	843
Olybrius	Ὀλυβρί(ου)	1086; → Theodulus
Olympiodorus	Ὀλυμπιόδωρος	1399
Olympius	Ὀλυμπίου	2180
	[Ὀλυ]μπίου	1522
Olympus	Ὀλύμπου	1143
Onesima	Ὀνησίμη	939
Onesimus	Ὀν᾽ήσ(ίμου)	888
	Onesimi	2273
Optimus	OPTIM[--]	1317
	Opti[mus/o]	1400
Orbicon	Ὀρβικόν	2545
Orfitianus		→ Iulius
Orsilas	Ορσίλας	577
Oşebus	עצבו	843
Ovadiya	עבדי[ה]	138
Oved	עובד	137
Pa[--]	Πα[--]	298; 842.32
Paccius		→ Gargilius

Pachomius	Παχόμιος	966
Paiontious	Παῖοντιος	1045
Pamphilia	Παμφιλίας	1565
Pamphilus	Πάμφιλος	1020
Panagius	Παναγίου	1455
Panaretus	Π[α]ν[α]ρέτου	1766
Papa	Πάπα	842.9
Papias	Παπίας	412a-b
	פפיא	412a
Papion	Παπίωνος	579
Papus	Πάπος	117a-b
	פפוס	505
Paregorius	Παρηγορίου	1456; 1525; 2207
	Παρη[γορί]ου	1524
- Parigorius	Παριγορίου	2227
	Παριγορίο[υ]	2221
Paregores	Παρηγόρης	2226
Paris	Πάρις	3
Pasimus	Πασίμου	904
Passenianus		→ Clodius
Patrice	Πατρικῆς	2228
Patricius	Πατρικίου	2476
Paula	[Πα]ῦλα	1786
Paulus	Παῦλος	842.11; 1457; 2446; 2451; 2453
	Παῦλ[ος]	923b
	Παύλου	999; 2314; 2454
	Παύλο[υ]	1164
	Παύ[λου]	1081
	[Π]αύλου	1074a
	[Πα]ύλου	2447
Pby	פבי	2552
Pe[-]	Πη[-]	1526
Pedaya	פדיא	17b
Perekh	פרך	600a-b
Peresh	פרש	599
Perpetuus	[P]erpetuo	1318
Petaḥiya Akhla	פתחיה אכלא	1145a
Petronius	[Pe]tron[io]	1411
- Petronius Novatus	[P]etronio No[vato]	1230
Petrus	Πέτρου	856; 860; 1015
	Πέτρου(?)	2375
	Πέτρω	842.50; 913
	ܩܬܝܪܢܘܗ	873
	ܩܬܝܪܢܘ	813
Phaidrus	Φαίδρου	231
Phasael	Φασαήλου	105a-b
Pheidon	Φείδωνος	432a
Philippus	Φιλίππου	2536
Philiscus	Φιλίσκος	329

Philodespotus	Φιλοδέσποτος	842.28
Philodoxias	Φιλοδοξιάδι	767
Philon	Φίλων	170; 433; 580
Philotarius	Φιλουταρίου	581
Philus	Φίλους	315
Phin[--]	Φιν[--]	2399
Phineas	Φινέας	313
- Pinḥas	פִּינְחָס	83a-b; 434
	פִּינַח	406
Phis[.]lius(?)	Φ?ισ[.]λιος	2639b
Phoebe	Φοίβη	1004
Photius	Φῶτις	1680
	Φῶτιν	1680
Phy(--)	Φυ(--)	2593b
Physcon	Φυσκῶνος	2593a
Pinaras	Πιναρᾶ	2204
Pindires	Πινδίρη	883
Pinḥas		→ Phineas
Playa	פֿליה	407a
Polla	Πώλλα	150
Polychronius	[Πο]λυχρο[νίου]	1528
Pompeia Lucilia	Πονπηία Λουκίλια	709
Pomponius	Pompo[nio/us]	1401
- C. Pomponius	G(aius) Pomp[oni]us	745
Pon[--]	Πον[--]	2120
Pontius Pilatus	[Po]ntius Pilatus	1277
Pontus	Πώντου	931
Popeli	Ποπελι	583a-b
Popienus	Ποπιῆνο(ς)	842.33a
L. Popillius Balbus	Λούκιον Ποπίλλιον Βᾶλβον	2173
Potens		→ Claudius
Pr[--]	Πρ[--]	1529
Primus	Prim(i)	760
Prisc[--]	Πρισκ[--]	1458
Prisciane	Πρισκιανῆς	1530
Priscianus	פֿריסקאנאס	2168
Priscus		→ Aufidius
- Priscus Nemonianus	Πρεῖσκε Νεμωνιανέ	1531
Pro[--]	Προ[--]	1532
Procopia	Προκοπίας	1533; 1534
	Προκοπία	1178
Procopius	Προκοπίου	1378; 1534; 1535; 2453; → Flavius
	Προκοπ[ίου]	1536
	Προκ[οπί]ου	1537
	Προκ[οπίου]	1538; 1540
	[Πρ]οκοπίου	1539
	Π[--]	972
Procula		→ Iulia
Proculus	[P]rocu[lus/o]	1313

Promus	[Πρό]μος	1165.2a
	Π[ρό]μος	1165.2b
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	Πρωτ[ᾶ]τος	497d1
	Πρ[ωτ]ᾶτος	497d2
	Πρωτᾶτ[ος]	497e
Protianus		→ Claudius
Proxena	פרקסנה	2168
Pšhy	פצחי	253
Psyche	Ψύχης	584
Ptolatois	Πτολατοίς	593
Ptolemaius	פּטלמיס	693
- Ptolma	Πτολμᾶ	402a
Pupius	Πόπι(ο)ς	842.19
	Πόπ(ιος)	842.30
Pusaeus		→ Flavius
Qafa	קפא	461b; 463; → Caiaphas
Qamša		→ Bar Qamša
Quarta	Κοάρτα	1719
Quinctilianus	[Qui]nctil[ianus/a]	1435A
Quinctilius	[Qui]nctil[ius/a]	1435A
Quintianus		→ Calpurnius; Cornelius
Qwsyt'	קוּסִיטָק	2552
Rabe	Ραβη	1541
Ramon	רמון	56
Ravid	רביד	596
Ravikh	רביך	596
Rebecca	Ρεβέκκα	2190
- Reb(e)ca	Ῥέβκα	2189
Reginus	Ῥηγίνω	2264
Reglus(?)	[Ῥ]ήγλου(?)	2163
Reuben	רֶבּוּעַן	625
- Robe	Ῥωβη	2213
- Robel	Ῥωβήλ	2290
- Rube(s)	Ῥουβή	2193; 2229
- Rubelus	Ῥουβήλου	2462
Rhion/Rhius	Ῥίου	2144
Rhodope	Rhodo[pe]	1436
Ro[-]	Ρω[-]	585a
Robe		→ Reuben
Robel		→ Reuben
Rogatus	Ῥογαῖτος	1542
Rom[-]		→ Clodius
Romanus		→ Mevius

Rosh	רש	285
Rube(s)		→ Reuben
Rubelus		→ Reuben
Rufinus	Ῥουφίνου	2189
Rufus	[R]ufi	1402; → Heterieus; Tineius
	Ῥούφου	385;
	[Ῥο]ύφου	1113
Rusticianus	Ῥουστικιανοῦ	1740
C. Rusticius Apollonius	Γαίος Ῥουστίκι[ος] Ἀπολλών[ιος]	746
Rwy	ר״י	2555
S[--]		→ Flavius
Saba	סבא	483
Sabatheus	Σαβαθέου	586
Sabatios	Σαβατίω	2113B
Sabatis	Σαβατίς	330
Sabba[--]	Σαββα[--]	1461
Sabina		→ Iulia
Sabinus	Σαβεί[νου]	2423; → Cossonius; Iulius
Şada	הדצ	123
Şadan	ידצ	123
Salaeanus	Σαλαεανου	2458
Salamath		→ Shalom
Salame, Salami		→ Shalom
Salamsion, Sallamsion		→ Shelamzion
Salamtha	Σαλαμθα	2458
Salan		→ Shalom
Salaon		→ Shalom
Salo		→ Shalom
Salome		→ Shalom
Salon		→ Shalom
Salv(i)us	Σάλου(ι)ος	1723
Samoes	Σαμωῆ	2231
	[Σα]μωῆς	2230
- Samues	Σαμουῆς	2232
Samuel	Σαμουήλ	903; 2233
	Σαμ[ουήλ]	1000
	Σαμουήλος	2179
	Σαμουήλ[ος]	1001
	Σαμουείλου	1543
	Σαμουήλου	848; 2098
- Samulus	Σαμούλου	2322
- Shemuel	[--]שמ	646
- Shmuel	שמאי	1019a-b
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Sapphas	[Σα]πφου	1111
Sara	סר	226
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Savora	Σατ[ορνίνου]	769
Scho(--)	סבורא	→ Shaul
Secunda	Σχο(--)	129a-b
Secundus	[Σε]χοῦνδα	2610b
Sedata	Sec[undus]	171
D. Seius Seneca		1435
Selampsin		→ Valeria
Selamsion	D(ecimo) Seio Senecae	1269
Selaption		→ Shelamzion
Selasion		→ Shelamzion
Seleucus	Σελευκ[--]	→ Shelamzion
Sen[--]	Sen[--]	291; → Varius
Seneca		1438
Septimius	Septim[ius/o]	→ Seius
Sereidus	Σερείδου	1403
Serges	Σ[έρ]γης	2594
Sergius	Sergiu	1165.1b
	Σεργίου	1548
Seth	שֵׁט	2456
Sev[--]	Σεβ[--]	144; 335
Severa	Σεβήρα	1547
Severianus	[Σεου]ηριανοῦ	1548
Severina	Σευηρίναν	1002
Severus	Σευ[ήρου]	764
Shabatiya		1528; → Claudius; Flavius; Iulius
Shabtai	שבתי	→ Shabtai
- Shabatiya	שבתייה	310
Shalom	שלום	1027
		25; 58a-b; 66; 72; 84a; 90; 126;
		147b; 169; 197; 256a-c; 308a; 317;
		339b; 340; 341a-b; 448b; 464; 506;
		528d; 587; 633; 954b; 1017; 1088;
		1549
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- Salamath	Σαλαμαθ	435
- Salame	Σαλάμη	587
- Salami	Σαλαμι	436
- Salan	Σαλανος	2458
- Salaon	Σαλαονος	2455
- Salo	Σαλω	134a; 589; 2212

- Salome	Σαλώμη	307; 319b; 339a; 590a
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- Salon	Σαλων	591
- Shalon	שלון	342
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Shapir	שפיר	197
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- Sapira	Σαπίρα	208
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- Saul	Σαουλ	2234
- Saulus	Σάολος	269a
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- Salamsion	[Σαλα]μσι[ων?]	165
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- Selampsin	Σελάμψιν	309a
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- Selamsion	Σελαμασιων	279b
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- Soimon	Σοίμωνος	2224
- Symeon	Συμεών	825; 959
	Συμε[ώνος]	1552
- Symon	Σύμων	1555
	Σύμωνος	1554; 2215; 2235; 2236; 2237
	Σύμων[ος]	1556
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Sisennius	Σισεννίου	931
- Sisinius	Σησηνίου	1499
	[Σ]ισινίου	916
- Sisiniya	סיסיניה	791
Sition	Σιτίωνος	897
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Šm'	יְנַשׁ	2293 col. I
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Somaon	Σομαων	419
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Sosipolis	Σωσιπόλε[ως]	1559
Sotirichus	Σωτιρίχου	2143b
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Stephanis	Στεφανίδος	898a
Stephanus	Στέφανος	914; 2493; 2494; 2528b
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Symmachus	Συμμάχου	2238
Symon		→ Shimon
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	[Τει]μεισειώνος[ς]	497d2
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Telesa	Τελεσα	512d
Telesistratus	Τελεσίστρατος	512c
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Theod[--]	Θεοδ[--]	1015
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Theodo[--]	Θεοδό[--]	1785
Theodor[--]	Θεοδωρ[--]	1562
Theodora	Θεοδώρα	1680; 2495
	Θεοδώρας	856
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- L. Valerius	L(uci) (Valeri)	748
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- Valerius Martialis	Valeri Martialis	1228
- L. Valerius Martialis	L(ucius) Val(erius) Martialis	1228
- L. Valerius Valerianus	L. Val(erius) Valerianu[s]	1285
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- Ioannes	Ἰωάννης	1378
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